

ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA  
INTERPRETER OF THE  
OLD TESTAMENT

BY

ALEXANDER KERRIGAN, O. F. M.



ROMA  
PONTIFICIO ISTITUTO BIBLICO  
1952

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## P R E F A C E

There can be no gainsaying that in the past the history of patristic exegesis has not received the attention that it deserves <sup>(1)</sup>. Alluding to the commentaries of the Fathers, the Encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* remarks: "It is indeed regrettable that such precious treasures of Christian antiquity are almost unknown to many writers of the present day, and that students of the history of exegesis have not yet accomplished all that seems necessary for the due investigation and appreciation of so momentous a subject. Would that many, by seeking out the authors of the Catholic interpretation of Scripture... might contribute largely to this end, so that it might be daily more apparent to what extent these understood and made known the divine teaching of the Sacred Books and that the interpreters of today might thence take example and seek suitable arguments" <sup>(2)</sup>. The obvious deficiencies of this department of biblical science cannot be remedied unless monographs carefully prepared dealing with the methods of interpretation employed by the different commentators of Antiquity. Already many Catholic scholars have made a not ungenerous response to the plea of the Encyclical; in recent years some excellent studies

<sup>(1)</sup> "En dépit de nombreux travaux d'approche, l'histoire de l'exégèse patristique reste à faire". (G. BARDY, art. *Exégèse patristique* (*Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, 4, 589). Writing on this subject in *Initiation* the same author remarks: "Nous ne possédons pas encore d'histoire proprement dite de l'exégèse patristique. Il faut chercher de droite et de gauche, dans les ouvrages consacrés à la littérature chrétienne, les éléments de l'histoire". (*Initiation biblique. Introduction à l'étude des saintes Écritures*, publiée sous la direction de A. ROBERT et A. TRICOT, Paris, 1948, p. 473).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Roma, 35 (1943), pp. 312 ss. The quotation in question has been taken from the English translation of the Encyclical published by the TIPOGRAFIA POLIGLOTTA VATICANA, 1943, pp. 16 f.

have been published on the exegetical methods of certain prominent ancient writers<sup>(1)</sup>.

This essay aims at making a useful contribution to the history of exegesis by examining impartially the exegetical method of St. Cyril of Alexandria. Hailed as one of the greatest of the Greek Fathers, redoubtable champion of orthodoxy, voluminous writer, St. Cyril has appealed to later generations chiefly on account of his outstanding talents as a theologian. Although his works on Scripture form by far the largest section of his writings, his worth as an exegete has aroused but scant interest. Diestel's well-known *Geschichte* ignores him completely<sup>(2)</sup>. Rosenmüller devotes only a few pages to him<sup>(3)</sup>. The articles of scien-

(1) Suffice it to mention a few of these publications: C. MONDÉSERT, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture*, Paris, 1944; PH.-T. CAMELOT, *Foi et gnose. Introduction à l'étude de la connaissance mystique chez Clément d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1945, pp. 69-95; IDEM, *Clément d'Alexandrie et l'Écriture* (*Revue biblique*, 53 (1946), pp. 242-248); M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole chez Clément d'Alexandrie. Définition et source de la théorie* (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 21 (1945), pp. 5-60; IDEM, *La parabole évangélique. Enquête exégétique et critique*, Bruges-Paris-Louvain, 1947, pp. 353-457.

H. DE LUBAC, *Origène. Homélie sur la Genèse. Traduction et notes de L. DOUTREIEAU, introduction de H. DE LUBAC*, Paris, 1943, pp. 5-62; IDEM, *Origène. Homélie sur l'Exode. Traduction de P. FORTIER, introduction et notes de H. DE LUBAC*, Paris, 1947, pp. 7-75; IDEM, *Histoire et Esprit. L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène*, Paris 1950; J. DANIELOU, *Origène* in "Le génie du Christianisme", collection publiée sous la direction de F. MAURIAC, Paris, 1948, pp. 138-198; IDEM, *Grégoire de Nysse. Vie de Moïse. Introduction et traduction de J. DANIELOU*, Paris, 1942; IDEM, *Sacramentum Futuri. Études sur les origines de la typologie biblique*, Paris, 1950. J. LAPLACE, *Grégoire de Nysse. La création de l'homme. Introduction et traduction de J. LAPLACE, notes de J. DANIELOU*, Paris, 1944; G. BARDY, *Hippolyte. Commentaire sur Daniel. Texte grec, introduction de G. BARDY, traduction de M. LEFÈVRE*, Paris, 1947; R. DEVREESE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, Città del Vaticano, 1948, pp. 53-93; M. PONTET, *L'exégèse de s. Augustin prédicateur*, Paris 1946. J. P. BRISSON, *Hilaire de Poitiers. Traité des Mystères. Texte établi et traduit avec introduction et notes par J. P. BRISSON*, Paris 1947; A. PENNA, *Principi e carattere dell'esegesi di S. Gerolamo*, Roma, 1950.

(2) L. DIESTEL, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, Jena, 1869.

(3) J. G. ROSENMÜLLER, *Historie interpretationis librorum sacrorum in Ecclesia christiana*, Hildburghausen-Lipsiae, 1795-1814, pp. 159 ff.

tific works of reference dismiss his exegesis in one or two paragraphs <sup>(1)</sup>. Of the numerous publications issued on the occasion of the fifteenth centenary of the Council of Ephesus (1931) and on that of Cyril's death (1944), not one deals with his method of interpreting Scripture. Attention has been drawn to this lacuna <sup>(2)</sup>, which, it is hoped, this modest essay now somewhat fills.

The rivalries of Alexandria and Antioch, inspired perhaps by Jewish influences <sup>(3)</sup>, belong to the commonplaces of history. Surmising that the older accounts of this conflict somewhat exaggerate the contrasts existing between these schools, a recent historian has shown that far greater agreement obtained between them than is commonly believed <sup>(4)</sup>. In St. Cyril's instance the convergence of both currents is still more marked. Living in a period in which the methods peculiar to these seats of learning were still being perfected and evolved, St. Cyril himself adds his contribution to the final phases of development of the Alexandrian current. His outlook is characterized by leanings towards that of Antioch.

In this thesis the chief features of St. Cyril's exegetical method are analysed and projected on their historical background. The dissertation itself consists of two parts, of which the first, mainly theoretical, discusses fundamental problems connected with the

(1) J. MAHÉ, art., *S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 3, 2, 2483 f.); A. SEIDER, art., *Cyrrill von Alexandria* (*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3, p. 107); G. BARDY, art., *Exégèse patristique* (*Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, 4, 578 f.).

(2) Introducing readers of the *Revue biblique* to *Kyrrilliana. Spicilegium edita sancti Cyrilli Alexandrini XV recurrente saeculo 444-1944*, F. M. DEL remarks: "Bien que chez saint Cyrille l'exégète ne s'élève pas à la hauteur du théologien, une étude sur la méthode suivie par le saint dans ses commentaires de l'Écriture aurait couronné avec beaucoup d'à-propos l'effort intellectuel élevé à la mémoire de celui que S. S. Pie XII a qualifié de « gloire de l'Église Orientale » (*Revue biblique*, 55 (1948), p. 151).

(3) Il y a lieu de croire que l'opposition entre les écoles d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche en matière d'exégèse remonte aussi à des influences juives reproduit en gros celle de l'exégèse philonienne et de l'exégèse des rabbins palestiniens (M. SIMON, *Verus Israel. Études sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs dans l'empire romain*, Paris 1942, p. 184 note 3).

(4) J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche. Conflit ou malentendu ?* (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), pp. 257-302).

literal and spiritual senses of Scripture; the second part aims at pointing out certain traits and features that are stamped on the concrete interpretations proposed by him. With a view to brevity, several examples of St. Cyril's manner of working, which had been quoted *in extenso* in a preliminary draft, have been reduced to mere references. Yet in order that readers may judge for themselves the peculiar flavour of Cyril's explanations, a considerable number of examples have been quoted rather fully in both parts of the thesis; in some instances, on account of the importance of the subject under discussion, more numerous examples are adduced and discussed at greater length than elsewhere; this remark applies particularly to St. Cyril's treatment of the *sensus litteralis improprius* <sup>(1)</sup>. An effort has been made to account for the principles and opinions espoused by St. Cyril, as far as that is possible. Unquestionably some opinions expressed by us concerning St. Cyril's dependence upon other commentators are only tentative. In our researches we could not include a comparative study of St. Athanasius and Didymus. The only materials, that lend themselves to such a study, are furnished exclusively by the fragments now extant of the commentaries on the *Psalms* written by St. Athanasius, Didymus and Cyril. However, the problems of authenticity and integrity, to which these fragments give rise, entirely dissuaded us from risking conclusions based on materials so uncertain. Our investigations have been confined to St. Cyril's exegesis of the Old Testament, firstly in order to keep them within defined limits, secondly with a view to ascertaining St. Cyril's views on the spiritual sense, a problem that is more intimately connected with the Old Testament than the New. On account of the vogue that spiritual exegesis of the Old Testament now enjoys in certain circles, the study of this problem has afforded us the opportunity of confronting opinions old and new. St. Cyril's exegesis of the New Testament will be examined by us in a subsequent volume.

Bringing to a close a work that has cost almost four years of patient toil, the author wishes to express his abiding thanks to the Reverend Father Albert Vaccari, S. J., Vice-Rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, for his painstaking direction. The formative value of the suggestions and criticisms of so erudite and

(1) See pp. 61 ff.

illustrious scholar has been surpassed only by the graciousness with which they were constantly given. To his superiors, past and present, especially to the Very Reverend Father Hubert Quinn, O. F. M., the author voices his gratitude for the facilities of pursuing higher studies given him with unstinted generosity. He offers special thanks also to the Reverend Father Sylvester O'Brien, O. F. M., for having revised and corrected the typescript of this thesis and to the kind students of St. Isidore's College, who helped him in the very tedious task of correcting the proofs.

*Rome, Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, 1951.*

FR. ALEXANDER KERRIGAN, O. F. M.

## C O N T E N T S

Preface . . . . .	v
Contents . . . . .	xi
Select bibliography . . . . .	xvii
Introduction	
§ 1. Doctrinal trends at Alexandria towards the beginning of the Fifth Century A. D. . . . .	1
§ 2. St. Cyril's upbringing and education. . . . .	7
§ 3. St. Cyril's writings. Some problems of chronology . . . . .	12

### Part I.

#### FUNDAMENTAL NOTIONS: THE LITERAL AND SPIRITUAL SENSES OF SCRIPTURE IN THE SYSTEM OF ST. CYRIL.

Preliminary article: The senses of Scripture known to early Christian tradition. . . . .	25
CHAPTER I: <i>The literal sense of Scripture</i> . . . . .	35
Art. 1. St. Cyril's terminology . . . . .	35
Art. 2. St. Cyril's esteem for the literal sense. . . . .	40
Art. 3. The objects envisaged by the literal sense. . . . .	42
Art. 4. The literal sense in its wide and less strict signification . . . . .	51
§ 1. The approach made by commentators of Antiquity to the literal sense in its wide and less strict signification. . . . .	51
§ 2. St. Cyril and the literal sense in its wide and less strict signification . . . . .	61
a) Αἵνιγμα / παραβολή / παράδειγμα . . . . .	61
1. First set of examples . . . . .	65
2. Second set of examples . . . . .	71
b) Μεταφορά / τροπή . . . . .	74

§ 3. Other figures of speech to which St. Cyril draws attention when expounding the literal sense of Scripture . . . . .	77
a) Προσομοιοῦσα . . . . .	77
b) Ἐμφασις . . . . .	79
c) Ὑπερβολή . . . . .	80
§ 4. Anthropomorphisms and the literal sense . . . . .	81
Concluding remarks . . . . .	86
Art. 5. The ΣΚΟΠΟΣ of the literal sense . . . . .	87
§ 1. The σκοπός in profane and Christian exegesis . . . . .	87
§ 2. St. Cyril's treatment of the σκοπός of Scripture . . . . .	95
1. The σκοπός of the different books of Scripture . . . . .	95
2. The σκοπός of particular texts of Scripture . . . . .	108
CHAPTER 2. — <i>The Spiritual Sense of Scripture</i> . . . . .	111
Art. 1. St. Cyril's terminology . . . . .	111
Art. 2. The objects of the spiritual sense . . . . .	123
§ 1. Generic formulae dealing with the objects of the spiritual sense . . . . .	123
§ 2. The role devolving on the objects of the literal sense . . . . .	126
§ 3. The objects of the spiritual sense considered more specifically . . . . .	129
Art. 3. The harmony of both testaments . . . . .	131
Art. 4. St. Cyril's justification of the spiritual sense . . . . .	135
Art. 5. The twofold ΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΙΣ . . . . .	140
§ 1. Κήρυγμα and παιδευσις . . . . .	140
§ 2. The doctrinal παιδευσις . . . . .	148
§ 3. The ethical παιδευσις . . . . .	152
Concluding remarks . . . . .	165
Art. 6. The attitude of the Jews towards the spiritual sense . . . . .	168
Art. 7. Christians and the spiritual signification of the Old Testament . . . . .	177
Art. 8. The Holy Ghost and the spiritual sense of Scripture . . . . .	187

Art. 91. St. Cyril's conception of αἰνιγμα, παραβολή, and παροιμία . . . . .	191
§ 1. The definition of παραβολή / αἰνιγμα given in <i>Contra Iulianum</i> . . . . .	191
a) The hieroglyphics . . . . .	191
b) The Pythagorean enigmas . . . . .	194
c) The prescriptions of the Mosaic law . . . . .	195
§ 2. The definitions of <i>Thesaurus</i> and the commentary on <i>St. John</i> . . . . .	196
§ 3. The definition of παραβολή found in the commentary on <i>St. Luke</i> . . . . .	198
§ 4. St. Cyril's αἰνιγμα / παροιμία / παραβολή compared with the corresponding tropes of Greek rhetoric . . . . .	204
§ 5. St. Cyril's definitions compared with those of other interpreters of sacred Scripture . . . . .	205
Art. 10. The role played by the divine and human authors of Scripture with regard to the spiritual sense . . . . .	215
§ 1. The point of view of modern writers . . . . .	215
§ 2. The role played by the hagiographer in the case of passages of Scripture of which St. Cyril gives but one interpretation, namely, the spiritual . . . . .	218
§ 3. The role played by hagiographer with regard to the higher sense in the instance of texts of which St. Cyril admits both a literal and spiritual signification . . . . .	224
§ 4. St. Cyril's views compared with those of exegetes new and old . . . . .	234

## Part II.

### THE EPMHNEIA ITSELF, CONCRETE ILLUSTRATIONS OF ST. CYRIL'S EXEGETICAL METHOD.

CHAPTER I: <i>Traits of St. Cyril's explanations of the literal sense</i> . . . . .	243
Art. 1. Introduction . . . . .	243
§ 1. The external vesture of the exegesis. . . . .	243
§ 2. Treatment of the literal sense. . . . .	245
§ 3. Eclectic character of St. Cyril's interpretations . . . . .	246



Art. 2. The form of text used by St. Cyril . . . .	250
§ 1. St. Cyril as a witness to the Septuagint . . . .	250
§ 2. Cyril as a witness to the textual tradition of the <i>Hewapla</i> . . . . .	253
Art. 3. How St. Cyril employs variant readings in exegesis. . . .	253
§ 1. The variants of "the Hebrew edition" . . . .	254
§ 2. The variants of the <i>εἰσφοι εὐμνηνται</i> . . . .	259
Concluding remarks . . . . .	265
Art. 4. Changes in the Greek text suggested by St. Cyril. . . .	266
§ 1. Remarks in respect of ἡ τῆς λέξεως συνθήκη . . . .	266
§ 2. Lexicographical changes . . . . .	270
Art. 5. Peculiarities of Scriptural usage . . . . .	273
§ 1. Grammar . . . . .	273
§ 2. Terminology peculiar to Scripture . . . . .	274
Art. 6. St. Cyril's anti-mythical leanings . . . . .	281
Art. 7. - St. Cyril's use of Bible History . . . . .	294
§ 1. - The prologues. . . . .	295
1. The historical introduction to the prophetic writings. . . . .	295
2. The prologues to particular books . . . . .	297
§ 2. Explanation of particular texts in the light of Bible History . . . . .	303
Art. 8. St. Cyril's use of historical sources outside the Bible. . . .	308
§ 1. Josephus . . . . .	308
§ 2. The legends of the Jews . . . . .	309
Art. 9: St. Cyril's interest in Geography . . . . .	322
Palestine . . . . .	323
Arabia and Syria . . . . .	327
Assyria and Babylonia . . . . .	329
Egypt . . . . .	330
Art. 10. Peculiarities of prophetic utterance . . . . .	333
§ 1. Changes of persons speaking . . . . .	334
§ 2. Changes of addressees . . . . .	336
Art. 11. St. Cyril's tendency to discover references to the Roman Empire in Scripture . . . . .	338
Art. 12. Alternative explanations of the literal sense . . . .	346
Art. 13. Explicit references to the interpretations of other exegetes . . . . .	351

<b>Part II: Traits of St. Cyril's explanations of the spiritual sense . . . . .</b>	<b>364</b>
<b>Art. 1. A first set of hermeneutical rules . . . . .</b>	<b>364</b>
<b>Art. 2. In establishing the spiritual sense one should pre-</b> <b>scind from the natures of the persons compared</b> <b>and pay attention to the qualities of their actions. . . . .</b>	<b>372</b>
<b>Art. 3. Παραδείγματα should be interpreted according to</b> <b>a fitting analogy . . . . .</b>	<b>374</b>
<b>Art. 4. The τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐρμηνεῖται . . . . .</b>	<b>376</b>
<b>Art. 5. – The spiritual meaning of numbers . . . . .</b>	<b>383</b>
<b>Art. 6. – St. Cyril's anti-Jewish leanings . . . . .</b>	<b>385</b>
<b>Art. 7. – St. Cyril's anti-heretical bias . . . . .</b>	<b>387</b>
<b>Art. 8. The theological flavour of St. Cyril's spiritual inter-</b> <b>pretation . . . . .</b>	<b>389</b>
<b>Concluding remarks . . . . .</b>	<b>417</b>
<b>Art. 9. The relations existing between Origen's homilies</b> <b>and the spiritual explanations of <i>Glaphyra</i> . . . . .</b>	<b>419</b>
<b>Art. 10. Alternative spiritual explanations . . . . .</b>	<b>427</b>
<b>CONCLUSION . . . . .</b>	<b>435</b>
1. St. Cyril's sources . . . . .	435
2. The historical significance of St. Cyril considered as an exegete . . . . .	439
3. The value of St. Cyril's literal exegesis . . . . .	444
4. St. Cyril's spiritual exegesis of the Old Testament in the light of recent discussions . . . . .	446
<b>Indexes . . . . .</b>	<b>463</b>
a) Index of proper names . . . . .	463
b) Analytical index . . . . .	474
c) Index of the principal Greek terms explained or referred to . . . . .	482
d) Index of Scripture references. . . . .	485

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Generally speaking, this bibliography includes only such works as throw light on St. Cyril of Alexandria's exegetical method. For works dealing with other aspects of St. Cyril's literary activities readers are referred to: U. CHEVALIER, *Répertoire bio-bibliographie*, 2nd. edit., Paris, 1904, vol. 1, cc. 1094-1095; H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité chez saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1944, pp. 539-551; J. LIÉBAERT, *La doctrine christologique de saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie avant la querelle nestorienne*, Lille 1951, pp. 6-7, and J. MAROUZEAU, *L'année philologique, bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine* (Collection de bibliographie classique publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé) Paris 1928 (in course of publication). By consulting the rubric "*auteurs et textes*" of the last mentioned bibliography, inquirers can quickly acquaint themselves with publications dealing with St. Cyril that have appeared in recent years. For a bibliography of recent publications dealing with the spiritual sense of Scripture see the works of J. COPPENS mentioned below.

### ABBREVIATIONS

- CAG = *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca, edita consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae*, Berlin.
- CSEL = *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum, editum consilio et impensis Academiae Litterarum Caesareae Vindobonensis*, Vienna, 1866 ff.
- GCS = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter-Kommission der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1877 ff.
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, accurante J. P. MIGNE*, Greek series, Paris, 1857-1866.
- PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus, accurante J. P. MIGNE*, Latin series, Paris, 1844-1855.
- PO = *Patrologia Orientalis*, edited by R. GRAFFIN and F. NAU, Paris, 1907 ff.

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St. Cyril of Alexandria: In his study *La théologie de s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie d'après s. Thomas d'Aquin* (Tongerloo (Belgique), 1937, pp. 67 ff.), DOM P. RENAUDIN mentions at least forty manuscripts containing the works of St. Cyril; his list does not comprise the manuscripts belonging to the Vatican Library. The same writer gives a list of the printed editions of St. Cyril's works; this reaches the number of fifty one. Details concerning the ancient editions are furnished by FABRICIUS HARLES, *Bibliotheca graeca*, Hamburg, 1708-1758, vol. 8, pp. 553 ff. A. BAUMSTARK in his *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlichpalästinischen Texte* (Bonn, 1922, pp. 160 f.) refers us to manuscripts containing Syriac translations of Cyril's exegetical works. In the following list we mention only such editions as are accessible to scholars:

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## INTRODUCTION

### § 1. — *Doctrinal trends at Alexandria towards the beginning of the Fifth Century A. D.*

The sixty-six years that fill the interval between the birth of St. Cyril of Alexandria in 378 <sup>(1)</sup> and his death in 444 <sup>(2)</sup> mark the period in which the ancient see of St. Mark attained the zenith of its prestige. Two events which had important repercussions on St. Cyril's life punctuate the span of these years: the election of Theophilus, his uncle, to the patriarchate of Alexandria in 385 <sup>(3)</sup> and his own accession to that office in 412 <sup>(4)</sup>.

At Alexandria in those days, a bishop's task was not easy. The religious situation was fraught with many dangers. Had the see been ruled by bishops less energetic and vigilant than Theophilus and Cyril, the cause of orthodox Christianity might have been seriously imperilled.

Paganism was still a redoubtable force. In spite of the imperial edicts that outlawed it, its devotees continued to be both powerful and numerous in the Egyptian capital, where they profaned and pillaged churches and subjected Christians to all kinds of outrages <sup>(5)</sup>. The burning of the Serapeum in 391 <sup>(6)</sup> and the frequent

<sup>(1)</sup> This is the date suggested by F. M. ABEL in his article, *Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans ses rapports avec la Palestine* (*Kyrilliana* . . . , p. 230, note 62).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>(3)</sup> SOCRATES, *Hist. eccles.*, 5, 12, PG 67, 597 B. See F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 230, note 62.

<sup>(4)</sup> SOCRATES, *Hist. eccles.*, 7, 7, PG 67. 749 B. See F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 230, note 62.

<sup>(5)</sup> J. FAIVRE, *art. Alexandrie* (*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 2, 319).

<sup>(6)</sup> SOCRATES, *Hist. eccles.*, 5, 16, PG 67, 604 B.; J. FAIVRE, *art. cit.*, 320 f.

raids made by the monks in the fifth century <sup>(1)</sup> are instances of attempts made by exasperated Christians to enforce by themselves the edicts that the imperial officials had disregarded <sup>(2)</sup>. In order to escape future outbursts of popular fury, pagans were obliged to form secret societies <sup>(3)</sup>. The more instructed among them cultivated Neoplatonism; the rest abandoned themselves to sordid magical practices. Since the latter were not likely to listen to argument, the best method of catering for their conversion was to commend them to the attentions of the monks. The educated classes assailed Christianity with objections furnished by the writings of Julian the Apostate. In their regard the most effective apologetic conceivable was to meet them on their own ground; that precisely is what Cyril aimed at in the work entitled *Contra Iulianum* <sup>(4)</sup>. The menace of paganism preoccupied Cyril for a long period; he returns to this subject again and again in his sermons <sup>(5)</sup> and writings <sup>(6)</sup>.

The Jews, too, were a source of anxiety. In the days of the Arian controversies, they were frequently the abettors of the molestations which the pagans caused orthodox Christians <sup>(7)</sup>. St Cyril seems to have had serious difficulties with them. The historian

<sup>(1)</sup> E. AMÉLINEAU, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Mémoires publiées par les membres de la mission archéologique au Caire*, vol. 4, pp. 45-46; 66-67; 685-687; 791-793.

<sup>(2)</sup> For information and many references we are indebted to E. DRIOTON, *Cyrille d'Alexandrie et l'ancienne religion égyptienne* (*Kyrilliana* . . . , p. 244 ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> J. MASPERO, *Horopollion et la fin du paganisme égyptien*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, vol. 11 (1914), p. 180.

<sup>(4)</sup> About 363 Julian the Apostate wrote three books *Adversus Galilaeos*. Cyril's refutation consisted of thirty books, of which ten alone are extant. With the aid of Cyril's quotations it is possible to reconstruct almost the whole of Julian's first book. The printed edition of *Contra Iulianum* is found in PG 76, 503-1064. According to O. BARDENHEWER it was composed between 433 and 441 (*Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. 4, 2nd. ed., p. 60). See C. J. NEUMANN, *Iuliani Imperatoris contra Christianos quae supersunt* (*Scriptorum graecorum qui christianam impugnauerunt religionem quae supersunt*, fasc. 3, Leipzig, 1880 and P. REGAZZONI, *Il « Contra Galilaeos » dell'imperatore Giuliano e il « Contra Iulianum » di San Cirillo Alessandrino* in *Didaskaleion*, vol. 6 (1928), fasc. 3, pp. 1-114.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Hom. pasch.*, 5, 1-2, PG 77, 472 B-477 D; *Hom. pasch.*, 6, 4-5, *ibid.*, 505 C-513 C; *Hom.* 9, 4, *ibid.*, 589 A ff.; *Hom.* 12, 365, *ibid.*, 680 B-689 C etc.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 68, 444 C ff; 73, 705 A ff., etc.

<sup>(7)</sup> J. FAIVRE, *art. cit.*, 319.

Socrates gives a graphic account of disturbances culminating in their expulsion from Alexandria <sup>(1)</sup>. These events happened in 414 <sup>(2)</sup>. Though the historical records mention no other disturbances involving the Jews, it is certain that they continued to cause Cyril annoyance, since he takes them to task rather frequently in his sermons <sup>(3)</sup>.

A third source of danger was the Arians, who counted many sympathizers at Alexandria at the end of the fourth century. Their spiritual head was Eunomius whose arguments were the pillars of Arianism for many years to come. Didymus <sup>(4)</sup> and Cyril <sup>(5)</sup> devote much attention to refuting this heresy. The last named continues to combat it even in the heat of the Nestorian controversy <sup>(6)</sup>. Such vigilance was prompted more by pastoral anxieties than by scientific interest in theological problems.

In the second half of the fourth century a community of Manicheans flourished at Alexandria <sup>(7)</sup>. St. Athanasius inveighs against a doctrine of theirs which denied the reality of the birth and human sufferings of Christ <sup>(8)</sup>. The sect eventually caused such grave concern that Serapion of Thmuis <sup>(9)</sup> and Didymus <sup>(10)</sup> were constrained to take up their pens against it. Although a form of Apolli-

<sup>(1)</sup> SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, 7, 13, PG 67, 760 D ff. M. SIMON considers this episode as the first specifically Christian manifestation of anti-Semitism (*Verus Israel...*, pp. 264 f.).

<sup>(2)</sup> J. FAIVRE, *art. cit.*, 324.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Hom. pasch.*, 1, 6, PC 77, 420 A ff.; *Hom. pasch.*, 4, 4-6, *ibid.*, 460 D-472 B; *Hom. pasch.*, 6, 6-12, *ibid.*, 513 D-533 D; *Hom. pasch.*, 20, 4, *ibid.*, 848 B ff.; *Hom. pasch.*, 21, 3, *ibid.*, 853 B ff.; *Hom. pasch.*, 22, 4, *ibid.*, 869 A ff.; *Hom. pasch.*, 25, 3, *ibid.*, 909 B ff.; *Hom. pasch.*, 29, 2, *ibid.*, 964 B ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *De Trinitate libri tres*, PG 39, 269-992.

<sup>(5)</sup> See pp. 15 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> E. WEIGL, *Christologie vom Tode des Athanasius bis zum Ausbruch des Nestorianischen Streites (373-429)* (*Münchener Studien zur historischen Theologie*, Heft 4, 1925, p. 94 f.).

<sup>(7)</sup> See CHARLES HENRY BEESON, *Hegemonius Acta Archelai*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 22, 5 f. and 93, 5 ff.; E. WEIGL, *op. cit.*, p. 94; *Historia Iau-siaca*, 54, PG 34, 1155 BC.

<sup>(8)</sup> E. WEIGL, *Untersuchungen zur Christologie des heiligen Athanasius*, Paderborn, 1914, p. 176, note 3.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Liber aduersus Manichaeos*, PG 40, 899-924.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Contra Manichaeos*, PG 39, 1085-1110.

narism was stigmatized by Peter II, St. Athanasius' immediate successor, an Apollinarist party of moderate views managed to prosper in Egypt <sup>(1)</sup>. Its undisturbed peace irritated St. Gregory of Nyssa, who, in concert with St. Gregory of Nazianzen, was at that time ardently combatting Apollinarism. He wrote to remind Theophilus that a different attitude was to be expected of Alexandria, which from the beginning of Christianity had been a real seat of wisdom <sup>(2)</sup>, and asked him to lend more active assistance <sup>(3)</sup>. Theophilus was in no great hurry to comply with the requests of the Bishop of Nyssa; towards the end of the century he took some half-hearted measures against the Egyptian party <sup>(4)</sup>; stronger measures were decreed in 401 <sup>(5)</sup>. Theophilus' tolerance was inspired partly by a feeling of deference to Apollinaris who lent the orthodox party such valiant assistance against the Arians, partly because he did not regard the leanings of the Egyptian Apollinarists as dangerous <sup>(6)</sup>. It is significant that Didymus never alludes to them. Cyril began to take notice of them only 'in 429 and in a letter to Eusebius the Presbyter he states that he never heard of the Apollinaristic notion of *συνοσίωσις* <sup>(7)</sup>.

The dissension between Theophilus and the anthropomorphists, which seems so fantastic in the report given by Socrates <sup>(8)</sup>, probably contains a kernel of truth: remonstrances were made to him by the monks for his failure to condemn Origen <sup>(9)</sup>. It was then that the Patriarch began to study the problem attentively: his condemnation of Origen was published in a letter of which St. Jerome made a Latin translation <sup>(10)</sup>. Of the condemned propositions many were dangerous follies which merited strong disapproval <sup>(11)</sup>. It was lamentable that this campaign, launched in an attempt to

<sup>(1)</sup> E. WEIGL, *Christologie vom Tode des Athanasius...*, p. 95.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 45, 1269 B.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1277 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 22, 792 (towards the beginning).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 795 (towards the middle).

<sup>(6)</sup> E. WEIGL, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 77, 289 C.

<sup>(8)</sup> SOCRATES, *Hist., ecol.*, 6, 7, PG 67, 684 A.

<sup>(9)</sup> E. WEIGL, *op. cit.*, p. 97; J. FAIVRE, *art. cit.*, 322.

<sup>(10)</sup> PL 22, 799 ff.

<sup>(11)</sup> E. WEIGL, *Christologie vom Tode des Athanasius...*, p. 97.

appease the monks but continued by Theophilus out of animosity <sup>(1)</sup>, should have led to the tragic exile of St. John Chrysostom. Echoes of this controversy are found in St. Cyril's writings <sup>(2)</sup>.

In 429 the news that a new heresy had been promulgated at Constantinople set monastic circles in Egypt all agog <sup>(3)</sup>. Invited to intervene by the monks, Cyril became one of the leading protagonists of a struggle that literally convulsed the Eastern Church. Polemical tracts and vigorous letters that bear eloquent witness to his zeal flowed in quick succession from his indefatigable pen <sup>(4)</sup>. It is unnecessary to recount the events that led to the Council of Ephesus (431) and its aftermath, since most manuals of Church History deal rather fully with them <sup>(5)</sup>. The "Act of Union" <sup>(6)</sup> which was rendered possible by Cyril's moderation <sup>(7)</sup> did not really achieve a perfect peace. That wounds remained unhealed during the whole of Cyril's lifetime is proved by the following letter, which expresses the relief that the news of his death in 444 brought the Antiochian party: "Behold at long last this wicked

(1) SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, 6, 7, PG, 685 C ff. See the severe judgement that ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM passes on Theophilus (*Ep. ad Symmachum*, PG 78, 285 A). See also G. FRITZ, art. *Origénisme* (*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 11, 1571-1574).

(2) PG 73, 132 ff. and 941 CD; 77, 373 A.

(3) *Epistula I ad monachos Aegypti*, PG 77, 9 A ff.; E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum I (Ephesinum)*, I, pp. 10-23. See also SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, 7, 32, PG 67, 808 C ff.

(4) A list of the polemical writings composed by Cyril during this controversy is given on p. 18. Of the 88 letters printed by Migne (PG 77, 9-390) only 69 were penned by Cyril. Deserving of special mention are: *Epistula* 4 (the second to Nestorius); *Epistula* 17 (third to Nestorius, a synodal encyclical containing the anathematisms); *Epistula* 39 (to John of Antioch, containing the formula of union of 433); *Epistula* 33 (to Acacius of Beroa); *Epistulae* 40-41 (Acacius of Melitene etc.). (See O. BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, vol. 4, 2nd. ed., p. 66-70).

(5) For a clear exposition see the relevant chapters written by G. BARDY in *Storia della Chiesa dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, pubblicata sotto la direzione di A. FLICHE e V. MARTIN, versione italiana diretta dal sac. dott. A. PIETRO FRUTAZ, vol. 4, pp. 153-206.

(6) This took place in 433; See *Epp.* 38 and 39 (PG 77, 169 D - 181 C) and G. BARDY, *Storia della Chiesa...*, 4, pp. 192-194.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 190 f.

man is dead... His demise brings joy to the living but must terrify the dead; there is danger that they will quickly tire of him and get rid of him. It is imperative to place a very heavy stone on his grave, so that he will not show himself to us again" <sup>(1)</sup>. This letter does not give fair treatment to the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was really a great bishop not only in his own see but in the Universal Church as well. Like all men he had defects: impulsiveness, nervousness and precipitation. It was wrong of him to have acted with such haste against Nestorius in the beginning and to have tried to force him to sign the anathematisms (which were intended to annoy the Eastern bishops); it was regrettable, too, that at Ephesus he convoked the assembly before the arrival of John of Antioch and his suite. Yet he had talents which flowered with experience and age. As the years rolled on, this dominator who was called the "Pharaoh of Egypt" gave more and more proofs of patience and tolerance <sup>(2)</sup>. Historians, who make an unbiassed study of his correspondence, are becoming more and more convinced that, in the Nestorian conflict, Cyril was not animated by a spirit of rivalry or by vaulting ambition to impose the theological system of Alexandria on others, but rather by a desire to preserve the deposit of faith pure and intact <sup>(3)</sup>. Passages in his letters to the Egyptian monks <sup>(4)</sup>, to Pope Celestine <sup>(5)</sup>, to John of Antioch <sup>(6)</sup> to the anonymous friend of Nestorius <sup>(7)</sup>, as well as to the heresiarch himself <sup>(8)</sup> show that St. Cyril's spirit of faith was ardent and that

<sup>(1)</sup> Quoted by L. DUCHESNE, *Storia della Chiesa Antica, prima traduzione italiana sull'ultima edizione francese riveduta ed approvata dall'autore*, vol. 3, p. 217. This letter is apocryphal; in the fifth session of the Fifth General Council it was cited as having been written by Theodoretus (MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 9, p. 295).

<sup>(2)</sup> H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité chez saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1944, p. 34.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 77, 13 B (= E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum...*, I, 1, 1, p. 11, 27 ff...).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 77, 80 BC (= E. SCHWARTZ, *ibid.*, I, 1, 5, p. 10).

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 77, 96 B (= E. SCHWARTZ, *ibid.*, I, 1, 1, p. 92).

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 77, 61 CD (= E. SCHWARTZ, *ibid.*, I, 1, I, p. 108).

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 77, 41 CD: "Have I the right to remain silent, since the faith has been so manifestly injured and since so many of the faithful have been led into error? Are not all of us responsible before the tribunal of Christ?"

his intentions were good. Moreover, they rested on a real foundation, because he was not the only bishop whom the tenets of Nestorianism had alarmed <sup>(1)</sup>. An extract from a letter penned by him in the early phases of the controversy throws light on an aspect of his character of which few are aware: "I love peace; there is nothing that I detest more than quarrels and disputes. I love everybody, and if I could heal one of the brethren by losing all my possessions and my goods, I am willing to do so joyfully; because it is concord that I value most... But there is question of the faith and of a scandal which concerns all the churches of the Roman Empire... The sacred doctrine is entrusted to us... How can we remedy these evils?... I am ready to endure with tranquillity all blame, all humiliations, all injuries provided that the faith is not endangered. I am filled with love for Nestorius; nobody loves him more than I do... If, in accordance with Christ's commandment, we must love our very enemies themselves, is it not natural that we should be united in special affection to those who are our friends and brethren in the priesthood? But, when the faith is attacked, we must not hesitate to sacrifice our life itself. And if we fear to preach the truth because that causes us some inconvenience, how, in our gatherings, can we chant the combats and triumphs of our holy martyrs, seeing that in the instance we praise them for having realized this word of *Ecclesiasticus* (4, 28): '*Combats for the sake of the truth unto death*' ?" <sup>(2)</sup>.

## § 2. — St. Cyril's upbringing and education

Our information concerning St. Cyril's upbringing and early education is quite meagre. Père Abel in the study contributed by him to *Kyrilliana* rejects as legendary the claim that Cyril was educated by John of Jerusalem <sup>(3)</sup>. The chronicle of John of Nikiu,

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Shall we not have to render account for an inopportune and inexcusable silence, we, precisely, whom Christ has appointed preachers of the word?... Be persuaded that I am prepared to endure chains, prison and other similar trials, nay! even death itself, for the faith of Christ » (= E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...*, I, 1, 1, p. 24); PG 77, 105 C (= E. SCHWARTZ, *ibid.*, I, 1, 1, pp. 33 ff.).

(1) H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme...* p. 34.

(2) PG 77, 61 B-64 A.

(3) F. M. ABEL, *Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans ses rapports avec la Palestine...*, pp. 207-213.



which recounts many interesting Egyptian traditions, mentions that Theophilus, Cyril's uncle, hailed from Memphis but emigrated to Alexandria accompanied by his sister. The latter married in due course and took up residence in the suburb of Theodosion (now belonging to the region of Mansoura); it was there that Cyril, destined to become "a sublime star", was born <sup>(1)</sup>. This lady seconded the enterprises of her ambitious brother but died rather young as the result of a surgical operation. Her death did not prevent Cyril from obtaining a good education at Alexandria; Theophilus, who had been elected Patriarch in 385, could easily have procured for him teachers of grammar <sup>(2)</sup>. A manuscript dating from the ninth and tenth centuries, kept at the library of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, claims that Cyril was born at Alexandria; he is depicted as a youth, "more illustrious for his virtue than for his birth, who completed a full course of Greek and Latin letters before undertaking the study of the divine doctrines" <sup>(3)</sup>. According to Père Abel these last words sum up the twofold stage of liberal and clerical studies that Cyril passed through in boyhood and early youth <sup>(4)</sup>. More than once Cyril tells us that he was not well versed in the elegances of Attic Greek <sup>(5)</sup>. Unquestionably he is not a polished writer; to form and to the art of composition he does not seem to pay much attention. Padre Vaccari, however, has shown

<sup>(1)</sup> The chronicle was probably composed in Coptic but is available in an Ethiopic version originally published by Zotenberg. See R. H. CHARLES, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic text*, London 1916, pp. 75 ff. John of Nikiu says that Cyril was born in Dîdûsja. Concerning this locality H. MUNIER remarks: "Danûsa est actuellement le nom d'un village de Mehallet el-Borg, situé au nord de Mehallet el-Kobra dont il n'est séparé que par un demi-kilomètre. Entre les deux pays se trouve le kom el-Wâqu'a... ayant jadis été un des quartiers principaux de Mehallet el-Kobra, mais qui fut détruit durante l'expédition de Bonaparte". (*Le lieu de la naissance de saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, in *Kyrilliana*, pp. 199 ff.). The point of view to which we rally is that of F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>(2)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>(3)</sup> The relevant passage, published by the Archimandrite HIPPOLYTUS in the review *Nea Sion* reads thus: Ἰκτο δὲ καὶ διὰ πάσης παιδείας ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ῥωμαικῆς καὶ θεῖος ἐνθρόνιστο δόγμασιν (vol. 17 (1922) p. 593).

<sup>(4)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 77, 429 AB; 748 BC.

that Cyril's Greek deserves more appreciation than is frequently given it <sup>(1)</sup>. It is significant too that the bishops of the East thought so highly of his homilies that they memorized them with a view to delivering them publicly to their own flocks <sup>(2)</sup>.

Cyril's writings attest that he was rather well acquainted with the classics. In *Contra Iulianum* he frequently invokes Aristotle, Plato, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Porphyry, Hermes, Plotinus, Pythagoras, Xenophon, Plutarch, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus and others in order to refute Julian's objections against the gospel and Christianity <sup>(3)</sup>. It is probable that these allusions were borrowed by him from second-hand sources; notwithstanding, they prove that he was anything but a total stranger to the humanities.

After completing his liberal studies, Cyril in all probability was initiated by Theophilus, his uncle, in Scripture and theology. It is not quite certain if the energetic Patriarch kept open the famous *Διδασκαλεῖον* which had begun to languish at the death of Didymus <sup>(4)</sup>. Rufinus boasts of his being the disciple of Theophilus <sup>(5)</sup> who seems to have been well versed in scriptural lore;

<sup>(1)</sup> A. VACCARI, *La grecità di s. Cirillo d'Alessandria*, in *Studi dedicati alla memoria di P. Ubaldi*, Milano, 1937, pp. 27-40.

<sup>(2)</sup> In his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis liber* GENNADIUS MASSILIENSIS remarks: Cyrillus, Alexandrinae Ecclesiae episcopus, edidit variarum hypotheseon tractatus. Homilias etiam composuit plurimas, quae ad declamandum a Graeciae episcopis memoriae commendantur... (PL 58, 1091 A).

<sup>(3)</sup> See H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité...*, Note B. *Citations d'auteurs profanes dans le « Contra Iulianum »* pp. 448-453; M. J. LAGRANGE, *L'Hérémisme (suite)*, IV. *Citations de saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (*Revue biblique*, 34 (1925), pp. 388-396). R. ARNOU, *La séparation par simple altérité dans la Trinité plotinienne à propos d'un text de St. Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (*Contra Iulianum*, lib. VIII, MG 76, 920 CD) in *Gregorianum* 11 (1930), pp. 181-193.

<sup>(4)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans ses rapports...*, p. 211; G. BARDY, *Pour l'histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie* (*Vivre et penser*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, 1942, pp. 80-109); this writer barely admits the possibility of Didymus's being director of the catechetical school (p. 109).

<sup>(5)</sup> In his *Apologia adversus libros Rufini* ST. JEROME censures Rufinus as follows: Et gloriaris te ab adolescentia Theophili fuisse auditorem et discipulum: cum et ille ante quam episcopus fieret, pro humilitate sibi insita numquam docuerit, et tu postquam hic episcopus factus est, Alexandriae non fueris (PL 23, 470 C). With regard to this reproof Père Abel re-

the Chains have preserved specimens of his exegesis on *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Kings*, *Psalms*, *Job* and *Jeremias* <sup>(1)</sup>. The influence that Theophilus exercised on his nephew's intellectual formation must have been considerable, although it is difficult to assess in what exactly it consisted <sup>(2)</sup>. In his history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Severus, Bishop of el-Eshmounein notes that Theophilus sent Cyril to the desert of Nitria where he devoted five years to the study of the Old and New Testaments <sup>(3)</sup>. According to Severus, Cyril had Macarius and Serapion of Thmuis as his masters <sup>(4)</sup>. Père Abel is of opinion that from the point of view of chronology this is impossible; disciples of Macarius and Serapion, however, could readily have introduced Cyril to their doctrines <sup>(5)</sup>. He was on very friendly terms with St. Isidore of Pelusium, a leading exponent of Egyptian cenobitism, who was deeply interested as well in problems of exegesis <sup>(6)</sup>. The counsels and reprimands given by Isidore to Cyril render highly probable the supposition that the latter was for a period a monk either in the monastery of Pelusium or some neighbouring establishment <sup>(7)</sup>.

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marks: "Nous nous permettons de récuser cette affirmation et le motif qui en est donné" (*Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans ses rapports...*, p. 211, note 13).

(1) For information concerning the literary activity of Theophilus see M. RICHARD, *Les écrits de Théophile d'Alexandrie*, in *Muséon*, 52 (1939), pp. 33-50. The same writer had previously published 22 fragments of Theophilus's exegetical works (*Revue biblique*, 47 (1938), pp. 287 ff.).

(2) H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité...*, p. 24 ff. St Cyril explicitly refers to Theophilus in his 16th. Easter Encyclical (M. RICHARD, *Les écrits...*, p. 36).

(3) *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria. Arabic text (Xe l.), translation in English by B. EVETTS in Patrologia Orientalis*, I, p. 427.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 427 f.

(5) *Art. cit.*, p. 212, note 14.

(6) Four, at least, of Isidore's letters to Cyril are preserved in the collection contained in Migne (PG 78, 361 C; 369, B; 370 C; 392 CD). See also R. AIGRAIN, *Quarante-neuf lettres de s. Isidore de Péluse*, Paris, 1911. The severe tone that Isidore adopts towards Cyril in letters 310 and 370 (PG 78, 361 C and 392 CD) insinuates that special intimacy existed between them in virtue of which the Abbot could administer a sharp reproof to one, who, as successor of St Mark, was his ecclesiastical superior.

(7) SEVERUS explicitly says that Cyril spent five years in the monasteries of the desert (*Patrologia Orientalis* I, p. 427). H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE,

The history of Severus narrates: "After this, the Patriarch Theophilus sent to him and brought him back to Alexandria, and there Cyril dwelt with the Patriarch in his cell, and read aloud in his presence, and the priests and learned men and philosophers were astonished at him, and rejoiced over him on account of the beauty of his form and the sweetness of his voice which never changed, as it is written: '*I opened my mouth and drew in my breath*'. And all the people, when they heard him read, desired that he might never cease reading, because he read so sweetly and was so beautiful in countenance. And his uncle Theophilus loved him greatly, and thanked God that he had granted him a spiritual son who had grown in grace and wisdom. Cyril's conduct was excellent, and his humility great; and he never ceased to study theology, nor to meditate upon the words of the doctors of the orthodox Church, Athanasius and Dionysius and Clement, Patriarch of Rome, and Eusebius, and Basil, Bishop of Armenia and Basil, Bishop of Cappadocia. These are the orthodox fathers whose works he read. And he would not follow the doctrine of Origen, nor even take his books into his hand for a single day; but when he heard that one of the faithful had read Origen, he condemned and excommunicated him who had so read. When Cyril read in the gospel the words: '*Ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find*', he understood these words, and prayed to God for knowledge, and God gave it him. For he was like the bee, which goes forth to feed upon every plant and tree and collects what is profitable for itself, until it has filled its bag with pure untainted honey" (1).

A critical analysis of Cyril's writings partially corroborates the point of view of the old chronicler: our author's principal sources were ecclesiastical writers (2). It would seem that his opposition to Origen was less intransigent than Severus would have us think; Cyril disagreed with Origen in the instances where he altered

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infers from the tone of Isidore's letters to Cyril that the latter was a monk at Pelusium (*Dogme et spiritualité*... p. 24).

(1) *Patrologia Orientalis*, I, pp. 428 f.

(2) See H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité*..., Note C'. *L'argumentation patristique dans la controverse nestorienne*, pp. 454-490.

the doctrines of the Church in endeavouring to accommodate them to Neoplatonism<sup>(1)</sup>; it is generally admitted that he aimed at diffusing Origen's knowledge, purified, however, of its tares<sup>(2)</sup>. We must not forget that, though Cyril chiefly interested himself in theological problems dealing with the Incarnation and Grace, the solutions proposed by him are sometimes formulated in terms of principles which show that he depended on one or other system of philosophy. Scholars in turn have identified this system with Platonism<sup>(3)</sup>, Aristotelianism<sup>(4)</sup>, and Stoicism<sup>(5)</sup>. The problem of the philosophic influences to which our author was subject is one that still awaits attentive examination<sup>(6)</sup>.

### § 3. — *St. Cyril's writings. Some problems of chronology*

St. Cyril's contribution to Patristic literature is one of the most considerable of the Eastern Fathers. It has been claimed that the Nestorian controversy divides his activity into two periods: the first period extending to 428 is devoted to exegesis and theology, the second period ending with his death is dedicated almost exclusively to controversy<sup>(7)</sup>. On a fresh examination of the evidence, G. Jouassard divides the first period into two sub-periods:

(1) "Whom our Fathers rejected and anathematized as a betrayer of the truth, because he did not think as a Christian, but he fell into error by following the ineptitudes of the Greeks". (Fragment of Cyril's letter to the monks of Phua, PG 77, 373 A).

(2) "Et c'est un fait que Cyrille s'emploiera à diffuser la science d'Origène purifiée de ses scories..." (H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *op. cit.*, p. 39).

(3) F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1887, p. 48; A. EHRHARD in *Literarische Handweiser*, 1896, p. 1 ff.; A. HARNACK, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 4th. ed., 1909, vol. 2, p. 167. H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE gives a short criticism of this opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 317).

(4) This opinion is sponsored by E. WEIGL (*Die Heilslehre des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien*, Mayence, 1905, pp. 68 ff.) but criticized by L. JANSSENS in *Notre filiation divine d'après saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie (Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 15 (1938), pp. 271 ff.). See H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *op. cit.*, p. 318 for a summary of L. Janssens' arguments.

(5) This line of research is suggested by H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

(6) We have been unable to consult J. N. HEBENSPERGER, *Die Denkwelt des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien. Eine Analyse ihres philosophischen Ertrags*, Munchen, 1924.

(7) H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité...*, p. 26.

one devoted to the composition of doctrinal syntheses based on Scripture followed by another during which, owing to polemics with Arianism, he engaged in controversy <sup>(1)</sup>. Four different sets of works were produced by Cyril previous to 429:

1. THE FIRST SET: *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* and *Glaphyra*. These are complementary writings and were published in the order just indicated. Actually the first announces the publication of the second <sup>(2)</sup> and the second refers us to the first <sup>(3)</sup>. Cyril must have devoted considerable time to the redaction of both of them <sup>(4)</sup>. Jouassard suggests 412 as their *terminus a quo*. He argues that on account of Theophilus's susceptibilities Cyril would hardly have risked his uncle's displeasure by publishing anything important during the latter's lifetime. Moreover, the tone adopted by Cyril in *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* indicates that he was then an important personage, if not already Bishop of Alexandria <sup>(5)</sup>. However, the text of Severus already quoted <sup>(6)</sup> inclines us to think that Theophilus would have been much elated by such palpable proof of his nephew's ability. The self-importance revealed by the dialogue of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* is sufficiently explained by Cyril's awareness of being the nephew of the reigning Patriarch.

2. THE SECOND SET: the commentaries on the *Minor Prophets* <sup>(7)</sup> and *Isaias* <sup>(8)</sup>. The order followed by the printed editions of Cy-

<sup>(1)</sup> G. JOUASSARD, *L'activité littéraire de saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie jusqu'à 428. Essai de chronologie et de synthèse* (Mélanges E. Pöschard, Faculté de théologie de Lyon, 1945, pp. 159-174).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 512 D; 605 B; 625 D. «Le *De adoratione* est un exposé de morale générale, exposé à base dogmatique mais présenté dans le cadre d'une explication spirituelle du culte mosaïque» (G. JOUASSARD, *art. cit.*, p. 161, note 2).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 16 B; 537 and 538 D. See also 13 B, 385 B-388 B. «Les *Glaphyra* commentent par manière de morceaux choisis différents passages du Pentateuque que Cyrille avait laissés de côté en rédigeant l'ouvrage précédent» (G. JOUASSARD, *art. cit.*, p. 161, note 3).

<sup>(4)</sup> G. JOUASSARD, *art. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> See pp. 11 f.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 71 and 72, 9-364; in this dissertation we constantly quote the critical edition of this commentary, *Sancti Patris Nostri Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini in XII Prophetas, post Pontanum et Aubertum edidit PHILIPPUS EDUARDUS PUSEY*, A. M., 2 vols., Oxford, 1868.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 70, 10-1449.

ril's works corresponds to that of the Latin Bible. Jouassard suggests that, following the order of the Alexandrian Bible <sup>(1)</sup> and in obedience to Eastern usage <sup>(2)</sup>, Cyril first wrote his commentary on the *Minor Prophets* and afterwards that on *Isaias* <sup>(3)</sup>. The preface to *Osee* can be construed as a kind of general prologue announcing his intention of writing a commentary on all the prophets <sup>(4)</sup>. Both of these works must have taken considerable time to compose, all the more so since Cyril expressly says that he diligently examined the works of his predecessors, which, even in his time, constituted a goodly number <sup>(5)</sup>. Jouassard remarks that a task of such magnitude could scarcely have been performed at the same time that he was composing *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* and *Gla-phyra* <sup>(6)</sup>. The commentaries on the *Minor Prophets* and *Isaias* are therefore subsequent to these works. This conclusion is confirmed by a passage of the commentary on *Maluchy* in which Cyril refers us to his previous works <sup>(7)</sup>; in the instance these seem to be the fifteenth and eleventh books of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* <sup>(8)</sup>.

Did Cyril write other commentaries on other books of the Old Testament at this date? Ephrem of Antioch <sup>(9)</sup> and the *Doctrina Patrum* <sup>(10)</sup> imply that Cyril wrote a commentary on the *Psalms*. The fragments published by Mai contain many passages that are unauthentic <sup>(11)</sup>. Although it is now certain that Cyril's work on

<sup>(1)</sup> *L'activité littéraire...*, p. 162, note 4.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163, note 1. JOUASSARD refers us to A. RAHLFS, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, Mitteilungen der Septuaginta-Unternehmens*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1914, p. XIX and A. LOISY, *Histoire critique du texte et des versions de l'Ancien Testament*, Amiens, 1892, p. 56.

<sup>(3)</sup> In the course of our examination of the commentary on *Isaias* and that on the *Minor Prophets* we have discovered no literary allusions which might enable us to decide which of these is the older.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Commentary on Osee*, PUSEY I, pp. 1-7.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 8 A f; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, l, 7 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 558, 10 ff. and 573, 9 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 68, 948 C ff. and 756 B.

<sup>(9)</sup> According to PHOTIUS (PG 103, 989 C).

<sup>(10)</sup> F. DIEKAMP's edition, Münster, 1907, p. 186.

<sup>(11)</sup> « Le premier, le cardinal A. MAI, *Nov. Patr. bibl.*, t. III, 1845, p. 139-343 a réuni ensemble des fragments de Cyrille tirés de divers manuscrits

the *Psalms* was a complete commentary in the proper sense of the word <sup>(1)</sup>, there is no proof to show that it was written in this rather than in a later period. To solve that problem one should first dispose of a sufficient number of suitable authentic fragments <sup>(2)</sup>. In an Armenian manuscript of the Bodleian Library there are extracts from a commentary on *Ezekiel* purporting to be Cyril's <sup>(3)</sup>. From the description given of the manuscript some of the extracts seem to correspond to fragments published by Migne <sup>(4)</sup>. Before pronouncing on the authenticity of these fragments, one should examine carefully all the materials furnished by the manuscript; the problem of their date is subordinate to that of their authenticity.

3. THE THIRD SET: the *Thesaurus* <sup>(5)</sup>, Περὶ τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος <sup>(6)</sup>, and the commentary on *St. John* <sup>(7)</sup>. According to Jouassard these

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du Vatican; ce sont les mêmes mss. qui fournirent les extraits de Didyme dont il a été question ci-dessus, col. 1125; l'éditeur y adjoignit quelques extraits de la chaîne de Nicéas (Pal. gr. 247) et deux fragments sur les psaumes XIX et XXVII donnés par la chaîne de Ghisler (1, 59) sur Jérémie. Il suffisait au cardinal de trouver le sigle de Cyrille pour aussitôt en conclure la découverte d'un nouveau fragment qu'il faisait imprimer. Certains des extraits qui entrèrent dans cette collection de scolies cyrilliennes aux Psaumes erraient déjà dans les morceaux attribués à Origène par Gallandi (voir ci-dessus) col. 1121. Aux extraits publiés par Mai, les éditeurs de la *Patrologie* (t. LXIX, col. 717-1274) ont ajouté entre crochets les fragments que donne Cordier. Tout ce fracas, même quand le texte est emprunté à la meilleure tradition des chaînes, demande examen et attention avant qu'on s'en serve. La majorité des morceaux consiste souvent en des résumés qu'il est parfois possible de remplacer par des originaux à partir desquels ils ont été diminués; d'autres fragments sont inauthentiques et reviennent à d'autres exégètes » (R. DEVREESSE, *Chaînes exégétiques grecques, Psaumes et cantiques* in *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, 1, 1134).

<sup>(1)</sup> See G. MERCATI, *Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio di Origene; Ippolito, Eusebio, Cirillo Alessandrino e altri con frammenti inediti*, Città del Vaticano, 1948, pp. 127-144.

<sup>(2)</sup> G. JOUASSARD, *L'activité littéraire...*, p. 164, note.

<sup>(3)</sup> This manuscript is described by S. BARONIAN and F. C. CONYBEARE, in *Catalogi codd. mss. bibliothecae Bodleianae*, pars XIV, Oxford, 1918, p. 164.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG. 70, 1458-1459.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 75, 9-654.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 75, 658-1124.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 73 and 74, 9-756; PUSEY's edition, 3 vols, Oxford, 1872. According to JOUASSARD the fragments of PG 74, 9-104 must be subjected to rigo-



works form a single series, since the same spirit of opposition to Arianism permeates them<sup>(1)</sup>. He discovers in the letter Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί<sup>(2)</sup> a reference to Περὶ τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος; this permits him to assign the composition of the latter and the *Thesaurus* (which preceded it) to a period previous to the death of Atticus of Constantinople (October 425)<sup>(3)</sup>. The commentary on *St. John* was begun in 425 but not completed until 428; the passages that inveigh against those who divide Christ<sup>(4)</sup> do not necessarily envisage Nestorius; Jouassard suggests that Cyril had Eustathius of Antioch in mind; yet he admits that the last two passages may have been penned by Cyril shortly after he had heard of the outbreak of heresy at Constantinople<sup>(5)</sup>.

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rous control; the same fragments are published by PUSEY in vol II, pp. 243-334 and should be handled cautiously. PUSEY's text of the other books of the commentary deserves confidence; he revised it according to the manuscripts. A critical edition of fragments of this work of Cyril has been promised us (see J. REUSS, *Matthäus-Markus-und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*. Munster, 1941, pp. 253 ff.).

(<sup>1</sup>) *L'activité littéraire...*, p. 165.

(<sup>2</sup>) PG 77, 41 (= E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 1, p. 24, 29-25, 3).

(<sup>3</sup>) This Atticus was one of the predecessors of Nestorius in the see of Constantinople.

(<sup>4</sup>) PG 73, 601 A ff., 629 BC, 1009 C ff.; 74, 152 B ff., 157 A, 180 D ff., 300 BC, 344 B, 737 B ff.

(<sup>5</sup>) *Art. cit.*, p. 172.

JOUASSARD informs us that J. LEBON (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 22 (1926), p. 90) holds that the commentary on *St. John* is the oldest of Cyril's exegetical works. He would like to know Mgr. Lebon's reasons for thinking so but holds that they would not counterbalance the arguments championed by him. He adds: «Cyrille en tout cas, dans ce passage de la préface que nous alléguons à l'instant ne prétend point qu'il inaugure ici son métier d'exégète; il veut dire simplement qu'il inaugure un procédé nouveau pour pratiquer l'exégèse, ce qui est parfaitement exact; il va étudier désormais l'écriture pour faire tourner celle-ci à la confusion des hérétiques qui voudraient en abuser» (*art. cit.*, p. 170, note). The passage referred to is PG 73, 12. Some of Jouassard's views have been recently rejected by N. CHARLIER: «De notre discussion avec M. Jouassard sur la date de composition du *Thesaurus*, il semble ressortir que cet ouvrage est le premier grand écrit de Cyrille, de même que le *Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon S. Jean* est sa première œuvre exégétique. Il faudrait donc en fixer la date de rédaction au début de sa carrière épiscopale» (*Le «Thesaurus de Trinitate» de saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 45 (1950), pp. 25-81).

4. THE FOURTH SET: the Easter encyclicals (414-428) <sup>(1)</sup>. Jouassard remarks that at the moment these letters do not give rise to any particular chronological problem. It is significant that in the letters of the earlier period of his episcopate Cyril betrays no anxiety in regard to heresy <sup>(2)</sup>. The first signs of preoccupation in this respect appear in the Easter encyclical of 424 <sup>(3)</sup>. Jouassard draws attention to the fact that *Περὶ τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος* (which, as has been noted, was preceded by the *Thesaurus*) was completed about 425; he surmises that Cyril spent one or even two years at both writings; accordingly it was about 423 that the Patriarch became preoccupied with the problem of the Trinity; during the course of the same year he was probably thinking already of the subjects to be treated by him in the Easter letter of 424. "When he was writing the letter, he could have been fully engaged in the redaction of his anti-Arian tracts. The correspondence is remarkable; it is difficult to think that it is due to pure chance" <sup>(4)</sup>.

The year 423, therefore, marks a turning point in Cyril's literary career. Previously he cultivated theology and exegesis for the sake of the satisfaction that he thereby gave his readers and himself. He now devotes himself to polemics against Arianism. Jouassard admits that the reason of this change of orientation is a mystery <sup>(5)</sup>. Perhaps it is not far-fetched to suggest that the embers of heresy which continued to smoulder after the death of St. Athanasius <sup>(6)</sup> burst suddenly into flames about that time. Broadly speaking, therefore, Jouassard's views on the chronology of St. Cyril's writings can be accepted as a working hypothesis. But we should like to draw attention to the fact that doctrinal preoccupations are not absent from the works that Jouassard assigns to the first sub-period: in all his exegetical commentaries Cyril makes

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 77, 391 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> JOUASSARD, *L'activité littéraire...*, 168.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Hom. pasch.*, 12, 3-6, PG 77, 681 B-692 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> JOUASSARD, *art. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>(5)</sup> « Reconnaissons en définitive qu'il y a un mystère quant au pourquoi de l'activité nouvelle déployée par Cyrille. Pour ce qui est du fait lui-même de cette activité, il est patent » (*art. cit.*, p. 169).

<sup>(6)</sup> See p. 3.

several generic references to heresy <sup>(1)</sup>; once at least in *Glaphyra* Cyril insists on the fact that Christ is one <sup>(2)</sup>; once at least in the commentary on the *Minor Prophets* he takes the Arians to task <sup>(3)</sup>.

The polemical skill shown by St. Cyril in the works composed by him from 423 onwards served him in good stead while he fought on behalf of orthodoxy against Nestorius. Between 430 and 432 his literary activity was stupendous; brochures, pamphlets and tracts were written by him in quick succession: *Adversus Nestorii blasphemias contradictionum libri quinque* <sup>(4)</sup>; *De recta fide ad Theodosium Imperatorem* <sup>(5)</sup>; the expositions addressed to Arcadia and Marina, sisters of the Emperor <sup>(6)</sup>, and to the Empress Eudoxia <sup>(7)</sup>; *Apologeticus ad Theodosium* <sup>(8)</sup>; the twelve anathematisms against Nestorius <sup>(9)</sup>; *Explicatio duodecim capitum* <sup>(10)</sup>; *Apologeticus pro duodecim capitibus adversus Orientales Episcopos* <sup>(11)</sup>; *Apologeticus contra Theodoretum* <sup>(12)</sup>; *Epistula ad Euoptium* <sup>(13)</sup>. These are the most important of his doctrinal works. To them should be added several letters and sermons, especially the six homilies which are thought to have been delivered by Cyril at Ephesus <sup>(14)</sup>. During the Nesto-

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 387 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 360 BC.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 191, 5 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 6, pp. 13-106; PG 76, 9-248.

<sup>(5)</sup> E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 1, pp. 42 ff. PUSEY has published an edition with a Syriac translation by Rabbulas of Edessa (PUSEY, pp. 1-10, 12-152); PG 76, 1133-1200.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 76, 1201-1336; PUSEY, pp. 154-263; E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 5, pp. 62-118.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 76, 1336-1420; PUSEY, pp. 263-334; E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 5, 26-61.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 76, 453-488; PUSEY, pp. 425-456; E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 3, 75 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 77, 120-121.

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 76, 293-312; PUSEY, pp. 240-260; E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 5, 13.

<sup>(11)</sup> PG 76, 316-386; PUSEY, pp. 260-382; E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 7, 33.

<sup>(12)</sup> PG 76, 389-452; PUSEY, pp. 388-498; E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 6, 107.

<sup>(13)</sup> PG 76, 385-388; PUSEY, pp. 384-388.

<sup>(14)</sup> E. SCHARTZ, *Acta...* I, 1, 2, 92 ff.; I, 1, 4, 14 ff.; I, 1, 7, 173. See H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité...*, p. 58.

rian controversy the Patriarch composed at least one other exegetical work, namely, the *Homilies on St. Luke* <sup>(1)</sup>; A. Ruecker has discovered in them some passages which envisage Nestorianism <sup>(2)</sup> and at least one allusion to the anathematisms <sup>(3)</sup>. A critical edition of fragments of Cyril's commentary on *St. Matthew* will be published shortly <sup>(4)</sup>; it is premature to pronounce on the probable date of composition of this commentary.

St. Cyril's writings show that he was a born theologian who meditated deeply on revealed truths and scrutinized them with the help of reason. "It is possible that he surpasses all the other Oriental Fathers by his perspicacity; while in the West only Augustine perhaps is greater. Nevertheless, the imperfection of his theological terminology must be recognized; and the very fact of this imprecision betrays a defect in his philosophy. It should be remembered, however, that for him the latter took second place, since he went for his teaching to tradition rather than to reason. It may even be said that these defects had compensating advantages: they led Cyril to use so concrete a style that they left no opening to Nestorian casuistry" <sup>(5)</sup>. The themes that Cyril prefers are doctrines relating to Christ's person and to sanctifying grace. Though he never composed a devotional work, his piety transpires through his writings; and his love of God, of Christ, of the Virgin and of the Church expands in the midst of the most abstract argumentations. His spiritual life is so intense that it imparts fervour and enthusiasm to the most subtle reasonings. All the nuances of

(1) *S. Cyrilli Alexandriae archiepiscopi commentarii in Lucae evangelium quae supersunt syriace, e manuscriptis apud Museum Britannicum edidit, R. PAYNE SMITH, Oxonii, 1858; W. WRIGHT, Fragments of the Homilies of Cyril of Alexandria on the Gospel of S. Luke, edited from a Nitrian ms., London, 1874; R. PAYNE SMITH, A Commentary upon the Gospel according to St. Luke by St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, Oxford, 2 vols., 1859.*

(2) A. RUECKER, *Die Lukas-Homilien des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese*, Breslau, 1911, pp. 56, 59.

(3) *Hom.* 63 (Syriac edition p. 132; English edition, p. 290).

(4) J. REUSS, *Matthäus-Markus-und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Munster, 1941, pp. 49 ff.

(5) F. CAYRÉ, *Manual of Patrology and History of Theology*, vol. 2, p. 33 (English translation by H. HOWITT).

his thought are intimately associated with the experiences of his daily life. Even in his early exegetical works the divine Redeemer was the centre of his thought; that is why he was so well prepared to defend the traditional doctrine. "It was not in the controversies that he learnt of Christ; rather it was his deep knowledge of the Saviour that drew him into these doctrinal struggles, in which the very reality of the Incarnation was at stake" (1). From Cyril's Christology one must not separate his doctrine on the Eucharist, the vivifying flesh by means of which the communicant becomes united directly and physically with the Word of God. Cyril likes to describe the marvels of the life of Christ in the soul by relating it to the substantial holiness, of which it is a participation, and by stressing the reality of the indwelling of the Trinity in the soul. This manner of considering the Christian life is in continuity with that of St. John, St. Paul (2) and of Tradition. Cyril gives a new presentation of this doctrinal inheritance. "He repeats it in his own way by leaving a personal impress on it. He compared and welded into a system data, which, before him, had remained too scattered; he, better than anybody previously, connected the whole of it with the dogma of the Trinity and with Christology. At the same time the ardour of his piety inspired him to express his faith by means of formulae, the like of which had not been equalled in either audacity or truth in writings earlier than his" (3).

Hitherto we have prescind from the principal source of Cyril's thought: sacred Scripture. The numerous quotations, the frequent reminiscences, his very style, show the extent to which he reflected on and relished Holy Writ. Perhaps the recommendations given by St. Athanasius in *De Virginitate* and the *Epistula ad Marcellinum* had affected him? (4). Isidore of Pelusium,

(1) H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité...*, p. 27 f. This author quotes F. CAYRÉ (*Manual...*, English translation, p. 21).

(2) H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité...*, *Sources scripturaires de la spiritualité cyrillienne*, pp. 375-392.

(3) J. MAHÉ, *La sanctification d'après saint Cyrille* (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 10 (1909) p. 31).

(4) H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE refers us to *De virginitate*, 12; *Ep. ad Marcellinum*, 1, 2; 2-9; 10; 11-12; 13-14; 27-29 (*Dogme et spiritualité...*, p. 19).

whose intimacy with Cyril we have spoken of already, remarks: "Regard the reading of the holy Scriptures as the viaticum of salvation; its illustrious examples stimulate the uprightness and manliness of those who hear them diligently" <sup>(1)</sup>. The profit which Cyril derived from reading them was considerable. He tells us: "For I do not think that anything has been put in vain in the writings of the saints, but what a man deems small, he sometimes finds teeming with no contemptible profit" <sup>(2)</sup>. In *Contra Iulianum* Cyril explains why he prefers the Scriptures to the writings of the Greeks: "Because the beauty of the truth flashes in them and the knowledge of dogmatic accuracy is accumulated in them and they contain every kind of good counsel by which one can become virtuous and illustrious quickly and easily on account of the glory arising from doing good" <sup>(3)</sup>. In disputes one should not fail to invoke the authority of Scripture <sup>(4)</sup>.

Concluding his analysis of the scriptural sources of St. Cyril's spiritual doctrine H. du Manoir de Juaye remarks: "The 'inspired' books were the real sources of his 'inspiration'. It was the selfsame person, who in the past had directed the hand of the sacred writers, that animated Cyril in his quest (practical and theoretical at one and the same time) of the ways of perfection and in his ascent to the high places, where the Spirit breathes always as he did then" <sup>(5)</sup>. St. Cyril's thought was strongly influenced by the Old Testament. To it he consecrated most of his exegetical works; in his other writings he repeatedly quotes its precepts, counsels, prayers and examples to illustrate his doctrines. In the chapters of this thesis we shall examine at some length the principles that guided St. Cyril's interpretation of the Old Testament. Perhaps we may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of his activities that are less known than those which establish his reputation as a great theologian.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 78, 516 D.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 73, 321 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 76, 858 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> "...Let us consider this too from the divine Scriptures, whence, I think, one ought zealously to look for proof on every disputed point" (PG 73, 309 C).

<sup>(5)</sup> H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité...*, p. 392.

P A R T I

FUNDAMENTAL NOTIONS: THE LITERAL AND  
SPIRITUAL SENSES OF SACRED SCRIPTURE  
IN THE SYSTEM OF ST. CYRIL

*Preliminary article: The senses of Scripture known to early Christian tradition*

If any terminology deserves to be styled somewhat complicated, it is certainly that dealing with the various senses of sacred Scripture. Recently the problem has been discussed with much competence particularly in regard to the spiritual sense <sup>(1)</sup>. Although the debate as yet is anything but closed, it is patent that the pleas made for a simpler and more consistent terminology are being greeted with more and more favour. The trend of opinion tends to recognize but two senses of Scripture, namely, the literal and

(1) P. CHEMINANT, *Précis d'introduction à la lecture et à l'étude des saintes Écritures*, Paris, 1930, vol. 2, pp. 216-220, 226-228; C. POUGET et J. GUITTON, *Le cantique des cantiques (Études bibliques)*, Paris, 1934, pp. 120-121, 123 f.; D. BUZY, *Un problème d'herméneutique sacrée: sens plural, plénier et mystique* (*L'année théologique*, 5 (1944), pp. 385-408); J. GRIBOMONT, *Le lien des deux testaments selon la théologie de s. Thomas, notes sur le sens spirituel et implicite des s. Écritures* (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 22 (1946), pp. 70-89); J. DANIGLOU, *Traversée de la mer Rouge et baptême aux premiers siècles* (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 33 (1946), pp. 416 ff.); IDEM, *La typologie d'Isaac dans le christianisme primitif* (*Biblica*, 28 (1947), pp. 363-394); IDEM, *Revue des revues I, Autour de l'exégèse spirituelle* (*Dieu Vivant*, 8, pp. 123-126); IDEM, *L'unité des deux Testaments dans l'œuvre d'Origène* (*Revue des sciences religieuses*, 22 (1948), pp. 27-56); IDEM, *Les divers sens de l'Écriture dans la tradition chrétienne primitive* (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 24 (1948), pp. 119-126); R. KEHOE, *The Spiritual Sense of Scripture* (*Blackfriars*, Oxford, 27 (1946), pp. 246-251); L. BOUYER, *Liturgie et exégèse spirituelle* (*La Maison-Dieu*, 7 (1946), pp. 27-50); H. DE LUBAC, « Typologie » et « Alégorisme » (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), pp. 180-226); A. M. DUBARLE, *Le sens spirituel de l'Écriture* (*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 31 (1947), pp. 41-72); E. AMANN, art. *Type*, (*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 15, 1935-1945, especially 1944 f.); C. SPICQ, *Bulletin de théologie biblique. B. Nouveau Testament*, (*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 32 (1948), pp. 87-93); J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux Testaments. Essai sur les divers sens des Écritures et sur l'unité de la Révélation*, Tournai, 1949; L. CERFAUX-J. COPPENS-J. GRIBOMONT, *Problèmes d'exégèse théologique* (*Analecta Lovaniensia biblica et orientalia*, ser. 2, fasc. 16, Louvain, 1950). The bibliography prepared by Professor Coppens in the last mentioned works is practically exhaustive.



the spiritual; as a designation of the latter, modern writers, who deal with problems of biblical hermeneutics, seem to prefer the expression "typological sense". Worthy of note, too, is their insistence on the fact that the so called "allegorical sense" is not a sense of Scripture but is rather a literary artifice to which an exegete has recourse with a view to developing his personal ideas <sup>(1)</sup>. At the same time students of the history of exegesis are reminded that the sense now commonly styled "typological" is given the name of "allegory" in scriptural and traditional usage; accordingly by ostracizing the expression "allegory" modern writers offend this usage <sup>(2)</sup>.

Taking his stand on a study of the writings of Christian authors of the first three centuries, Père Daniélou feels authorized to conclude that primitive Christian tradition recognized but two senses of Scripture, namely, the literal and the "typological". The latter is in reality a "Christic" <sup>(3)</sup>, or "Christological" <sup>(4)</sup> sense;

<sup>(1)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *Traversée de la mer Rouge et baptême aux premiers siècles* (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 33 (1946), p. 416); C. SPICQ, *Bulletin de théologie biblique*, B. Nouveau Testament (*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 32, (1948), p. 89).

<sup>(2)</sup> H. DE LUBAC, « Typologie » et « Allégorisme » (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), pp. 182 ff.). Among modern writers J. Daniélou, C. Spicq, T. Camelot, L. Delporte and P. Lestringant disapprove of the use of the expression « allegory » as a designation of a sense of Scripture. L. Bouyer maintains its traditional meaning while endeavouring to get rid of its caricature (H. DE LUBAC, *art. cit.*, p. 180 in nota). Père de Lubac prefers the expression « typological » sense (*art. cit.*, pp. 208 ff.); however, he is anxious that students of the history of exegesis should be aware of the true attitude of Tradition with regard to the expression « allegory ».

<sup>(3)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *L'unité des deux testaments dans l'œuvre d'Origène* (*Revue de Sciences religieuses*, 22 (1948), p. 45).

<sup>(4)</sup> « Il n'y a absolument aucun autre sens de l'Ecriture en dehors du sens littéral et du sens christologique » (J. DANIELOU, *Les divers sens de l'Ecriture dans la tradition chrétienne primitive* (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 24 (1948), p. 120). In a more recent publication this writer explains himself as follows; « Je préciserai pour ma part que le sens typologique est premièrement eschatologique; qu'il est christologique, parce que le Christ est l'*eschatos anthropos*; qu'il est sacramentaire en tant que les sacrements sont la continuation des mystères du Christ; et enfin qu'il y a un sens mystique qui est typologique, en tant que l'âme chrétienne reproduit le Christ » (*Dieu Vivant*, 16, p. 152).

having Christ in his totality as its object, this sense admits as many species as there are aspects of the total Christ <sup>(1)</sup>. In early Christian literature Père Daniélou discovers at least five of these species. The first variety to which he draws attention is a "typology" that aims at discovering the circumstances of Christ's earthly life in the Old Testament <sup>(2)</sup>; this kind of exegesis is cultivated by St. Justin, Tertullian, St. Irenaeus, Hippolytus of Rome and Gregory of Elvira; generally speaking, it serves to characterize the Western tradition <sup>(3)</sup>. Another type of exegesis, common to all the Fathers, which does not therefore bear the distinctive marks of any particular current, scrutinizes the Old Testament with a view to discovering there Christ, "considered, however, not in the exterior circumstances of his earthly life, but in the mysteries which he came to accomplish" <sup>(4)</sup>. A third brand of "typology" concentrates on those features of the Old Testament which are figures of the Church's sacramental life; it is found in the sacramental catechesis and is particularly dear to the school of Antioch <sup>(5)</sup>. A fourth type of "typological" exegesis looks in the Old Testament for figures of the role that Christ plays in the souls of individual Christians; it is at Alexandria that this "typology" is cultivated with special predilection <sup>(6)</sup>. The fifth kind of "typology" is eschatological in its leanings and aims at discovering the traits of the Old Testament which are vestiges of Christ's glorious manifestation at the end of time; Père Daniélou notes that writers of Jewish apocalyptic favour this form of interpretation, without giving to it a Christological signification; apart from Christ's eschatological discourse, the Apocalypse of St. John and Origen, he quotes no representatives of it in Christian tradition <sup>(7)</sup>. Père Daniélou claims that these divisions, which are biblical, were confused at an early date by evil influences exercised by Philo and exponents of the school of Ale-

<sup>(1)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *Les divers sens...*, pp. 120 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *ibid.*, p. 121. This form of exegesis is styled « exégèse matthéenne » because St Matthew furnishes the first example of it.

<sup>(3)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>(4)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>(5)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *ibid.*, pp. 123 f. We are told that Origen is not hostile to this type of « typology ».

<sup>(6)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>(7)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *ibid.*, p. 125.

xandria, who substituted for them considerations of a purely cultural order <sup>(1)</sup>.

Philo's exegesis supposes a twofold sense of Scripture, the literal and the allegorical, which he links up closely with the Platonic conception of a dual world— one of which is spiritual (νοητός), immaterial (ἀσώματος), like unto God (θεοσιδής), an archetype (ἀρχέτυπος), a model (παράδειγμα), the other world being visible (δρατός), corporeal (σωματικός), the reproduction (ἀπεικόνισμα) of the spiritual world and containing as many beings perceptible to the senses as the other world contains spiritual beings (τοσαῦτα περιέξοντα αἰσθητὰ γένη, ὅσα περ ἐν ἑκείνῳ νοητά) <sup>(2)</sup>. In Philo's opinion the literal sense, the written word, is concerned with appearances <sup>(3)</sup>, whilst the allegorical sense on the other hand expresses only what can be seized by the intelligence <sup>(4)</sup> and leads directly to the truth <sup>(5)</sup>. In the wake of the Therapeutes Philo likens this twofold sense of Scripture to the body and soul of a living being <sup>(6)</sup>.

In his writings Clement, the first great doctor of the catechetical school at Alexandria, takes cognisance of the fundamental division of two senses: the first (or literal) sense and the second (or spiritual) sense. This division is based on the relations existing between the intention of the hagiographer and the letter; Clement,

<sup>(1)</sup> J. DANIÉLOU, *Les divers sens...*, p. 119.

<sup>(2)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole chez Clément d'Alexandrie. Définition et source de la théorie* (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 21 (1945), pp. 5-60). On p. 52 Père Hermaniuk quotes the references to the texts of Philo on which this summary is based.

<sup>(3)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *art. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>(4)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *art. cit.*, p. 52 note 211, who here refers us to *De Abrah.*, 24, 110: διανοία μόνη καταλαμβανόμενων.

<sup>(5)</sup> « ... La voie qui conduit directement à la vérité, c'est le sens allégorique, la contemplation à travers les symboles, la contemplation en allégorie... » (M. HERMANIUK, *art. cit.*, p. 52).

<sup>(6)</sup> *De vita contemplativa*, 10, 79; αἱ δὲ ἐξηγήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνονται δι' ὁπνοίων ἐν ἀλληγορίαις. ἅπαντα γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις εἰκέναι ζῶψ καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ῥητὰς διατάξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐν-αποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀόρατον νοῦν. (COHN, *editio minor*, 6, p. 47, 19 ff.). M. Hermaniuk draws attention to the fact that Philo, though describing the exegetical method of the Therapeutes, expresses at the same time his own doctrine (*art. cit.*, p. 53, note 219).

however, shows little interest in it <sup>(1)</sup>. He is far more concerned with the point of view of the interpreter, who studies carefully the various classes of realities that the words themselves suggest to him. Meditating on the text of Scripture from this point of view Clement discovers at least five senses: an historical sense <sup>(2)</sup>; a doctrinal sense <sup>(3)</sup>; a prophetic signification <sup>(4)</sup>; a philosophical sense <sup>(5)</sup>; and a mystical sense <sup>(6)</sup>. Of these significations the historical sense cannot but be a primary or first sense <sup>(7)</sup>. According to St. Thomas the doctrinal sense furnishes a valid argument in theology only when it is a first sense; nevertheless, Clement sometimes employs a second sense in this instance, corroborated, however, by an analogous first sense. His prophetic sense is usually a first sense but it is sometimes a second sense. The other senses are second senses, although the limit between the psychological and the mystical sense is somewhat undefined at times <sup>(8)</sup>. Like Philo, Clement also links up the twofold sense of Scripture, namely the first and the second, with the Platonic conception of a dual world <sup>(9)</sup>.

Origen, who succeeded Clement at the catechetical school, teaches that Scripture yields a threefold meaning, which forms an organic system that is intimately connected with three orders of reality. All the historians of Origen expound this doctrine. One of his most recent interpreters takes care to tell us that Origen's triple sense can be understood in two fashions <sup>(10)</sup>. According to

<sup>(1)</sup> C. MONDÉSERT, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture*, Paris, 1944, p. 154.

<sup>(2)</sup> C. MONDÉSERT, *op. cit.*, p. 155 f.: « 1<sup>o</sup> Un sens *historique*: faits sociaux, religieux, politiques, etc.... ».

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156 f.: « 2<sup>o</sup> Un sens *doctrinal*: moral, religieux, théologique... ».

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158 f.: « 4<sup>o</sup> Un sens *philosophique*, qui peut être cosmique ou psychologique, selon que l'interprétation allégorique entend le texte sacré d'une réalité du monde physique ou du monde psychologique... ».

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159 f.: « 5<sup>o</sup> Enfin un sens *mystique*, si ce sens concerne les relations de l'âme avec Dieu dans son cheminement progressif vers Lui... ».

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161: « On voit immédiatement que certains des sens précédents ne peuvent être que des sens premiers, tel le sens historique ».

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 161 f.

<sup>(9)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole chez Clément...*, pp. 52 and 58.

<sup>(10)</sup> H. DE LUBAC, *Origène, Homélie sur l'Exode...*, p. 9 f.

the first fashion (which, incidentally, corresponds to the scheme outlined in Περὶ ἀρχῶν) <sup>(1)</sup>, Scripture normally yields three senses: an historical sense, namely, the narrative of the facts or the text of the laws; then a moral sense, that is to say the application of the former to the soul, without necessarily invoking a Christian datum; lastly, a typical or mystical sense dealing with Christ, the Church and all the realities of faith <sup>(2)</sup>. Ostensibly the second division proposed by Origen seems to be identical with the first: in both of them the first term is the same, the two others are merely inversed. After an historical sense relating to things Jewish, comes a mystical sense that deals with Christ and the Church; this, in its turn, is followed by a spiritual sense dealing with the soul. However, the spiritual sense, which Origen now develops in the third place, is different from the moral sense that comes second in the previous classification. Although, on occasion, both of these senses bear the name "moral" <sup>(3)</sup>, and are concerned with the soul, one of them deals with the soul in general, independently of the realities of the Christian faith, whereas the other treats of the *anima in Ecclesia*, in each of which those mysteries are enacted anew, that were realized historically in Christ and in the Church <sup>(4)</sup>. In his homilies and commentaries as well as in the theoretical exposition of the treatise Περὶ ἀρχῶν, Origen likes to compare this triple sense of Scripture to the three parts of which man is composed: body, soul and spirit; hence the names of τὸ σωματικόν, τὸ ψυχικόν and τὸ πνευματικόν <sup>(5)</sup>. The first form of this doctrine of the triple sense is an attempt to outstrip Philo, who, as we have noted, counted only two senses of Scripture which stand in the same relation to each other as the soul does to the body <sup>(6)</sup>. Generally speaking the moral sense of Scripture comprises the moralizing allegories of Philo. Origen, however, is not satisfied with them, because he indulges in a third form of exegesis that overreaches them. This is Christian not only in its contents

(1) Περὶ ἀρχῶν, lib. 4, 11, GCS, 22, 312 ff.

(2) H. DE LUBAC, *Origène. Homélies sur l'Exode...*, p. 9.

(3) H. DE LUBAC (*op. cit.*, p. 11) refers to *Gen. hom.* 2, 6; *Exod., hom.* 3, 3; *Levit., hom.* 1, 5; *hom.* 2, 4.

(4) H. DE LUBAC, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 15.

but also because it invokes principles that differ from those of Philo <sup>(1)</sup>. According to Père de Lubac the second form of the doctrine of the triple sense is completely emancipated from Philo. Here the comparison of the human soul (considered as inferior to the spirit) becomes inadequate, because the mystical sense cannot be styled ψυχικός: its dignity is not less than that of the individual sense nor is it less interior than the latter. Hence it is that the second and the third senses are sometimes inverted <sup>(2)</sup> and the triple sense tends to become a double sense <sup>(3)</sup>. In his article dealing with the senses of Scripture in primitive Christian tradition Père Daniélou singles out Origen for special blame. While praising the great Alexandrian for being the first Christian writer to have expounded successively the different "typological" senses, this writer deplors the fact that he puts them in a frame that is borrowed from Hellenic thought <sup>(4)</sup>. Differing in this respect from Père de Lubac, whose exposition we have been adhering to so far, Père Daniélou identifies τὸ σωματικόν, τὸ ψυχικόν, τὸ πνευματικόν with the literal sense, the moral or mystical sense and the eschatological sense respectively <sup>(5)</sup>. Remarking that this division does not fit in with Christian realities he asks: "Where may one place the sacramental sense? Where the Christological sense? An attempt will be made to classify the different senses according to these divisions and that will make everything obscure. The moral sense, which is merely paraenetical (without any typological signification), will be confused with the typological spiritual sense, which is quite a different thing. Origen himself was the first to become bewildered. It is impossible to unify his different classifications. Hence it was a great mistake to attempt to lodge the senses of Scripture in frames that were not made for them" <sup>(6)</sup>.

It is significant that in later Alexandrian exegesis the distinction between τὸ ψυχικόν and τὸ πνευματικόν was gradually toned

(1) D. DE LUBAC, *Origène, Homélie sur l'Exode...*, p. 16.

(2) H. DE LUBAC refers us to *Cant.*, comm., passim; *Gen. hom.* 10, 5, 13, 3; *Exod.*, hom., 9, 3-4 (*ibid.*, p. 17, note 2).

(3) F. PRAT, *Origène, Le théologien et l'exégète*, Paris, 1907, p. xvii.

(4) J. DANIELOU, *Les divers sens de l'Écriture dans la tradition chrétienne primitive...*, p. 126.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

down. Didymus, Origen's disciple, seems to recognize but two senses of Scripture, the literal and the spiritual. Like Philo and Clement, he appears to link this twofold sense with the Platonic conception of a dual world <sup>(1)</sup>.

Writing two hundred years after Origen, St. Cyril never uses the expression τὸ ψυχικόν to designate a sense of Scripture. As a general rule he speaks of a twofold sense, namely the literal and the spiritual <sup>(2)</sup>. In his opinion the difference between them

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<sup>(1)</sup> Et super omnia vocabulum spiritus altiore et mysticum in Scripturis sanctis significat intellectum, ut ibi: "Littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat (2 Cor. 3, 6)" litteram dicens simplicem et manifestam iuxta historiam narrationem; spiritum vero, sanctum et spirituale nosse quod legitur... Qui transcendentis umbras et imagines Veteris Testamenti, cultores veri adorant Patrem in spiritu et veritate (Io. 4, 24): in spiritu, quia corporalia et humilia transcederunt, in veritate, quia typos, et umbras et exemplaria reliquentes ad ipsius veritatis venere substantiam, et, ut iam diximus, humili et corporea verborum simplicitate contempta, ad spirituales legis notitiam pervenerunt. (*Liber de Spiritu sancto*, 57, PG 39, 1081 AB).

Notice the antitheses: simplex et manifesta iuxta historiam narratio/spirituale; humilis et corporea verborum simplicitas (= corporalia, humilia, typi, umbrae, exemplaria/spiritualis legis notitia (= ipsius veritatis substantia).

<sup>(2)</sup> "Hence those who wish to explain the thoughts which are thus subtle and enigmatic and broad of meaning should inspect them carefully with the eye of the mind and expound both the accurate literal signification (τῆς ἱστορίας το ἀκριβές) and the spiritual sense (τῆς πνευματικῆς θεολογίας ἡ ἀπόδοσις), so that the readers may acquire knowledge of what is really useful and the explanation of the meaning of the text be lacking in nothing" (PG 70, 9 A). In the prologue to *Glaphyra* Cyril describes his intentions as follows: "We shall first of all expound in a useful manner the facts which belong to history (τὰ ἱστορικῶς πεπραγμένα). We shall explain them in a fitting manner. Then transforming the narrative from being but a type and shadow, we shall give a clear explanation – our discourse in this instance tending towards Christ's mystery and having him as the end in view, since it is true that Christ is the end of the law and the prophets" (PG 69, 16 A). Apropos of Amos 8, 9 the Patriarch of Alexandria enunciates a principle that he puts into practice throughout the whole of his commentary on the *Minor Prophets*: "These verses contain a double signification. For the prophets are always wont to remember Christ at the end of their discourses; they give an explanation of his mystery, veiling it with obscurities. Come, let us see both of them and say what is suitable." But I shall first expound the meaning which flows from what has been said. Then we shall adapt the signi-

lies chiefly in the objects described by them; the sense is literal if the objects envisaged by it are τὰ αἰσθητά; it is spiritual if they belong to the category of τὰ νοητά and τὰ πνευματικά<sup>(1)</sup>. We shall see later on that St. Cyril's theory of the senses of Scripture supposes the conception of the dual world<sup>(2)</sup>. The Patriarch of Alexandria sometimes alludes to a moral sense<sup>(3)</sup>; in reality this is a kind of spiritual sense that is applied to the soul. Since, as will be shown in due course, St. Cyril's exegetical opinions frequently resemble those of St. Jerome, it is wise to point out here that the Latin exegete recognizes a threefold sense of Scripture. Thus apropos of *Amos* 4, 4, he writes: "Debemus enim Scripturam sanctam, primum secundum litteram intelligere, facientes in ethica quaecunque praecepta sunt. Secundo iuxta allegoriam, id est in-

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fication of what is said to the explanation concerning Christ" (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 517, 11 ff.).

(<sup>1</sup>) In the prologue to *Osee* St. Cyril describes two sets of objects which the prophets were privileged to contemplate during the course of their visions: "Ἔθος γὰρ ἀπλασιν, οὓς ἂν ἕκαστοι ποιοῦντο λόγους, μεταπλάττειν εὐκόλως ἐπὶ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ὥς ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας, ἦτοι τῶν αἰσθητῶν, καὶ οἰοῖναι πῶς ἐν ὄψει κειμένων, καὶ γεγονότων πραγμάτων ἀναφοιτῶν εὐκόλως εἰς ἐσώτατα πνευματικά· ποτὲ δὲ αὐ καθικνεῖσθαι πάλιν, καὶ πολλὸν δὴ λίαν ἀσυμφανῶς, ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει πράγματα. (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 2, 16 ff.). Cyril here contrasts the objects described as τὰ αἰσθητά καὶ οἰοῖναι ἐν ὄψει κείμενα καὶ γεγονότα πραγματά with those styled τὰ ἐσώτατα καὶ πνευματικά. The former are expressly identified with the objects attained by the literal sense (τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας). Further on in the course of his explanation of *Mich.* 7, 14 ff. Cyril remarks: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ ὥς ἐν αἰσθήσει κειμένων ἀναθρώσκοντες σοφῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πνευματικά, καὶ τὴν ἔσω τε καὶ κεκρυμμένην θεωρίαν ἐννοῶμεν" (*Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 733, 9 ff.). Once again τὰ σωματικά καὶ ὥς ἐν αἰσθήσει κείμενα are opposed to τὰ πνευματικά; the latter are expressly said to be the objects with which the spiritual sense (ἡ ἔσω τε καὶ κεκρυμμένη θεωρία) is concerned. These texts leave us under the impression that, in St. Cyril's opinion, both the literal and the spiritual sense are chiefly named by their objects. If the objects in question belong to the category of τὰ αἰσθητά the biblical sense arising is ἡ ἱστορία. If they belong to the category of τὰ πνευματικά the sense is spiritual. Later on we shall point out what concrete connotation St. Cyril attaches to the categories τὰ αἰσθητά (pp. 42 ff.) and τὰ πνευματικά (pp. 124 ff.).

(<sup>2</sup>) See pp. 129 ff.

(<sup>3</sup>) St. Cyril gives the name of ἔθικαι ὑψηλῆς to the spiritual explanations of certain passages of the book of *Exodus* contained in the treatise *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* (PG 69, 385 B ff.).



telligentiam spiritualem. Tertio secundum futurorum beatitudinem" (1). Elsewhere he notes at greater length: "Et iubetur nobis, ut eloquia veritatis, id est, Scripturas sanctas, intelligamus tripliciter. Primum, iuxta litteram; secundo, medie per tropologiam; tertio sublimius, ut mystica quaeque noscamus... Medie autem et iuxta tropologiam, quando recedimus a littera, et paululum ad altiora conscendimus, dicente apostolo: 'Scriptum est: Non alligabis os bovi trituranti'. Statimque sequitur: 'Numquid de bobus cura est Deo? An propter nos utique locutus est? (1 Cor. 9, 9)'. Extrema autem, id est, tertia et sublimis sacraque intelligentia, iuxta illud eiusdem apostoli: 'Propterea relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori suae. Sacramentum hoc magnum est. Ego autem dico in Christo et in ecclesia (Eph. 5, 31 s.)'. Filiae autem sunt ecclesiae fornicantis, credentium prius, et postea deceptorum in haeresi animae, quarum culpa refertur ad matrem" (2). This text seems to insinuate that the third sense deals with truths of which the Church is custodian; yet in another place Jerome implies that it deals with doctrines relating to heavenly beatitude (3). If we bear in mind the fact that St. Cyril in his commentaries rarely refers to eschatological times, it is unlikely that his threefold division of the senses of Scripture is inspired by St. Jerome. It may be a reminiscence of the second form of Origen's doctrine. Cyril's twofold division is probably traceable to Didymus.

(1) PL 25, 1027 D. A. PENNA points out that Jerome's threefold division is chiefly theoretical. In practice he follows a twofold exegesis, namely, literal and spiritual; the latter lends itself to several applications according to the matter. (*Principi e carattere dell'esegesi di S. Girolamo*, Roma, 1950, p. 58).

(2) PL 25, 147 D ff.

(3) In his *Epistula ad Hedibiam* the Latin exegete refers to the threefold sense as follows: Triplex in corde nostro descriptio, et regula Scripturarum est. Prima, ut intelligamus eas iuxta historiam. Secunda, iuxta tropologiam. Tertia iuxta intelligentiam spirituale. In historia, eorum quae scripta sunt, ordo servatur. In tropologia, de littera ad maiora consurgimus, et quidquid in priori populo carnaliter factum est, iuxta moralem interpretamur locum, et ad animae nostrae emolumenta convertimus. In spirituali quoque ad sublimiora transimus, terrena dimittimus, de futurorum beatitudine et caelestibus disputamus: ut praesentis vitae meditatio, umbra futurae beatitudinis sit (*Epist.* 120, cap. 12, CSEL, 55, pp. 513 f.).

## CHAPTER I

### THE LITERAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

#### Art. 1. — ST. CYRIL'S TERMINOLOGY

What is nowadays styled the literal sense of Scripture, namely its grammatical, logical and historical meaning <sup>(1)</sup>, St. Cyril designates by two sets of expressions: those that are *exclusively* exegetical and those that *directly* envisage objects and refer only *indirectly* to the sense. To the first set belong expressions such as διασάφσεις ἢ προχειρώτερα <sup>(2)</sup>; τὸ γράμμα <sup>(3)</sup>; τὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀκλόλουθα <sup>(4)</sup>; ὁ νοῦς τῶν εἰρημένων <sup>(5)</sup>; ὁ ἐν τῷ γράμματι λόγος <sup>(6)</sup>; ὁ ἔμφανής λόγος <sup>(7)</sup>; ὁ πρόχειρος λόγος <sup>(8)</sup>.

The second set embraces expressions like the following: ὁ περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν λόγος <sup>(9)</sup>; ὁ λόγος ὡς ἐν αἰσθητοῖς <sup>(10)</sup>; παχύτεραι ἀφη-

<sup>(1)</sup> A. FERNÁNDEZ in *Institutiones biblicae scholis accommodatae*, Vol. I, ed. 5<sup>a</sup>, p. 342.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 92, 18f.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 60 A (Cyril refers to various historical passages dealing with the Tower of Babel (*Gen.* 6, 3-8, 13-16 etc.); 181 A (texts of *Gen.* 27 treating of Jacob and Esau)); 541 B (the sacrifices prescribed by *Lev.* 2, 14 f.); 640 A (narratives of *Num.* 21, 4-9); 70, 500 A (prophetic oracles of *Is.* 21, 16); 581 B (prophecy of *Is.* 26, 14 f.).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 517, 17 (prophetic oracle of *Amos* 8, 9 f.).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 85, 9 (prophetic discourse of *Hab.* 1, 12 f.).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 410, 5 (prophecy of *Zach.* 9, 5 f.).

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 70, 581 B (prophecy of *Is.* 26, 14 f.); *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 591, 9 (prophetic oracle of *Mal.* 2, 15 f.).

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 70, 581 B (prophecy of *Is.* 26, 14 f.); *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY, II, 591, 9 (prophecy of *Mal.* 2, 15 f.).

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 69, 452 D (historical passage of *Ex.* 16, 1-5).

<sup>(10)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 571, 22f (prophetic oracle of *Mal.* 2, 1 f.).

γῆσεις<sup>(1)</sup>; ἡ ἐμφανεστέρα τῶν δεδειγμένων ἀπόδοσις<sup>(2)</sup>; τὰ ἐμφανεστέρα<sup>(3)</sup>; τὰ ἐξωφανή<sup>(4)</sup>; ἡ ἐρμενεῖα τῶν προκειμένων<sup>(5)</sup>; τοῦ προκειμένου ἡ θεωρία<sup>(6)</sup>; τῶν προκειμένων ὁ νοῦς<sup>(7)</sup>; τὰ σωματικά<sup>(8)</sup>.

It is to the expression ἱστορία and its derivatives<sup>(9)</sup> that St. Cyril recurs with greatest frequency to designate the literal sense. Examples of this usage are found in each of his works devoted to the Old Testament<sup>(10)</sup>; this fact constitutes a proof that his exegetical terminology was already fixed at the beginning of his career as an interpreter of Scripture. Moreover ἱστορία connotes not only the meaning of biblical passages dealing with narratives<sup>(11)</sup> but also

(1) PG 69, 188 C (historical passages of *Gen.* 28, 10 ff., 32 ff.).

(2) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 329, 11 ff. (prophetic vision of *Zach.* 6, 1-3); *ibid.*, 448, 8 f.

(3) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 291, 19 ff. (prophetic oracle of *Joel* 1, 4).

(4) PG 68, 141 B (historical passage of *Ex.* 34, 33 ff.); 69, 665 A (*Ex.* 34, 33 f.); 70, 565 C (= the literal meaning of prophetic discourse in general).

(5) PG 70, 348 C (prophecy of *Is.* 13, 2).

(6) *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 79, 7 f. (prophetic oracle of *Hab.* 1, 7). In his prologue to *Habacuc* St. Cyril uses the expression ἡ θεωρία ἱστορικῇ (PUSEY II, 68, 11). We think that he ascribes an exegetical meaning to it. A. VACCARI, however, is of opinion that Cyril here uses the term θεωρία in a philosophical sense to connote speculation (*La Theoria Antiochena in Biblica I* (1920), p. 9, note 2).

(7) *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 190, 10 f. (prophecy of *Soph.* 1, 17 f.).

(8) PG 69, 664 C (= the obvious meaning of the Law in general); *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 78, 13 f. (*Os.* 2, 21 f., a prophetic oracle); *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 733, 9 (*Mich.* 7, 14 f., a prophetic oracle).

(9) ἱστορία (innumerable examples); λόγος ἱστορικὸς (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 313, 14 ff.); ἡ ἀφήγησις ἱστορικωτέρα (PG 70, 305 B); ἱστορικῶς (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 34, 1; 78, 13; 96, 16; *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 353, 3; *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 25, 9; *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 340, 16; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 303, 25; 313, 14; 435, 16; ἱστορικώτερον (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 365, 11 ff.).

(10) (a) *De adoratione in spiritu* etc.: PG 68, 192 A and B; 529 B; 537 D 540 D, 544 C etc.; (b) *Glaphyra*: PG 69, 143 C; 149 A; 172 A etc.; (c) *Isaias*: PG 70, 128 B; 305 BC; 329 D etc.; (d) *Minor Prophets*: *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 15, 13 f.; 17, 11 f.; 155, 6 f.; 363, 2 ff. etc.

(11) PG 69, 181 A (*Gen.* 27, 41-45; 28, 1-4); 143 C (*Gen.* 22, 2, 5 etc.); 149 B (*Gen.* 24, 1-4, 14 etc.); 188 C (*Gen.* 28, 10-18, 26; 32 f.); 196 A (*Gen.* 29, 1-14); 204 B (*Gen.* 29, 15-30); 229 A (*Gen.* 30, 25-36); 237 D (*Gen.* 31, 10 ff.); 293 B (*Gen.* 37, 30 etc.); 304 B (*Gen.* 37, 20 etc.); 328 C (*Gen.* 48, 1-7) etc.

the obvious signification of legislative prescriptions <sup>(1)</sup>, and the import of prophetic oracles <sup>(2)</sup>.

Generally speaking modern exponents of hermeneutics recognize as a literal sense only that signification which flows directly from the words used. Some of them, such as F. X. Patrizi <sup>(3)</sup>, and R. Cornely-A. Merk <sup>(4)</sup> make express mention of the intention of the Holy Spirit, the chief author of Scripture, in their definitions. There is, however, a marked tendency in more recent writers to prescind somewhat from the role of the Holy Spirit and to concentrate rather on the intention of the human author; a signification of Scripture is not considered literal, if it does not proceed from the intention of the human author <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 192 A and B (*Ex.* 5, 3); 529 B (*Ex.* 21, 33f.); 537 D (*Ex.* 21, 16 and *Dt.* 24, 7); 540 D-541 A (*Ex.* 22, 16 f. and *Dt.* 22, 22-27); 544 C (*Dt.* 22, 28 f.); 69, 556 A (*Lev.* 14, 1-9); 652 B (*Dt.* 21, 10-14) etc.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 172 A (*Gen.* 27, 27-29); 70, 128 B (*Is.* 4, 1); 329 D (*Is.* 11, 12); 500 D (*Is.* 21, 16 f.); *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 15, 13 (*Os.* 1, 3); 34, 1 (*Os.* 1, 6 f.); 78, 13 (*Os.* 2, 21 f.); 96, 16 (*Os.* 4, 3 f.); 155, 6 (*Os.* 7, 4 f.); *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 353, 3 (*Joel.* 3, 9); 363, 25 (*Joel.* 3, 19-21); *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 25, 9 (*Nahum.* 1, 13 f.); *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 303, 25 (*Zach.* 2, 1-5); 339, 13 (*Zach.* 4, 8-9); 340, 16 (*Zach.*, 4, 8-9); 364, 24 (*Zach.* 6, 9-15); 435, 16 (*Zach.*, 10, 3-5) etc.

<sup>(3)</sup> Sensus litteralem scripturarum vocamus id, quod exprimere Spiritus sanctus directe intendit ac proxime, et verba directe praeferunt, atque etiam proxime, si propria ea sint, remote autem si sint translata, idque in quantum translata sunt... (F. X. PATRIZI, *De interpretatione Scripturarum sacrarum*, Liber I, Romae, 1844, p. 1).

<sup>(4)</sup> Sensus litteralis Scripturae, quem Latini saepe vocant historicum, Graeci κατὰ τὸ γράμμα, κατὰ τὴν ὁῆσιν, κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν, est illa veritas quam eius verba immediate ex S. Spiritus intentione manifestant. (R. CORNELY-A. MERK, *Introductionis in s. Scripturae libros compendium*, Parisiis, 1927, p. 237).

<sup>(5)</sup> J. RENIÉ prescinds from mentioning either author of Scripture: "Le sens littéral est celui qui ressort directement des termes employés, ex ipsa verborum significatione" (*Manuel d'Écriture sainte*, vol. I, Paris, 1945, p. 206). H. SIMON-J. PRADO note: Sensus litteralis est, quem verba ex intentione auctoris immediate significant (*Propaedeutica biblica*, Taurini, 1931, p. 198). A. M. DUBARLE is more explicit: "...Ainsi le sens littéral est celui que l'auteur humain a voulu communiquer, fut-ce même par des métaphores, des paraboles ou procédés analogues..." (*Le sens spirituel de l'Écriture in Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 31 (1947), p. 43).

St. Cyril of Alexandria approaches the problem of the literal sense from another angle. He is keenly interested in the nature of the objects of the different senses of Scripture. We have already remarked that in his opinion the senses of Scripture are defined chiefly by the nature of the objects which they envisage <sup>(1)</sup>. What this precisely means in the instance of the literal sense, we shall see presently <sup>(2)</sup>. Our author, however, does not abstain altogether from alluding to those features of the literal sense that attract attention nowadays. For example, expressions such as ὁ ἐν τῷ γράμματι λόγος <sup>(3)</sup>, τὰ τοῖς εἰρημένους ἀκόλουθα <sup>(4)</sup>, ὁ νοῦς τῶν εἰρημένων <sup>(5)</sup>, ὁ πρόχειρος λόγος <sup>(6)</sup> and so forth, show patently that the sense contemplated by him is one that flows from the words of Scripture themselves. In certain passages St. Cyril states quite categorically that the literal sense is included in the σκοπός of the hagiographer, that is to say, in his purpose or intention <sup>(7)</sup>; this is a property that can be

<sup>(1)</sup> See p. 33.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 42 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 410, 5.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 517, 15.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 85, 9.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 581 B; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 591, 9.

<sup>(7)</sup> Here are passages in which St. Cyril affirms that the literal signification of a biblical text is included in the σκοπός of the human author: *Is.* 14, 29: ...Εἰ δὲ ὅφεις ὀνομάσθησαν Ὁζίας τε καὶ Ἑζεχίας, καίτοι γεγονότες εὐσεβεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖν ἐκεῖνο προσήκει καὶ μάλα, ἐμφρόνως, ὥς ὁ τοῦ λόγου σκοπός τέτραπται τε καὶ βλέπει πρὸς ὅτι μάλιστα τυποῦν τοὺς Φυλιστιεῖμ, ἦτοι τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους (PG 70, 392 C); *Is.* 58, 1: ...χρῆναι δέ φημι τὸν τῆς προφητείας σκοπὸν προ-ἀπογυμνῶσαι τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις, ὥς ἂν εἰδεῖεν ἐφ' ὅτῳ λοιπὸν ὁ τῶν εἰρημένων συντείνεται νοῦς (PG 70, 1280 A); *Amos* 1, 2: Ὁλος ἡμῖν ἐν τούτοις διαφαίνεται σκοπός, καὶ τοῦ παντός χρησιμοφδήματος ὁρος ὥσπερ τις, καὶ προαφήγησις ἀσαφείᾳ πολλῇ κατεσκευασμένη, νοοῦτ' ἂν εἰκότως ἡ τοῦ προκειμένου δύναμις (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 378, 9f.); *Abdias*, 1 (*Comment. on Abdias*, PUSEY I, 548, 20f.); *Nahum* 1, 1 (*Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 3, 17f.); *Nahum* 1, 2-3 (*ibid.*, 4, 15f.); In his prologues to *Micheas*, *Nahum*, *Habacuc*, *Sophonias*, *Aggeus*, and *Malachy* St. Cyril states that the literal signification of the respective prophecies pertains to the σκοπός. See *Comment. on Mich.*: Εἰς μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς ἁγίοις προφήταις καὶ θεοφιλῆς ὁ σκοπός, τὸ ἀναπεῖσαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἀποφουτῆσαι νεανικῶς τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι θέλει... (PUSEY I, 599, 9 ff.). Here the σκοπός is expressly ascribed to the prophets themselves. See also *Comm. on Mal.*: Ἀνθρωπος δὴ οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁ προφήτης Μαλαχίας. Σύμπας δὲ ὥσπερ αὐτῷ τῆς προφητείας ὁ σκοπός εἰς δύο ταῦτα συντείνεται κ. τ. λ. (PUSEY II, 546, 23 ff.). See *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 3, 14 f.; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II,

readily predicated of the literal sense in general. St. Cyril's favourite expression *ιστορία* is employed also by other Alexandrian exegetes: Origen (<sup>1</sup>), Didymus (<sup>2</sup>), and Theophilus (<sup>3</sup>). It occurs in the exegetical writings of Eusebius (<sup>4</sup>), St. Basil (<sup>5</sup>), St. Gregory of Nyssa (<sup>6</sup>), St. Gregory of Nazianzen (<sup>7</sup>), Diodorus of Tarsus (<sup>8</sup>), Theodore of Mopsuestia (<sup>9</sup>), St. John Chrysostom (<sup>10</sup>), Theodoretus

68, 11 f.; *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 168, 7 ff.; *Comment. on Aggeus*, PUSEY II, 241, 4 ff.

(1) *Hom. 19 in Ierem.*, 14, GCS, 6, 171, 2; *Frag. 98, Lament., Ierem.* 4, 4, GCS, 6, 270, 20; *Hom. in 1 Sam.* 28, 3-25, GCS, 6, 234, 6; *Comment. in Ioan.* 2, 1, GCS, 10, 52, 19; *ibid.* 2, 29 (24), GCS, 10, 30 (prob.); *ibid.*, 10, 5 (4), GCS, 10, 175, 12 f.; 175, 20 f. Add *Frag. 20*, GCS, 10, 501, 17; *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* GCS, 22, 329, 12; *Phil.* 27, GCS, 33, 129, 25; *Hom. in Cant. Cantic.*, lib. 3, 54, GCS, 33, 226, 27; *In Lucam frag.* 77, 16, 23, GCS, 35, 271, 11 ff.

(2) *Frag. in Prov.*, 1, 6 (prob.), PG 39, 1624 AB; *In Ps.* 21, 18 f., PG 39, 1281 CD; *In Ps.* 112, 9, *ibid.*, 1548 C; *Frag. in Iob* 4, 10, *ibid.*, 1132 B is of doubtful authenticity.

(3) See A. M. AMELLI, *S. Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri tractatus contra Origenem de visione Isaiae. Specilegium Casinense*, p. 388.; FR. DIEKAMP suggests that this tractatus is a Latin translation (made by St. Jerome) of one of the Easter homilies of Theophilus of Alexandria (*Literarische Rundschau für das katholische Deutschland*, 1901, p. 294 f.). According to M. RICHARD, Theophilus may have been the original author of this work (*Les écrits de Théophile d'Alexandrie*, in *Le Muséon*, 52 (1939), p. 49). More recently B. ALTANER, on a fresh examination of the evidence, has declared himself in favour of ascribing its authorship to Theophilus (*Wer ist der Verfasser des Tractatus in Isaiam*, § VI, 1-7 in *Theologisches Revue*, 42 (1943), pp. 147-151);

(4) *Ps.* 55, 2 ff. (prob.), PG 23, 492 B; *Is.* 5, 13, PG 24, 120 A; *Is.* 27, 11, *ibid.*, 282 CD; *Is.* 40, 3, *ibid.* 365 C; *Is.* 45, 13, *ibid.*, 413 D; *Is.* 48, 15 ff., *ibid.*, 427.

(5) *In Ps.* 28, PG 2<sup>a</sup>, 281 A; *In Ps.* 59, *ibid.*, 460 C f.

(6) PG 44, 328 C; 340 B; 368 A; 372 D f.

(7) *Or.* 25 in sanctum Pascha, PG 36, 646 D.

(8) *Frag. 59 in Gen.* 49, 27 (J. DECONINCK, *Essai sur la chaîne de l'Octateuque*, Paris, 1912, p. 133, 1-15); Prologue to his explanation of the Psalms (L. MARIÈS, *Extraits du commentaire de Diodore de Tarse in Recherches de science religieuse*, 9 (1919), 88).

(9) *Ps.* 1 (R. DEVRESSE, *Le Commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes* (I-LXX), Città del Vaticano, 1939, p. 3, 25 f.; *Ps.* 35, *ibid.*, p. 194.

(10) *Ps.* 43, PG 55, 171.; *Ps.* 117, 22, *ibid.*, 335 (towards the middle); *Ps.* 149, *ibid.*, 493.

of Cyrrhus <sup>(1)</sup> St. Isidore of Pelusium <sup>(2)</sup>, Hesychius of Jerusalem <sup>(3)</sup>, as well as in those of Latin exegetes such as St. Hilary <sup>(4)</sup>, Philastrius <sup>(5)</sup>, St. Augustine <sup>(6)</sup>, St. Jerome <sup>(7)</sup> and Julian of Eclanum <sup>(8)</sup>. In spite of the fact that the expression *ιστορία* is generally regarded as characteristic of the terminology of the Antiochians this brief survey shows that the exponents of all trends of Christian exegesis were not altogether unfamiliar with it. Accordingly, St. Cyril's frequent use of it does not of itself constitute a proof that he was dependent on the Antiochian current of exegesis.

#### Art. 2. — ST. CYRIL'S ESTEEM FOR THE LITERAL SENSE

Writers, who for one reason or another are interested in St. Cyril, usually quote texts from his later exegetical works to illustrate the esteem in which he holds the literal sense of Scripture <sup>(9)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ps.* 13, 1, PG 81, 949 B.; *Is.* 15, 2, PG 81, 340 D.; *Amos* 1, 2, *ibid.*, 1668 A; *Hab.* 3, 18 f., *ibid.* 1836 C; *Zach.*, 14, 8, *ibid.*, 1953 D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Lib.* 4, *Ep.* 203, PG 78, 1289 D-1292 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Is.* 13, 17 (M. FAULHABER, *Hesychii Hierosolymitani interpretatio Isaiae prophetiae, nunc primum in lucem edita, prolegomenis, commentario critico indice adaucta*, Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1900, p. 43).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ps.* 53, 2, CSEL, 22, 135, 22.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Diversarum hereseon liber* 155, CSEL, 38, 130, 8.

<sup>(6)</sup> *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber*, CSEL, 28, 461, 12; *De Genesi contra Manich.*, 2, 3, PL 34, 197; *De Civitate Dei* 15, 27, CSEL, 40, 118, 19.

<sup>(7)</sup> *De vir. illustribus*, RICHARDSON'S edition, p. 45, l. 20 f. and 25 f. *Hom. I in Ezech.* 1, 3, GCS, 33, 325, 15; *Hom. I in Ezech.* 1, 5, *ibid.*, 329, 15; *Hom. 37 in Lucam*, GCS, 35, 217, 11 f. We should very much like to know if the Latin expression *historia* stands for the Greek expression *ιστορία*. See also *Is.* 19, 5, PL 24, 183 A. *Ez.* 25, 15 ff., PL 25, 244 C. *Ez.* 40, 24 ff., *ibid.*, 387 A.; *Soph.* 1, 8 f., *ibid.* 1346 A, etc.; *Epist.* 18 A, 2, 1, CSEL, 44, 76, 3 etc.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Praefatio*, PL 21, 962 A.; *Joel* 2, 30 f., *ibid.*, 1049 C.; *Joel*, 2, 32, *ibid.*, 1052 A etc. The widespread usage of *ιστορία* to denote the literal sense does not contradict the claim made that the antithesis *secundum historiam / secundum prophetiam* is peculiar to the school of Antioch (A. VACCARI, *In margine al commento di T. Mopsuesteno ai Salmi in Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. I, p. 176). We have found no traces of this antithesis in St. Cyril's writings.

<sup>(9)</sup> D. ROSENMÜLLER, *Historia interpretationis librorum sacrorum in ecclesia christiana graeca...*, p. 156; F. M. ABEL, *La géographie sacrée chez*

Evidence of this respect for the literal sense, however, is not completely absent from our author's first exegetical work, *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, in which he expressly notes with regard to *Ex.* 5, 3: "Even the literal sense convinces us that those who wish to love sincerely should keep aloof from all these things (namely, the works of the flesh, which cause darkness and confusion)" <sup>(1)</sup>. Further on in the same commentary, St. Cyril remarks apropos of *Ex.* 21, 6 and *Dt.* 24, 7: "The law seizes current affairs and by means of a clearer and ready *θεωγία*, makes of them a rule of right conduct for the well-disposed. For we do not reject the literal sense in those things that are indisputably useful. The letter can be profitable to listeners" <sup>(2)</sup>. *Dt.* 22, 29 calls forth a similar observation: "The clause 'she shall be his wife' is useful even when interpreted literally... For the law says she shall be his wife because he humbled her. He cannot send her away at any time. Note too how great is the sublimity of the glory of holy virginity. For the word of the inspired Scripture deigns to style the deflowering of a virgin a humiliation and a loss of dignity" <sup>(3)</sup>. In the prologue to *Glaphyra* St. Cyril expresses the resolve to expound the literal sense in a fitting manner <sup>(4)</sup>; one cannot help noting, however, that his explanations at times are rather skimpy, being little more than a paraphrase or a summary of the biblical quotations mustered by him. This determination to expound τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ ἀκριβές is solemnly affirmed in the prologue to *Isaias* <sup>(5)</sup>, and before proceeding to interpret *Is.* 7 he remarks: "Those who reject the literal sense of the inspired Scripture as something frivolous deprive themselves to a certain extent of the possibility of understanding properly what is written in them. For the spiritual speculation is beautiful and useful and illumines the eye of the mind and perfects the *νουνεχέστατοι*. But

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s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie in *Revue biblique*, 31 (1922), p. 407; H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité...*, p. 21.

(1) PG 68, 192 B.

(2) *Ibid.*, 540 B.

(3) *Ibid.*, 544 C.

(4) PG 69, 16 A: Ἐκθησόμεθα δὲ χρησίμως, πρότερον μὲν, τὰ ἱστορικῶς πεπραγμένα, διασαφίσαντες δὲ τὰ τοιαύδε συμμέτρως...

(5) PG 70, 9 A.



when an historical event is presented to us by the sacred Scriptures, it is meet to pursue the utility of history so that in every respect the inspired Scriptures appear to save and aid us " (1). To this principle Cyril rigorously adheres in his commentaries on *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets*, in each of which the literal sense is fully annotated. An eloquent instance of his outlook is his vigorous defence of the literal sense of *Osee* 1, 3: " No argument will persuade us to repudiate the letter, to condemn the literal sense as vain, to pronounce against the turpitude of the deed and to think, as others do... that Gomer was not taken in marriage or into conjugal life, when Scripture says that a conception and a birth took place, when it recalls the name of the child and gives the name of the father of this woman as well as the name of the latter " (2).

#### Art. 3. — THE OBJECTS ENVISAGED BY THE LITERAL SENSE

Unlike modern writers, who in their definitions of the literal sense prescind from the *nature of the objects* envisaged by it and consider it almost exclusively as a *modus significandi*, one, namely, in which the signification is derived *immediately* from the words themselves (3), St. Cyril, though not completely oblivious of such a criterion (4), leaves us under the impression that, in his opinion, the literal sense — and for that matter, the spiritual sense — derives its denomination from the nature of the things with which it is concerned. Our author's reticence to clarify his ideas by means of formal definitions forces us to scrutinize as closely as possible the few available texts that are likely to convey indirect information concerning the meaning that he attaches to certain terms. If precision in this regard is to be found anywhere in his writings, one may surely hope to discover it in the prefaces of his commentaries which explicitly enunciate the principles that guide his method. Now in one such prologue Cyril says that he intends to expound τῆς ιστορίας τὸ ἀκριβές and τῆς πνευματικῆς θεωρίας ἡ ἀπόδο-

(1) PG 70, 192 A.

(2) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 15, 12 ff.

(3) See pp. 37 f.

(4) See p. 38.

σις<sup>(1)</sup>; these expressions are exclusively exegetical. In another preface he describes the same resolve in terms of language which *prima facie* describes the objects reached by the literal and the spiritual senses<sup>(2)</sup>. From these statements we infer that the senses of Scripture in question are defined by their objects and that the difference existing between them is based chiefly on the differences of nature that constitute and characterize these objects. Elsewhere we show that Cyril strongly contrasts τὰ αἰσθητά with τὰ πνευματικά; the former belong to the realm of being envisaged by the literal sense, the latter are the objects of the spiritual sense<sup>(3)</sup>. Again, in a relatively large number of texts Cyril does not seem to draw a distinction between the literal sense and the objects contemplated by it<sup>(4)</sup>. He passes quite unconcernedly from the one to the other,

(1) PG 70, 9 A. See p. 32, note 2.

(2) PG 69, 16 A: Ἐκθυσόμεθα δὲ χρησίμως, πρότερον μὲν, τὰ ἱστορικῶς πεπραγμένα· διασαφίσαντες δὲ τὰ τοιαύδε συμμέτρως, καὶ οἷα περ ἐκ τύπου καὶ σικῆς μεταπλάττοντες τὸ διήγημα, σαφῆ ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀφήγησιν, ἀπονευνοκότος ἡμῖν τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔχοντος πέρας, εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ὅτι τέλος νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ὁ Χριστός. It is obvious that St. Cyril intends to expound the literal and the spiritual senses. Yet in this instance he contrasts the objects embraced by these senses, namely, τὰ ἱστορικῶς πεπραγμένα/ τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον.

(3) See pp. 129 ff.

(4) Examples of this usage are: PG 69, 13 A: ...Εἰ μὴ καθάπερ τινὰ θησαυρὸν ἀνορύττοντες τὸ γράμμα τὸ νομικόν, τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κεκρυμμένον περιεργάζονται μαργαρίτην, τουτέστι, Χριστόν... (Here Cyril opposes the literal sense (τὸ γράμμα τὸ νομικόν) to the object of the spiritual sense (ὁ Χριστός)); PG 69, 37 C: Καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ὡς ἐν πάχει πραγμάτων καὶ ἱστορικῶς εἰρησθῶ τέως. Μεταχρῶνόντες δὲ ὥσπερ τῆς εἰκόνης τὴν γραφὴν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ γράμματι σικῆν μεταχαράττοντες εἰς ἀλήθειαν, φέρε δὴ, φέρε, καὶ λίαν, ἰσχνῶς ἔκαστα βασανίζοντες, ἐκεῖνο λέγωμεν, ὅτι τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον καταδρῆσαι τις ἂν προανατυπούμενον ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὡς ἐν σικῇ τῷ συμβεβότῃ. (Once again Cyril opposes the spiritual sense to the literal sense. He seems to define the former by means of its object, namely, ἀλήθεια, τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον. The literal sense too is equated with its object; that is the inference to be drawn from the equation ἱστορικῶς = ἐν πάχει πραγμάτων); PG 69, 168 B: Χρησθῆναι δὲ ὑπολαμβάνω, τοῖς αἰσθητῶς γεγονόσιν ἐφαρμόσαι τὰ πνευματικά. (Expressing his resolve to add an explanation of the spiritual sense to the literal signification just elucidated by him, the Patriarch of Alexandria refers to both of them in terms of their objects, namely, τὰ αἰσθητῶς γεγονότα and τὰ πνευματικά respectively); PG 69, 192 B (Announcing his resolve to contrast the literal sense with the spiritual sense, Cyril uses expressions which really

so that the statements made about one apply to the other as well. We shall see presently that he applies to the literal sense qualities which really reside in the objects apprehended by it. This convinces us still more that, in the opinion of our author, the distinction existing between the senses of Scripture is grounded on the nature of the things signified by them.

But what are the objects of the literal sense? The answer is supplied by a text in which St. Cyril writes: "The prophets were wont to fashion their words to suit the wishes of the Holy Ghost, so that on occasion they could readily ascend to things 'inmost' and spiritual from the literal sense, namely, from events which had taken place or from things perceived by the senses and exposed, as it were, to one's gaze" <sup>(1)</sup>. Accordingly, the objects of the literal sense are identified with τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ... γεγονότα πράγματα. Other texts show that the objects of the literal sense reply to descriptions such as τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει κείμενα <sup>(2)</sup>, τὰ αἰσθητῶς γεγονότα <sup>(3)</sup>, τὰ ἱστορικῶς πεπραγμένα <sup>(4)</sup>, τὰ σωματικά <sup>(5)</sup>. The sphere of these objects includes events that happened in the past (such as the occurrences in the desert of Sin which led to the sending of the manna and the quails (*Ex.* 16, 1-5)) <sup>(6)</sup>, the purport of legal enactments like *Dt.* 23, 1 ff. <sup>(7)</sup>, as well as the material prosperity promised by some prophetic oracles <sup>(8)</sup>.

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connote their objects (τὰ ἱστορικῶς γεγονότα/ ἡ τοῦ μυστηρίου δύναμις)); PG 69, 237 D (Cyril opposes the literal sense (τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ χθαμαλόν) to the objects embraced by the spiritual sense (τὰ πνευματικά)).

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 2, 13 ff. See the Greek transcription of this text on p. 33 note 1.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 664 C; *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 733, 9.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 168 B; 293 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 16 AB; 192 B; 261 C; 70, 329 D; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 31, 11 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 664 C; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 78, 13 f; *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 733 9f. Both of these texts equate τὰ σωματικά with τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει κείμενα. In the *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 2, 16 ff. τὰ αἰσθητὰ is used as the equivalent of τὰ γεγονότα πράγματα. See also PG 69, 452 D; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 571, 22.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 452 D.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 664 D.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 571, 22 f.

Let us now review some of the epithets that our author applies to the objects of the literal sense:

1. They belong in the first place to the humble grade of being that constitutes the things of this earth. At any rate it is with the expression τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ χθαμαλόν that St. Cyril winds up his explanation of *Gen.* 30, 17-43 and *Gen.* 31, 10-12; this, incidentally, amounts to nothing more than quoting these texts, save a remark to the effect that a shepherd should know that the offspring of sheep and goats is marked with the colours of the things seen during coition <sup>(1)</sup>.

2. The expression τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας πάχος <sup>(2)</sup> is one that recurs rather frequently in our author's writings. In *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* he likens the Mosaic writings to fertile gardens adorned with trees (namely, the laws concerning each single thing) which yield a varied growth of oracles. It is imperative to cut off the coarseness or thickness of the literal sense, which constitutes a kind of impurity and indigestible woodiness, in order to reach the heart of the plant, namely, the interior fruit of the oracle which is real food <sup>(3)</sup>. Elsewhere he speaks of the "coarseness" attached to the historical incidents concerning Noe that must be removed before they can be transformed into a θεωρία πνευματική <sup>(4)</sup>. Other examples confirm this point of view: the objects of the literal sense are "coarse" <sup>(5)</sup>.

3. Cyril does not shrink from admitting that the literal sense at times describes something "ugly", for instance, Judah's incest

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 237 D. See also *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 91, 22 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> The epithet παχύς belongs to the terminology of Greek rhetoric. ERNESTI (*Lexicon technologiae graecae rhetoricae*, p. 252) quoting Hermogenus notes: "τὸ παχύ extremum metaphorarum vitium est, cum tantum duritiei habent, ut frigus quoddam efficiant, et ad exilitatem quandam descendant. Unde et τὸ παχύ et εὐτελής iungit et mox rhetores qui isto metaphorarum genere utantur ψυχρεῦσθαι dicit, appellatque ὑποξύλους, ligneos". LONGINUS in his treatise Περὶ Ὑψέως draws attention to the fact that of all figures of speech periphrasis is the most risky, because, unless used with a due sense of proportion, it soon falls flat and smacks of triviality and slow wits (κουφολογίας τε ὄζον καὶ παχύτατον) (See HAMILTON FYFE'S edition, p. 206).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 585 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 49 C.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 196 A; 328 C; 76, 961 C.

with Tamar (<sup>1</sup>). He notes, however, that this "ugliness" does not hinder sacred Scripture from making it serve its purpose (<sup>2</sup>).

4. The inferiority of the objects seized by the literal sense is further emphasized by the fact that knowledge of them is acquired by the senses. This we infer from formulae such as τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει κείμενα (<sup>3</sup>) and τὰ αἰσθητά (<sup>4</sup>). To begin with, outside of New Testament usage the expression αἰσθησις has practically the same range of meaning as αἰσθάνομαι. Plato uses the expression αἰσθησις of the organ of sense. Late Platonic thought looked askance at this organ because of its connexions with matter. For Clement of Alexandria, the expression αἰσθησις seems to denote the process of sensation (<sup>5</sup>).

Our author seems to distinguish αἰσθησις from νοῦς; in his opinion the former is much inferior to the latter. A few texts will show that our conclusions are not unfounded:

a) Arguing in *Contra Iulianum* that the worlds of souls and of stars are ruled by laws, Cyril quotes Ps. 18, 1 and remarks: "If with the eyes of the mind (τοῖς ἑσωτάτῳ καὶ εἰς νοῦν ὁφθαλμοῖς) someone were to go beyond the things which appear to the senses (τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει ἢ φύσις) and raise himself above everything visible and penetrate that part of creation which is exclusively spiritual, he would find that it is ruled by suitable laws, is obedient, docile, and serves the God, who is over all" (<sup>6</sup>). Here our author equates τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει with visible creation (πᾶς ὁρῶμενον) and opposes them to the world of angels and archangels. The human νοῦς is invited to pass over the former and to penetrate the latter. In this context the expression αἰσθησις can only mean the senses; they are patently inferior to the other faculty.

(<sup>1</sup>) PG 69, 308 C: τὸ ἀκαλλές τῆς ἱστορίας. See St. Cyril's criticism of the anonymous exegete who described the command given to the prophet in Os. 1, 3 as τοῦ πράγματος τὸ ἀκαλλές (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 15, 13 ff.).

(<sup>2</sup>) PG 69, 308 C.

(<sup>3</sup>) PG 69, 664 C; *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 733, 9.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 2, 16 f.

(<sup>5</sup>) Πάλιν τε αὐτὸς ὡς αἰσθησις πρὸς τὸ αἰσθητὸν οὕτως νόησις πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν. (*Strom.*, 6, 137, 1, GCS, 15, 501, 6). See DELLING, *art.* αἰσθησις/ αἰσθάνομαι, KITTEL'S *Theol. Wörterbuch*..., I, p. 186 f.

(<sup>6</sup>) PG 76, 625 D.

b) In a passage dealing with the qualities of a good teacher Cyril singles out for special praise the power of enabling listeners to grasp realities that overreach the senses (τὰ ὑπὲρ αἰσθησὶν ἐννοεῖν) by the judicious use of examples <sup>(1)</sup>.

c) Another text proclaims: "What one touches by the hand is the figure of intelligible things and by the grossness of material things one frequently comes to know spiritual things in an exact manner" <sup>(2)</sup>. In this passage the expression τὰ χειρὸς ἀφήν ὑπομένοντα, standing for the more usual τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει, brings home to us that for Cyril αἰσθησις denotes the senses.

5. St. Cyril uses expressions which seem to imply that the knowledge acquired by acquaintance with these objects scarcely deserves consideration. Statements such as τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας εἰκαῖον ἀποτέμνεις <sup>(3)</sup>, τὸ πλάτος τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιτεμνόντες <sup>(4)</sup>, ἐν γὰρ τῷ περιττῷ τῆς ἱστορίας πολλάκις κρύπτεται τὸ πνευματικόν <sup>(5)</sup> seem to create that impression. In Greek rhetoric the expression περιττότης signifies redundance of diction in words and sentences; it is not necessarily a vice. However, in our author's opinion τὸ περιττόν τῆς ἱστορίας resembles the superfluous leaves that wrap up the most perfumed flowers in a garden. It must be removed in order to lay bare what is beneficial and useful <sup>(6)</sup>.

6. Epithets such as ὁ ἐμφανὴς λόγος <sup>(7)</sup>, ἡ ἐτοιμότατη καὶ πρόχειρος τῶν ἐν ἱστορίαις ἀπόδοσις <sup>(8)</sup>, τὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀκόλουθα <sup>(9)</sup> imply that the texts envisaging these objects do not usually give rise to difficulties; they yield obvious meanings which flow quite naturally and clearly from the words used. It should be noted that in Greek rhetoric the expression ἀκόλουθος is used

(1) PG 73, 245 CD.

(2) *Ibid.*, 264 A.

(3) PG 68, 585 D.

(4) *Ibid.*, 188 C.

(5) PG 69, 140 A.

(6) ERNESTI, *Lexicon...*, p. 269. See PG 69, 140 A.

(7) PG 70, 581 B; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 591, 9.

(8) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 364, 24 f.

(9) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 517, 15 f.

of what follows naturally <sup>(1)</sup>. Indeed, at times the meaning of the texts is so self-evident that our author deems that an explanation is altogether superfluous. Thus with regard to *Ex.* 22, 16f and *Dt.* 22, 22ff he writes: "As far as the literal sense is concerned, no explanation is needed to enable one to understand the oracle. It is quite clear. We shall prescind from it for the present and take the inner and hidden route" <sup>(2)</sup>. Apropos of *Lev.* 2, 14 he remarks: "The meaning of the literal sense is quite clear; as far I can see, no effort is required to understand it lucidly" <sup>(3)</sup>. In like manner *Lev.* 14, 1ff is clear; no benefit accrues from expounding its literal sense <sup>(4)</sup>.

7. The obvious meanings of the literal sense fail to satisfy persons whom Cyril styles the *νουνεχέστεροι* <sup>(5)</sup>. These seem to have been the better instructed members of the Church of Alexandria; it was for them that our author primarily intended the exhaustive treatment of the spiritual sense in *Glaphyra*, conceived as "a flight of stairs leading to superior knowledge" <sup>(6)</sup>. When explaining *Ex.* 34, 33 Cyril informs us that the veil on the face of Moses tells the *νουνεχέστεροι* that the truth of the law is within and that the shadow, namely, the external prescriptions (*τὰ ἐξωφανῆ*) is merely a mask <sup>(7)</sup>. References to the *νουνεχέστεροι* are not completely absent from the commentaries on *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets* <sup>(8)</sup>. In one of these texts Cyril tells us that the spiritual explanation, inasmuch as it illumines the eye of the mind, makes *νουνεχέστεροι* of inquirers <sup>(9)</sup>. Although these references

<sup>(1)</sup> *Dionysius of Halicarnassus. On Literary Composition* (RHYS ROBERTS' edition p. 286).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 540 D f.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 541 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 556 A. These remarks apply only to the historical and legal parts of the Old Testament. Obscurity is one of the characteristics of the prophetic writings and Cyril frequently draws attention to the difficulties latent in the text (*Nahum* 1, 2 f., PUSEY II, 4, 8 f.; *Nahum* 3, 8 f., PUSEY II, 56, 9 etc.).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 640 A: Οὐ γὰρ ἀρκέσει τὸ γράμμα τοῖς νουνεχέστεροις...

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 A.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 665 A.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 70, 192 A; 345 B; *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 732, 10; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 599, 10 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 70, 192 A.

are few, they establish that St. Cyril is still beholden to the esoteric leanings which characterize the Alexandrians who preceded him <sup>(1)</sup>. Moreover, they remind us clearly of the fact that, even in his later commentaries, he continues to regard the literal sense as inferior to the spiritual.

8. In their own order the objects contemplated by the literal sense are quite real. This point is illustrated by an argument used by Cyril to refute an opinion which claimed that Melchisedech was the Holy Ghost. Two παραδείγματα (as he styles them) are proposed, the absurdity of which he assumes to be self-evident: either Aaron, Cyrus and Zorobabel (who, in the course of the discussion, are formally introduced by Cyril as types of Christ) were not persons who really existed, or in the instance of each of these types the Holy Spirit was converted into a form resembling ours, so that the shadow (i. e. Aaron, Cyrus, Zorobabel) is merely a shadow and an empty name <sup>(2)</sup>. This remark applies to all the personages commemorated in the historical books of the Old Testament; they were beings endowed with real existence who lived in a period defined by the Sacred Writings. St. Cyril extends the same degree of reality to the legal prescriptions of the Old Testament; quite apart from their typical signification, they prescribed that certain things be done; moreover, these were executed concretely in the precise manner commanded <sup>(3)</sup>. The following text furnishes a further illustration of our author's mind in this regard: " Things manifest (τὰ ἐμφανεστέρα) are types of things spiritual and things among us lead us by the hand to the apprehension of things above us. Corporeal things (τὰ σωματικά) are to be taken as images that introduce us to subtile thoughts, even though in their own proper time, they were understood as they were uttered, as I mean the command given to Moses, ' Put your hand in your bosom ' " <sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> See C. MONDÉSERT, *Clément d'Alexandria. Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture*, Paris, 1944, p. 47ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 97 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 584 B: Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τύποις τεθεσπισμένα κατὰ καιρὸν, ὧδέ τε ἔχει, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπράττετο. Cyril alludes explicitly to the verses of Lev. 16 quoted by him in the preceding passage.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 159, 25 ff.



9. Considered in themselves, the objects contemplated by the literal sense have a fleeting value<sup>(1)</sup>. If they chance to have a permanent value, that is to be ascribed, not to their own intrinsic finality<sup>(2)</sup>, but to the fact that, very frequently, they were subordinated to an end belonging to another order of things. To illustrate this point let us quote a passage from Cyril's commentary on *St. John*: "Moses, inasmuch as he sanctified the tabernacle by anointing it with oil, is a type of Christ. Now it was fitting that Moses should himself be sanctified by the holy place rather than that he should bring about its sanctification. Actions concerning types and shadows are not performed for their own sake (ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν τύπῳ τελουμένων ὁ λόγος διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἧς δὴ καὶ χάριν τὰ ἐν σκιαῖς ἀνεπλάττετο). This too can be seen in the instance of the prophets. One is commanded to marry a harlot against his will (*Os.* 1, 1ff.); another is ordered to walk naked (*Is.* 20, 2 ff.); yet another is told to lie on his right side for many days (*Ez.* 4, 4). These actions were performed not for their own sake, but for the sake of the things that spring from them (ἔτελειτο δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐ πάντως δι' ἑαυτά)"<sup>(3)</sup>.

It cannot be gainsaid that St. Cyril attaches a pejorative signification to the literal sense at times. His seeming lack of esteem for it should be ascribed to the inferiority that is connatural to the order of being, to which the objects of the literal sense belong. The outlook of the Patriarch of Alexandria is dominated by the primacy of τὰ πνευματικά. Unquestionably he manages to find a

(<sup>1</sup>) *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 571, 22f: καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ὁ λόγος ὡς ἐν αἰσθητοῖς τε φησὶ καὶ προσκαίροις πράγμασιν.

(<sup>2</sup>) That the literal sense and its objects have a finality peculiar to themselves is proved by texts in which St. Cyril states emphatically that a spiritual signification must not be necessarily ascribed to *all the details envisaged by the literal sense*. Their value belongs exclusively to the domain of history. "Let nobody be offended if everything written about Jacob be not included in the θεωρία. One should realise that some historical episodes belong exclusively to the domain of the literal sense, while others contain inner meanings and can thus be transformed so as to signify the mystery" (PG 69, 192 B). In this text Cyril explicitly recognizes that *all the details of the literal sense subserve their own end*. However, they are not all subordinated to a higher end, i. e., the spiritual sense.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 600, 10 f.

place in that outlook for the objects of the literal sense; but the role devolving upon them there is less dependent on the nakedness of their own order of being, than on the dignity with which they become clothed when they are regarded as the images, types and shadows of spiritual realities.

Art. 4. — THE LITERAL SENSE IN ITS WIDE AND LESS STRICT SIGNIFICATION <sup>(1)</sup>

§ 1. — *The approach made by commentators of Antiquity to the literal sense in its wide and less strict signification*

Nowadays nobody doubts that a sense of Scripture can be expressed in figurative language and yet be literal at the same time <sup>(2)</sup>. In Antiquity this point of view was not widespread, with the result that terminology was much confused at times. The school of Antioch has been credited with the honour of being the first to have formulated a definition of the literal sense that includes figurative language in its range <sup>(3)</sup>. The Antiochians, it is claimed, invoked this definition in questions dealing with the spiritual sense and thus paved the way for the construction of exegetical theories <sup>(4)</sup>. A rapid survey of the attitude of certain writers of Antiquity will show how far exactly these claims are true.

Of the exponents of the school of Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia, to our knowledge, is the only one who explicitly includes

<sup>(1)</sup> In Latin this sense is currently styled the *sensus litteralis improprius* (See A. FERNÁNDEZ, *Institutiones biblicae* I, p. 342). Concerning the corresponding English terminology consult H. POPE, *The Catholic Student's "Aids" to the Study of the Bible*, I, p. 94).

<sup>(2)</sup> See those authors quoted on p. 37, notes 3 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> L. PIROT, *L'œuvre exégétique de Théodore de Mopsueste*, Rome, 1913, p. 178, n. 3.

<sup>(4)</sup> "...Cette définition du sens littéral n'a pas toujours été faite nettement dans l'antiquité. D'où parfois de bien regrettables confusions. C'est l'honneur de l'école d'Antioche de l'avoir fait un point de départ dans les questions relatives au sens spirituel. Elle rendait ainsi possible l'édification de théories exégétiques" (A. M. DUBARLE, *Le sens spirituel de l'Écriture*, (*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 31 (1947) pp. 43 f.).

the metaphorical sense in the literal sense<sup>(1)</sup>. He likewise draws a clear distinction between the figurative sense thus understood and the higher meaning that is commonly styled the spiritual sense<sup>(2)</sup>. These views are not the object of a formal treatise; they are inferred from sporadic remarks that drop from the Bishop of Mopsuestia's pen during the course of his exegesis of individual biblical texts<sup>(3)</sup>. In the school of Antioch Theodore was preceded by Diodorus of Tarsus who treats briefly of the senses

(1) Apropos of *Joel* 2, 28-29 THEODORE offers an interpretation in which he claims that the prophet alludes to the rich providence (κηδεμονία) that God will extend to all men, but to the Jews in greater measure. This explanation is expressly styled ἡ μὲν δὴ πρόχειρος τῆς λέξεως ἔννοια αὕτη (PG 66, 231 A). In the paragraphs that follow Theodore refers to the perfect accomplishment of this prophecy in Christ. The events which took place then so exceeded those, that took place under the law, that the things of the Old Testament held the rank of αἰνιγμα whereas the greatness of the things fulfilled in Christ holds the dignity of truth (*ibid.*, 252 B). In the light of this comparison the Bishop of Mopsuestia now styles *metaphorical* the signification that he previously calls ἡ πρόχειρος τῆς λέξεως ἔννοια (ὥστε καὶ ὑπερβολικῶς εἰρησθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πράγματα εἶχεν (*ibid.*, 232 B) ...διόπερ ἐχρήσατο τῇ φωνῇ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος, ὡς ἂν πότε μὲν κατὰ τινὰ αἰτίαν μεταφορικῶς εἰρημένην, νῦν δὲ ἀληθῆ τὴν ἔκβασιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν λαβοῦσα τῶν πραγμάτων (*ibid.*, 232 C). ...ὥς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πάλαι διὰ τοῦ προφήτου μεταφορικῶς ἢ ὑπερβολικῶς εἰρημένον, πραγμάτων τὴν δεῖξιν, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἐλαττοῦσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν λόγον (*ibid.*, 233 A). These texts clearly prove that Theodore regards the metaphorical or "hyperbolic" sense as a real literal sense.

(2) Notice how sharply Theodore contrasts ἡ φωνὴ μεταφορικῶς εἰρημένη with ἀληθῆς ἢ ἔκβασις (the spiritual sense) in the foregoing texts. The following extract equally shows that Theodore draws a line of demarcation between ὑπερβολικώτερον (the metaphorical literal sense) and ἀλήθεια (the spiritual sense): Πολλὰ τοίνυν τῶν παραδόξως γινομένων, εἴτε περὶ τὸν λαόν, εἴτε τοὺς ἐπὶ τισιν ἐκλεγέντας, λέγει μὲν ὑπερβολικώτερον ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἡ Γραφή, τῆς λέξεως κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἐχούσης, εὐρίσκεται δὲ ἀληθῆ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅτ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κρίνηται τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ... (PG 66, 556 D).

(3) Theodore frequently draws attention to the figurative language that occurs in the texts on which he comments, *e. g.* "Εοικε μὲν ὁ προφήτης ὑπερβολικῶς τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν, εἰς μεῖζονα ἔκκληξιν τῶν ἀκουόντων (PG 66, 221 D); βαθυτέρην φηοῖν εἰργάσατο τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τὸ δολερόν καὶ βαθὺ τῆς βουλῆς παραστήσας (R. DEVRESSE, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes*, p. 41, 18f.); see *ibid.*, p. 62, 20, 96, 16 ff., 138, 10 etc. However, to our knowledge, he explicitly equates the metaphorical sense with the literal sense only in the text discussed overleaf.

of Scripture in the general preface to his commentary on the *Psalmes* as well as in the prologue to *Ps.* 118 <sup>(1)</sup>. This exegete gives a definition of τροπολογία <sup>(2)</sup>, a figure of speech that he formally opposes to ἀλληγορία <sup>(3)</sup>. Diodorus does not say explicitly whether τροπολογία belongs to the literal sense or not. If, however, his definition of τροπολογία be compared with that of ιστορία <sup>(4)</sup> (an expression that he uses at times as a designation of the literal sense) <sup>(5)</sup>, it would seem that he opposes τροπολογία to ιστορία, for he expressly excludes two figures of speech from the latter, namely, ἡθοποιία and προσωποποιία. Since, on the other hand, the Bishop of Tarsus opposes ιστορία to θεωρία <sup>(6)</sup>, we infer that in some way or other he associates τροπολογία with the latter.

<sup>(1)</sup> L. MARIÈS, *Extraits du commentaire de Diodore de Tarse sur les Psaumes* (*Recherches de science religieuse* 9 (1909), pp. 79-101).

<sup>(2)</sup> ... Τροπολογία δέ ἐστιν ὡς ὅταν, πρᾶγμα διαγούμενος ὁ προφήτης, τὰς φανεράς τῶν λέξεων τρεπῇ εἰς αὐξήσιν τοῦ λεγομένου, σαφηνιζομένης τῆς τροπολογίας ἐκ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τῶν λεγομένων (*art. cit.* p. 92). Père Mariès translates this definition as follows: "Il y a style figuré, par exemple, quand le prophète, en recountant un événement emploie des expressions imaginées pour faire valoir ce qu'il dit; le style figuré s'explique alors clairement par la suite du discours" (*art. cit.*, p. 93).

<sup>(3)</sup> ... Τῆς θείας γραφῆς τὰ μὲν ἢ λέξεις δηλοῖ, τῶν δὲ ἢ ἔννοια θεωρεῖται. Οὕσης οὖν πολλῆς διαφορᾶς μεταξὺ ιστορίας τε καὶ θεωρίας, ἀλληγορίας τε καὶ τροπολογίας καὶ παραβολῆς, ἀνάγκη τὸν ἐρμηνεύοντα φυλοκρινεῖν καὶ σαφηνίζειν ἕκαστον τρόπον, ὡς ἂν ἴδοις ἀναγινώσκων τί μὲν ιστορία, τί δὲ θεωρία καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἀκολούθως (*ibid.*, p. 90). Diodorus defines ἀλληγορία: "Ἕλληνες μὲν γὰρ ἀλληγορίαν ὀνομάζουσι πρᾶγμα ἄλλως μὲν νοούμενον, ἄλλως δὲ ἀγορευόμενον, ὅλον ὡς ἐν ὑποδείγματι (*ibid.* p. 90, 1 ff).

<sup>(4)</sup> Ἱστορία δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα γεγονότος καθαρά διήγησις· εὐδοκιμοῦσα ὅταν μὴ ἐπινοίαις τοῦ λέγοντος μήτε ἐπεισοδίοις τισὶν ἢ ἡθοποιίαις ἢ προσωποποιίαις ἀνομέμικται, οἷα ἐστὶν ἢ κατὰ τὸν Ἰώβ ἱστορία. Σαφῆς γὰρ οὕσα καὶ δῆλη καὶ σύντομος ταῖς ἐπινοίαις τοῦ συγγεγραμμένου. καὶ ταῖς ἡθοποιίαις ταῖς μακραῖς οὐ παρέχει τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι κόπον (*Extraits...*, pp. 94, 37-95, 4). MARIÈS translates this definition as follows: "L'Histoire, elle est le pur récit d'un événement passé. Son mérite, c'est de n'être mêlée ni de réflexions de l'auteur, ni de digressions, d'éthopées, de proposopées, comme l'est par exemple l'histoire de Job. Quand l'histoire, en effet, est claire, limpide, concise, elle ne fatigue pas les lecteurs par les réflexions de l'écrivain ou les longues éthopées" (*ibid.*, p. 97).

<sup>(5)</sup> See p. 39, note 8.

<sup>(6)</sup> ... Οὕσης οὖν πολλῆς διαφορᾶς μεταξὺ ιστορίας τε καὶ θεωρίας. See the text which is quoted in full in note 3.

St. John Chrysostom, who ranks as one of the greatest of the Antiochians, is of opinion that three different rhetorical categories can be discovered in Scripture: 1. the literal sense (τὰ δὲ οὕτω δεῖ νοεῖν, ὡς εἴρηται μόνον); 2. the figurative sense (τὰ δὲ ἀπεναντίας ταῖς λέξεσιν); 3. a form of utterance which at one and the same time is literal and typical (ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὸ κείμενον δέχεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δηλούμενον); this third category is styled ἀναγωγή; in one instance at least St. Chrysostom formulates it in terms of the antithesis τὰ αἰσθητά/τὰ νοητά<sup>(1)</sup>. From

(1) While explaining *Ps.* 9, 8 CHRYSOSTOM draws attention to the fact that a variant reading has καθεδεῖται instead of μένει. He remarks that Scripture frequently uses the expression καθεδεῖται as a synonym of οὐσία. In the present instance the prophet, with a view to inculcating fear contrasts God's essence which is without limitation with the frailty and transitoriness of the human race. Chrysostom then remarks that the verse under consideration admits of a spiritual sense (ἀναγωγή). Before expounding it he alludes to the different rhetorical categories that are found in Scripture: Εἰ δὲ χρή τι καὶ κατὰ ἀναγωγὴν εἰπεῖν, οὐ παραιτητέον. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι καὶ θεωρῆσαι· τὰ δὲ οὕτω δεῖ νοεῖν, ὡς εἴρηται μόνον· ὡς τό, “Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν”· τὰ δὲ ἀπεναντίας ταῖς λέξεσιν· ὡς τό, “Ἐλαφὸς φιλίας, καὶ πῶλος σὺν χαρίτων, ὀμιλεῖτω σοί”. Καὶ πάλιν· “Ἔστω σοι μόνῳ ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλοτριος μετασχέτω σοί. Ἡ πηγὴ σου τοῦ ὕδατος σοι ἔστω μόνῳ”. Chrysostom argues that, if sayings such as “*Let your loving hart and your graceful colt share your company*” (*Prov.* 5, 19) and “*Let them be yours alone, and let no stranger share them. Let your fountain of water be really your own*” (*Prov.* 5, 17, 18) are understood in the fashion prescribed by the literal sense, the command ensuing, namely, to give water to nobody, would be full of hardheartedness. However, in the case in point Scripture alludes to a man's wife whose society a husband is commanded to enjoy temperately since she is regarded as a fountain and a hart on account of the purity of conjugal union. The Bishop of Constantinople next alludes to another category of biblical utterance in which ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὸ κείμενον δέχεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δηλούμενον. The example that Chrysostom cites is “*Just as Moses lifted up the serpent*” (*Jn.* 3, 13). He notes that in this instance one must believe not only that the event happened (for it actually did come to pass) but also that it has a special signification as a type of Christ (καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τύπον τοῦ Χριστοῦ). In similar fashion *Ps.* 9, 8 can be applied to the Jews that crucified Christ (*PG* 55, c. 126f.). St. Chrysostom touches on these ideas again apropos of *Ps.* 46, 1: “What I said before I now repeat: some things must be understood as they are uttered, others, however, in a way that is contrary to the literal sense (...τὰ μὲν ὡς εἴρηται ἐκληπτέον, τὰ δὲ ἀπεναντίας τοῖς κειμένοις), as is true in the case of *Is.* 11, 6 ‘*The wolves and sheep will graze together*’. We do not allude to wolves and sheep,

this last category he patently distinguishes the figurative sense. To the relation existing between the figurative sense and the literal sense in general he makes no explicit reference. In the passages cited in the footnotes the figurative sense is obviously opposed to what is nowadays styled the strictly literal sense <sup>(1)</sup>, a mode of utterance that Greek rhetoricians generally call *κυριολογία* <sup>(2)</sup>. Since Chrysostom frequently opposes *ιστορία* to *ἀναγωγή* <sup>(3)</sup>, one might plausibly infer that in some way or other, he associates the figurative sense (which, as has been duly noted, he distinguishes from *ἀναγωγή*) with *ιστορία*. However, this is an inference that we ourselves draw from St. Chrysostom's statements; it is not the explicit conclusion of a theory worked out formally by himself.

The terminology of Theodoretus, the fourth great exponent of the Antiochian school, somewhat puzzles us. In the few relevant texts available he seems to draw a line of demarcation

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nor stakes, nor ox nor bull, but we describe men's morals in terms of an image of irrational beasts. But yet other texts have a twofold acceptation (τὰ δὲ κατὰ διπλὴν ἐκδοκὴν), so that while understanding τὰ αἰσθητά we grasp τὰ νοητά also. This is verified in the ἀναγωγή of Abraham's son. We know that the son was immolated. And through the son we extract (ἐκλέγομεν) something else that is hidden in the thought (ἐτερόν τι ἐγκεκρυμμένον τῷ νοήματι), namely, the Cross. Again, in the lamb that was killed in Egypt we express the image of the Passion. This is what we must do in the present instance also. For the Psalmist does not merely allude to the Arabs and the neighbouring nations alone; he summons all the nations" (PG 55, 209). Notice how the Antiochian exegete here formulates the spiritual sense in terms of the antithesis τὰ αἰσθητά/ τὰ νοητά.

<sup>(1)</sup> What Chrysostom rejects apropos of *Prov.* 5, 19, 17-18 is τὸ κείμενον, namely, the meaning (τὸ νόημα) directly derived from the words (τὸ ῥῆμα): Τοῦτο γάρ, ἂν τὸ κείμενον νοήσης, καὶ μὴ φύγῃς μὲν τὸ ῥῆμα, διώκῃς δὲ τὸ νόημα (PG 55, 126).

<sup>(2)</sup> Greek rhetoricians distinguished two rhetorical categories, namely, *κυριολογία* and *τρόπος* (See L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci*..., 3, 215). The expression *λέξις* connoted language unadorned with literary graces. ERNESTI notes: Deinde ἡ λέξις etiam pro oratione soluta et vulgari dicitur, quatenus rationi dicendi poeticae et metricae opposita est (*Lexicon technologiae graecae rhetoricae*..., p. 196).

<sup>(3)</sup> Ἐξεστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῦτο εἰπεῖν κατὰ ἀναγωγὴν τὸ ῥῆμα... Ἄλλ' ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν λοιπόν.. (PG 55, 171); Κατὰ μὲν ἀναγωγὴν τὸ τῆς Καينῆς Διαθήκης ὄσμα καινὸν εἰρηται... Κατὰ δὲ ἱστορίαν κ. τ. λ. (PG 55, 493).

between *ιστορία* and *τρόπος* <sup>(1)</sup>. In a remark passed apropos of *Hab.* 3, 18ff. he leaves us under the impression that he regards *τύπος* as a synonym for *τρόπος* <sup>(2)</sup>. Copying perhaps the usage of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Bishop of Cyrrhus uses the expression *κυρίως* to denote the perfect accomplishment of prophecy in Christ <sup>(3)</sup>; Theodoretus also opposes *κυρίως* to *ιστορία* <sup>(4)</sup> and to *τύπος* <sup>(5)</sup>. Briefly, apart from Theodore and perhaps Chrysostom, the Antiochians do not seem to regard the figurative sense as a literal sense; they appear rather to associate it with the spiritual sense.

Bate remarks that in the Alexandrian tradition of exegesis the word *τροπικός* is practically equivalent to "allegorical" <sup>(6)</sup>. Suffice it to quote just one example of this usage from Origen. In a passage of the commentary on the gospel of *St. Matthew*, published by Klostermann, the great Alexandrian criticizes Marcion for interpreting *Mt.* 19, 12 *σωματικῶς* and by refusing to allegorize (*μὴ δεῖν ἀλληγορεῖν*). Origen himself interprets the third class

(1) ...Εἰ μὲν οὖν τροπικῶς βούλει νοῆσαι τὰ ὀνόματα, οὕτω νοήσεις. Εἰ δὲ ιστορικῶς, ὡς ἦδη προειρήκαμεν (PG 81, 1532 A). ...Κατὰ μὲν τὴν ιστορίαν οὕτω συμβέβηκε τό. "Ἀνταναιρῶν πολεμίους... πυρί". Τροπικώτερον δὲ εἴ τις ἐθέλοι νοῆσαι... (PG 80, 1205 C).

(2) Οἶδα μὲν οὖν, ὡς τινες ἅπασιν τὴν τοῦ Ἀμβρακίου προσευχὴν ιστορικῶς νενοηκότες, περὶ τῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπαγούρου ἔφασαν τὸν Προφήτην ταῦτα προειρηκεῖναι· ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν καὶ τυπικῶς ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τις ταῦτα προειρηθῆναι βούλεται, οὐ διενεχθήσομαι· τοῖς γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐρμηνευθεῖσι συμβαίνει καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη διάνοια, εἴπερ ἀληθῶς τύπος ἐναργῆς τῶν νέων τὰ παλαιά (PG 81, 1836 BC). The manner of signification, that Theodoretus styles *τροπικῶς* and *τροπικώτερον* in the text quoted in the preceding note, is here called *τυπικῶς*.

(3) Commenting on *Ps.* 15, 11 Theodore of Mopsuestia remarks: ...Κυρίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ ἐννοιαν, τὴν πρὸς τὰ ῥητὰ λέγω τὴν ἔκβασιν ἔχει ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ ἐχρήσατο ὡς τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκβάσεως ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κυριωτέραν τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀποφανούσης (R. DEVRESSE, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes...*, p. 100, 10 ff.).

(4) ...Οὐκοῦν ἡ πρόρρησις κυρίως μὲν ἀρμότει τῷ Σωτῆρι Χριστῷ· κατὰ δὲ ιστορίαν τῷ Σαδούκ... (PG 80, 537 C).

(5) ...Τοῦτο τυπικῶς μὲν ἐδέξατο τὸ πέρασ, ἡνίκα τοῖς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦσιν ἀπηγγέλθη τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἡ ἄφεςις. Ἀληθῶς δὲ καὶ κυρίως ἀρμόττει τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡ προφητεία ἀποστόλοις (PG 81, 440 A).

(6) H. N. BATE, *Some Technical Terms of Greek Exegesis* (*The Journal of Theological Studies*, 24 (1922-23), p. 66).

of eunuchs as a τροπολογία: those who abstain from venereal pleasures, he argues, are styled eunuchs τροπικῶς <sup>(1)</sup>. Here the figurative sense is manifestly associated with ἀλληγορία, namely, a mode of scriptural utterance which Alexandrian tradition contrasts with the literal sense <sup>(2)</sup>. The well-known passage of Περὶ ἀρχῶν, which states so categorically that the whole of Scripture has a spiritual but not a corporeal signification <sup>(3)</sup> shows that Origen excludes all figurative and metaphorical language from what he styles the literal sense <sup>(4)</sup>. Inheriting proba-

(1) ...Πρὶν δὲ ἔλθω ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν τῶν κατὰ τὸν τόπον, λεκτέον ὅτι, εἶπερ τι ἀκόλουθον ἑαυτῷ ὁ Μαρκίων πεποίηκε φάσκων μὴ δεῖν ἀλληγορεῖν τὴν γραφὴν (*Origenes Matthäuserklärung*, GCS, 40, 1, 356, 24 f.). ...Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν σφῆξιν τῶν τριῶν εὐνουχισμῶν καὶ εὐδοκοῦντες τῇ τροπολογίᾳ τοῦ τρίτου, τοιαῦτα φήσομεν καὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων δύο. εὐνούχοι τροπικῶς νῦν οἱ ἀργοὶ πρὸς ἀφροδισία λέγοντ' ἂν καὶ μὴ ἐπιδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς κατὰ ταῦτα ἀσελγείαις καὶ ἀκαθαρσίαις ἢ τοῖς παραπλησίοις αὐταῖς (*ibid.*, 357, 11 ff.).

(2) H. B. BATE, *Some Technical Terms...*, p. 60. Concerning Origen's use of the expression *allegoria* see H. DE LUBAC, "Typologie" et "Allegorisme" in *Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), p. 199.

(3) Διακείμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς περὶ πάσης τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν ἔχει τὸ πνευματικόν, οὐ πᾶσα δὲ τὸ σωματικόν (GCS, 22, p. 331, 13 f.).

(4) A recent interpreter of Origen comments on this text as follows: "...Origène déclare dans un autre passage au sujet de l'Écriture, qu'elle a tout entière un sens spirituel, mais qu'elle n'a pas tout entière un sens corporel: car souvent, précise-t-il le sens corporel se révèle impossible. Ce qui fait que certains textes d'Écriture n'ont pas de sens corporel, c'est-à-dire de sens littéral, mais seul le sens spirituel. Pour comprendre exactement sa pensée, il faut noter en effet, que la terminologie d'Origène diffère de la nôtre. Ainsi il nie le sens historique ou corporel toutes les fois qu'il rencontre un anthropomorphisme, une métaphore, une parabole, une expression figurée. Dans notre terminologie d'aujourd'hui nous dirions qu'il s'agit là d'un sens littéral figuré par opposition au sens littéral propre. C'est ce qui résulte manifestement des exemples qu'apporte le grand exégète: 'des épines naissent dans la maison de l'homme ivre' (Prov. XXVI, 9); ou parlant du temple construit par Salomon 'ni marteau ni hache ne fut entendu dans la maison de Dieu' (1 Rois VI, 7); ou encore dans le Lévitique, à propos de la prescription de 'faire inspecter la lèpre des murailles, des peaux, et des fils de tissage par les prêtres pour la guérir' (Lev. XIII, 1-59-XIV, 1-57). Du même la promenade de Dieu au paradis et le fait qu'Adam se cache sous l'arbre sont 'des figures' au 'sens caché', dans un récit d'apparence historique qui ne s'est point passé à la lettre comme il est raconté" (M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique, enquête exégétique et critique*, Bruges-Paris-Louvain, 1947, p. 447).



bly in this respect the terminology of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea opposes τρόπος to the literal sense<sup>(1)</sup> and regards expressions such as τροπολογία, κατὰ διάνοιαν θεωρεῖν, κατὰ θεωρίαν δέχεσθαι as synonyms<sup>(2)</sup>.

Of Latin exegetes St. Jerome, who depends on the traditions of both Alexandria and Antioch<sup>(3)</sup>, is, to our knowledge, the only writer that explicitly classifies the metaphorical sense as a literal sense<sup>(4)</sup>. However, his terminology is somewhat inconsistent, because, while recognizing that allegory is a trope<sup>(5)</sup> he employs expressions such as *tropologia* and *allegoria* to designate the spiritual sense<sup>(6)</sup>. St. Augustine, too, admits that Scripture uses

(<sup>1</sup>) Apropos of Is. 8, 3f. EUSEBIUS notes: ...Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς λέξιν καὶ τροπικῶς ἐξειληφότες, πεπληρωσθαι αὐτὰ δείκνυμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενέσεως, παριστῶντες τοτὲ μὲν ῥητῶς κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον διάνοιαν τοτὲ δὲ τροπικῶς δεῖν ἐπιβάλλειν ταῖς προφητείας. (*Demonstratio evangelica*, 7, 1, 113, GCS 23, 319, 34 ff.).

(<sup>2</sup>) Σαφῶς γὰρ ταῦτα οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἢ μετὰ θεωρίας τῆς κατὰ μόνην τροπολογίαν τὴν διάνοιαν σφῆζειν (*ibid.*, 7, 1, 115, GCS, 23, P. 320, 15). Concerning Is. 7, 21ff. EUSEBIUS remarks: Εἰ δὲ προσκόπτοι τις ταῖς τοιαῖςδε τροπολογίαις, ὥρα τοῦτον μὴδὲ τὰς ὀνομαζομένας μυίας ἢ μελίσσας μὴδὲ τὸ ξυρὸν μὴδὲ τὸν πῶγωνα μὴδὲ τὰς τρίχας τῶν ποδῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν θεωρεῖν, εἰς ἀτόπους καὶ ἀσυστάτους ἐκπίπτειν μυθολογίας. εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη ταῦτα μὴ ἄλλως ἢ κατὰ μόνην θεωρίαν δέχεσθαι, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα παραπλησίως (*Demonstratio evangelica*, 2, 394, GCS, 23, 78, 3 ff.).

(<sup>3</sup>) A. VACCARI, *I fattori della esegesi geronimiana* (Biblica, I, pp. 457-480).

(<sup>4</sup>) Hanc habet consuetudinem sermo divinus ut per tropologiam et metaphoram historiae exprimat veritatem (PL 25, 909 B). Apropos of *Iiab*. 3, 14-16 Jerome writes: Quod si quis dixerit: Ecce in historiae expositione dum nescis, allegoriae clausus es retibus, et tropologiam historiae miscuisti. Audiat non semper metaphoram historiae allegoriam consonare: quia frequenter historia ipsa metaphorice textitur, et sub imagine mulieris vel unius viri de toto populo praedicatur (PL 25, 1328 C).

(<sup>5</sup>) Allegoria proprie de arte grammatica est, et quo a metaphora, vel caeteris tropis differat in scholis parvuli discimus (PL 25, 389 BC).

(<sup>6</sup>) Debemus enim Scripturam sanctam, primum secundum litteram intelligere, facientes in ethica quaecunque praecepta sunt. Secundo iuxta allegoriam, id est, intelligentiam spiritualem. Tertio secundum futurorum beatitudinem (PL 25, 1027); Et iubetur nobis ut eloquia veritatis, id est, Scripturas sanctas intelligamus tripliciter. Primum, iuxta litteram; secundo medio per tropologiam; tertio sublimius, ut mystica quaeque noscamus... Medie autem et iuxta tropologiam, quando recedimus a littera et paululum

figurative language <sup>(1)</sup>. Yet he uses the selfsame expression *figura* to designate the figurative sense and the spiritual sense <sup>(2)</sup>; that is tantamount to admitting that the former is not to be classi-

ad altiora conscendimus... (PL 25, 147 D). See also PL 25, 1474 C-D; 1520 B-C and 1551 A. With regard to Jerome's treatment of the *sensus literalis improprius* see A. PENNA, *Principi e carattere...*, pp. 74-78.

<sup>(1)</sup> Nam ubicumque velut aliud dicitur ut aliud intelligatur, etsi nomen ipsius tropi in loquendi arte non invenitur, tropica locutio est... Proinde sicut in verbis propriis, de quibus superius disputavimus, ubi res ut dicuntur intelligendae sunt; sic in translatis quae faciunt tropicas locutiones, ubi aliud ex alio intelligendum est, de quibus hucusque quantum visum est, satis egimus; non solum admonendi sunt studiosi venerabilium Litterarum, ut in Scripturis sanctis genera locutionum sciant, et quomodo apud eas aliquid dici soleat, vigilanter advertant, memoriter retineant; verum etiam, quod est praecipuum et maxime necessarium, orent ut intelligant (*De doctrina christiana*, 3, 56, PL 34, 88).

<sup>(2)</sup> In the following passage ST. AUGUSTINE uses the expression *figuratae locutiones* to designate the figurative sense: Rerum autem ignorantia facit obscuras figuratas locutiones, cum ignoramus vel animantium, vel lapidum, vel herbarum naturas, aliarumve rerum, quae plerumque in Scripturis similitudinis alicuius gratia ponuntur... Multi autem propter ignorantiam hyssopi, dum nesciant quam vim habeat, vel ad purgandum pulmonem, vel, ut dicitur, ad saxa radicibus penetranda, cum sit herba brevis atque humilis, omnino invenire non possunt quare sit dictum, *Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor* (Ps. 50, 9) (*De doctrina christiana*, 2, 24 (PL 34, 47)). On the other hand *figuratus nodus* is used as a designation of the mystical sense in the paragraph that immediately follows: Numerorum etiam imperitia multa facit non intelligi, translate ac mystice posita in Scripturis. Ingenium quippe, ut ita dixerim ingenuum non potest non moveri quid sibi velit quod Moyses, et Elias, et ipse Dominus quadraginta diebus ieiunaverunt. Cuius actionis figuratus quidam nodus, nisi huius numeri cognitione et consideratione, non solvitur (*De doctrina christiana*, 2, 25, PL 34, 48). In another place St. Augustine writes: Audisti dictum proprium, quia resurrexuri sumus: factum proprium, quia sicut dictum est, ascendit Paulus Ierosolymam videre Petrum. Dictum est figuratum *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes*: factum figuratum, unctus lapis, qui fuit ad caput Iacob. Debetur expectationi vestrae quod ex utroque sit, et proprio gestum est et significat figuratum. Novimus Abraham duos filios habuisse, unum ex ancilla, alium ex libera; proprie gestum, non solum narratum, sed et factum: figuratum ibi expectas? Haec sunt duo Testamenta (*Gal.* 4, 22 ff.). (*Sermo* 89, 6, PL 38, 538). Here the Bishop of Hippo uses the expressions *figura*, *figuratus* to denote the figurative sense and the typical or spiritual sense. Elsewhere he seems to regard *figuratus* and *allegoricus* as synonymous (PL 34, 72, 374, 375, 378).

fied rhetorically with the literal sense. Another exegete, Junilius Africanus, who perpetuates the Antiochian tradition in Latin letters, makes *figura* a synonym for *typus* <sup>(1)</sup>; he thus deflects from the usage of his mentor, Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, as we have noted <sup>(2)</sup>, does not associate the figurative sense with the typical or spiritual sense.

Among later Latin exegetes much confusion seems to reign concerning the metaphorical sense of Scripture. Rabbanus Maurus notes that the essential task of an exegete is to distinguish the *sensus proprius* from the metaphorical sense; yet he does not seem to include the latter in the literal sense <sup>(3)</sup>. Hugh of St. Victor correctly regards the metaphorical sense as a literal sense; yet in his *Eruditio didascalica* he treats it as a typical sense <sup>(4)</sup>. Peter of Poitiers is guilty of similar lack of precision <sup>(5)</sup>. Honorius of Autun seems to classify the metaphorical sense with allegory <sup>(6)</sup>. Both Alexander of Hales <sup>(7)</sup> and Ulrich of Strasburg <sup>(8)</sup> include parable in the literal sense. St. Bonaventure too seems to consider the figurative sense as belonging to the literal sense <sup>(9)</sup>. Contrary to the hesitations of those who preceded him and in full agreement with his contemporaries, St. Thomas of Aquin expressly includes the metaphorical sense in his definition of the literal sense <sup>(10)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Quid est typus ? Quam nos figuram dicimus sive formam, sicut dicit Apostolus... Quid est ergo typus sive figura ? Quot sunt typorum vel figurarum modi (*Instituta regularia divinae legis*, 1. 2, c. 16 et 17 (Kihn's edition, p. 509 and 510).

<sup>(2)</sup> See p. 52, note 1.

<sup>(3)</sup> C. SPICQ, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1944, p. 20.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98 and p. 101, note 7.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268 f.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>(9)</sup> P. DEMPSEY, *De principiis exegeticis S. Bonaventurae*, Romae, 1945, p. 49 f.

<sup>(10)</sup> Quamvis spiritualia sub figuris rerum corporalium proponantur, non tamen ea quae circa spiritualia intenduntur per figuras sensibiles, ad mysticum pertinent sensum, sed litteralem; quia sensus litteralis est qui primo per verba intenditur sive proprie dicta, sive figurate (*In Iob*, Vivès's edition, XVIII, p. 6). See C. SPICQ, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

He is the first to give a reasoned justification of this classification <sup>(1)</sup> which, since his time, has been accepted universally in biblical hermeneutics. Enough has been said to show that the attitude of Christian exegetes to the *sensus litteralis improprius* of Scripture was neither constant nor unanimous. The position of Cyril in the field of biblical hermeneutics will be much enhanced, if we demonstrate that he regards the metaphorical sense as a literal sense. It is to the task of furnishing such a proof that we now set ourselves.

§ 2. — *St. Cyril and the literal sense in its wide and less strict signification*

That the Patriarch of Alexandria is aware of the existence of a literal meaning in a wide and less strict sense is proved by the occasional references which he makes to the tropes of sacred Scripture:

a) Αἶνιγμα / παραβολή / παράδειγμα

According to St. Cyril the literal sense of biblical texts, at least as far as the Pentateuch is concerned, yields obvious meanings that create no difficulties for readers <sup>(2)</sup>. In the opening paragraphs of his prologue to the commentary on the *Minor Prophets* he tells us that the prophets in their visions beheld *the objects of the literal*

(1) ...“ Le sens parabolique (ou métaphorique) est un sens littéral; car les mots peuvent avoir une signification propre ou figurée. En ce dernier cas, le sens littéral ne désigne par la figure elle-même, mais ce qui se cache sous cette figure; par exemple lorsque l'Écriture parle de bras de Dieu, le sens littéral de ces mots ne signifie par que Dieu possède un bras corporel, mais qu'il est doué d'une force active symbolisée par ce membre”. Plus clairement encore: « Le sens littéral peut se rapporter à une réalité d'une double manière: en toute propriété d'expression comme lorsqu'on dit: le pré est riant. Ces deux manières de s'exprimer se rencontrent dans l'Écriture; la première: Jésus est monté aux cieux; la seconde: Jésus est assis à la droite de Dieu. Voilà pourquoi le sens littéral implique le sens parabolique ou métaphorique ” (*ibid.*, p. 275). Père Spicq refers us to the *Summa theologica*, 1<sup>a</sup> pars, q. 1, a. 10, ad 3<sup>um</sup>; 1<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 102, a. 2 ad 1<sup>um</sup>; *Quodl.* 7, a. 15, ad 1<sup>um</sup>; and *Ad Gal.*, cap. 4, lect. 7.

(2) See p. 47, no. 6.

*sense* in an obscure manner at times <sup>(1)</sup>. That remark sounds like a warning to expect that *the manner in which the prophets describe these objects* is equally obscure on occasions. While commenting on the prophecy of *Joel*, Cyril expressly describes the kind of obscurity that prophetic utterance assumes on these occasions: "The language of the holy prophets is always hidden. It is only with reluctance that they utter oracles betokening sad events. They make their message obscure on account of the unbridled anger of their listeners. By fashioning enigmas and parables, they are the occasion of considerable benefit to them. At times, their discourse is made up of examples (παράδειγματα). Ez. 17, 3f. is an instance in point: 'A great eagle with large wings, spreading them out very far with many claws, which has the design of entering into the Lebanon- and he took the choice branches of the cedar, he cropped off the ends of the tender twigs, and brought them into the land of Chanaan'. This text alludes neatly to the ruler of the land of the Babylonians, who cuts off the choicest elements of the Israelites and transfers those captured to his own territory" <sup>(2)</sup>. In this and similar instances St. Cyril holds that the prophet's meaning is carried by αινίγματα, παραβολαί and παραδείγματα.

Greek rhetoric attaches a precise connotation to each of these expressions. First of all παραβολή and παράδειγμα are species of the figure that is styled ὁμοίωσις. Tryphon in his treatise Περὶ τρόπων remarks: Ὅμοιωσις ἐστὶ ὁῦσις, καθ' ἣν ἕτερον ἑτέρω παραβάλλομεν, εἶδη δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσι τρία, εἰκὼν, παράδειγμα, παραβολή <sup>(3)</sup>. The ὁμοίωσις therefore corresponds to the simile of English rhetoric; it is a simple comparison in which two realities are juxtaposed. In the παράδειγμα one of these realities is an event of the past, which is compared with some present event, with a view to persuading or dissuading one from a determined course of action;

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY, I, 2, 16 ff. This text is quoted in Greek on p. 33, note 1.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 290, 18 ff. Cyril's views may be usefully compared with the following quotation from JEROME: Neque enim simplex a prophetis historia et gestorum ordo narratur; sed aenigmatum plena sunt omnia; aliudque in verbis sonant, aliud tenetur in sensibus; ut quae aestimaveris plana et inoffensa currere lectione, sequentium rursum obscuritatibus involvantur (PL 24, 629 A).

<sup>(3)</sup> L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci*..., 3, 200, 4 ff.

Tryphon defines it: παράδειγμά ἐστι τοῦ προγεγονότος παρένθεσις καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ὑποκειμένων πρὸς παραίνεσιν προτροπῆς ἢ ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκεν (1). From this figure one must distinguish the παραβολή, which Tryphon describes as a comparison, a juxtaposition of two terms each of which is taken in its strictly literal sense: παραβολή ἐστι λόγος διὰ παραθέσεως ὁμοίου πράγματος τὸ ὑποκείμενον μετ' ἐνεργείας παριστάνων, οἷον κινήθη δ' ἀγορῇ, ὥς κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης πόντου Ἰκαρίου (2). The example quoted in this definition: "the assembly stirred like the mighty waves of the Icarian Sea" shows clearly that the component terms of the simile are to be understood in their strictly literal sense. The παράδειγμα differs from the παραβολή in that the former invokes real events whereas the παραβολή introduces things that are fictitious (3). It is to be borne in mind that in both of these figures of speech one set of things is explicitly compared with another; one thing does *not represent* the other; accordingly there is no question of metaphor or of obscurity of language (4). Now according to Greek rhetoricians the αἶνιγμα is a figure of speech which is obscure both in expression and meaning. Tryphon defines it as: "language which lingers to hide the thought or which expresses an impossible or inconceivable thing". It differs from an allegory inasmuch as the latter renders a thing obscure either by means of the expression or by means of the meaning, whereas the enigma renders a thing obscure both in expression and in meaning (5). As examples, the grammarian cites Androcydes's interpre-

(1) L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci...*, 3, 200, 21 f. With regard to this trope QUINTILIAN notes: Tertium genus ex iis, quae extrinsecus adducuntur in causam Graeci vocant παράδειγμα; quo nomine et generaliter usi sunt in omni similitum appositione, et specialiter in iis quae rerum gestarum auctoritate nituntur (*Instit. orat.*, 5, 11).

(2) L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci...*, 3, 201, 11.

(3) Διαφέρει δὲ παράδειγμα παραβολῆς, ὅτι τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα ἀπὸ γεγονότων πραγμάτων παραλαμβάνεται, ἡ δὲ παραβολή ἐξ ἀορίστων καὶ ἐνδεχομένων γενέσθαι (L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci...*, 3, 200, 31). ERNESTI notes: 'Ομοίως fig. cum per similitudinem res representatur: cuius species sunt παράδειγμα et παραβολή. Harum distantia est, quod παράδειγμα vera exempla, παραβολή ficta ostendit (*Lexicon technologiae rhetoricae graecae...*, p. 231).

(4) M. HERMANIUK stresses this point (*La parabole chez Clément d'Alexandrie...*, p. 25).

(5) L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci...*, 3, 193, 13.

tation of the Pythagorean precepts: "a scales should not be falsified", meaning, "justice must not be violated"; "fire must not be poked with a dagger", for, "anger should not be provoked by words" <sup>(1)</sup>. These examples show clearly that the enigma uses transferred meanings; accordingly the use of metaphorical language belongs to its essence. Moreover, as the definition just quoted requires, this language is obscure both in expression and meaning. Indeed, this twofold obscurity is intended on purpose and constitutes the characteristic note of an enigma <sup>(2)</sup>.

The examples (to be discussed presently) of St. Cyril's use of the terms αἰνίγματα, παραβολαί and παραδείγματα show that he regards them as synonyms. In this respect he departs from Greek usage <sup>(3)</sup>. The interpretation, that St. Cyril gives of *Ez.* 17, 3 f. in the passage cited overleaf, shows that in his opinion αἰνίγματα, παραβολαί and παραδείγματα employ transferred meanings. Our author insists on the obscurity and hidden character of the language used. To all intents and purposes, therefore, the figures of speech devised by the prophets rejoin the αἰνίγματα known to Greek usage.

At this juncture an important problem arises: does St. Cyril classify these αἰνίγματα with the literal sense of Scripture? We may never lose sight of the fact that in the opinion of our author the senses of Scripture are chiefly defined by the objects attained by them. Accordingly, if the objects in question are τὰ αἰσθητά or their cognates, the biblical sense in question is automatically, so to speak, literal <sup>(4)</sup>. Moreover, we have learned that the prophets on occasions contemplate the objects of the literal sense in an obscure manner <sup>(5)</sup>. If, therefore, they describe them in terms of figurative and obscure language, why should the resultant mode of prophetic utterance cease to be a literal sense on that account? St. Cyril himself assures us that in this instance the

<sup>(1)</sup> L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci...*, 3, 193, 30 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *art. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>(3)</sup> Although Jerome frequently associates *parabola* with *enigma*, he does not regard these expressions as synonymous. Both figures of speech use figurative language but the second involves greater difficulty than the first. See A. PENNA, *Principi e carattere...*, p. 90.

<sup>(4)</sup> See p. 43, note 4.

<sup>(5)</sup> See p. 33, note 1.

sense is literal. Our proof is based on a single text which, however, suffices to demonstrate a principle: the vision recounted in *Zach.* 3, 1 f. is framed in terms of an αἴνιγμα; its signification belongs to the literal sense<sup>(1)</sup>. The reader will recall that in the case of Theodore of Mopsuestia only one text, to our knowledge, can be adduced to prove that he associates the metaphorical sense with the literal sense<sup>(2)</sup>. Nobody, therefore, need be unduly sceptical about the views of St. Cyril; the evidence for the case defended by us rests on grounds which are not less firm than those which support the views of the Antiochian exegete.

It must be conceded that St. Cyril's terminology creates confusion, for, as we shall see, he employs the expressions αἰνίγματα, παραβολαί and παραδείγματα in his treatment of the spiritual sense as well<sup>(3)</sup>. In this respect he is deserving of no greater blame or censure than many of the exegetes of Antiquity. Does not St. Augustine use the expression *figura* to denote the spiritual sense as well as the metaphorical literal sense?<sup>(4)</sup> Does not Theodoretus of Cyrrhus associate tropes with types?<sup>(5)</sup>

### 1. *First set of examples*

Some examples will illustrate how St. Cyril applies the principle of the obscurity of prophetic utterance just described:

#### 1. *Joel* 1, 4

Of this text St. Cyril proposes no less than three interpretations. The first implies that the text of *Joel* contains a reference to the barrenness of the fields and the dearth of land-produce (which will take place in periods occurring in quick succession without

(1) "Θρασις μὲν τὸ διήγημα, πλὴν ἔχει λόγον ἱστορικόν, αἰνιγματωδῶς εἰσβάλλοντα, καὶ ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι πάλιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ προσδιαγραφόμενον (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 313, 14 ff.). In the usage of St. Cyril the adverb αἰνιγματωδῶς consistently recalls the substantive αἴνιγμα and can be translated "in an enigma", "after the manner of an enigma", "enigmatically" etc. See PG 68, 912 D; 69, 11 A; 237 D; 336 B; 556 B; 561 B; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY I, 291, 16; 292, 19 etc.

(2) See p. 52, note 1.

(3) See pp. 191 ff.

(4) See p. 59, note 2.

(5) See p. 56, note 2.



intervals of time between them), a calamity so unbearable that it would be better far not to mention it <sup>(1)</sup>. Our author introduces this explanation with the formula οὐκοῦν, εἰ μὲν ἀγρῶν ἀφορίας κ. τ. λ. <sup>(2)</sup>; the conjunction εἰ shows that he ascribes nothing more than probability to this opinion.

The second interpretation is introduced as follows: Εἰ δὲ δὴ δεῖ καὶ εἰς ἑτέρας ἡμᾶς ἐννοίας ἀποκομίζει τὰ θεωρήματα κατεσκιασμένους τοῖς ἐμφανεστέροις, ἔοικεν ἡμῖν ὁ προφήτης κ. τ. λ. Briefly, this opinion (the one, incidentally, that Cyril prefers) holds that κάμψη, ἀκρίς, βροῦχος, ἐρυσίβη denote the devastations which will take place in each period of Jewish history; they allude as well to the circumstances in which the exiles will find themselves: consumed and reduced to nothing by the attacks of their enemies much after the fashion that crops in the fields are destroyed by marauders <sup>(3)</sup>. Of the many calamities that overtook the Jews four were far-reaching in their consequences and deserve special mention: the expeditions of Salmanasar, Nabuchodonosor, Antiochus Epiphanes and that of the Romans which dispersed the Jewish nations to the four ends of the earth <sup>(4)</sup>. This, then, is the meaning of the oracle: the terms κάμψη, ἀκρίς, βροῦχος, ἐρυσίβη are παραδείγματα which describe in obscure fashion either the wars just mentioned or the generals of the invading armies <sup>(5)</sup>.

In the third explanation, which is introduced with the formula Εἰ δὲ δὴ τις βούλοιο καὶ ἡθικωτέραν ἐν τούτοις ἀφήγησιν ἀναγράφεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τοῦ πρέποντος <sup>(6)</sup>, we are not at present interested save for the fact that this formula shows that in St. Cyril's opinion neither of the preceding interpretations belongs to the spiritual sense <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 291, 14 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 291, 14.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 291, 19 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 292, 15 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> Ἐοικεν οὖν ὁ προφήτης ἀσυμφανῶς τε καὶ ἀμυδρῶς, καὶ ὡς ἐν εἰδει παραδειγμάτων διὰ τῶν τοιούτων διηγημάτων τὸν οἰκτεῖον ἡμῖν ἀποκομίζειν βούλεσθαι λόγον (*ibid.*, 293, 3 ff.).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 293, 10.

<sup>(7)</sup> It is interesting to note that St. JEROME gives two interpretations of this verse. The second is a moralizing one, which develops ideas concerning the havoc wrought by the passions in the human soul at greater length than Cyril does in his ἡθικὴ ἐξήγησις. The interpretation that

The first interpretation is the obvious literal one. The second confronts us with παραδείγματα, whose meaning is shadowed by the obvious signification of the expressions used (ἐννοιαί... κατασχεσμέναι τοῖς ἐμφανεστέροις). The explanation given by St. Cyril shows that the oracle contains transferred meanings. The events alluded to belong to the domain of history; they pertain to the category of τὰ αἰσθητά. We are therefore in the presence of the metaphorical literal sense. Later on, commenting upon *Joel* 2, 17, St. Cyril tries to confirm the tenability of the second opinion. He draws attention to the fact that the priests in their prayer allude to their dread of falling into the hands of their enemies and of incurring derision as a result of it. From this he infers that the evils, which the priests fear, are not those that a locust-pest causes. If such were the case, he argues, their prayer would surely contain some reference to famine and liberation from want<sup>(1)</sup>. At this juncture Cyril opts once again for the opinion claiming that the locusts represent the invasion of the Assyrians. This time he remarks that the oracle is composed of αινίγματα<sup>(2)</sup>; on the previous occasion he spoke of παραδείγματα<sup>(3)</sup>.

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Jerome mentions first is one favoured by the Jews. It curiously resembles the second explanation expounded by St. Cyril: *Erucam quae hebraice gezem* (זעם), *graece dicitur κάμψις*, *Hebraei Assyrios interpretantur, Babylonios atque Chaldaeos, qui de uno orbis climate procedentes, tam decem tribuum quam duarum, hoc est, Israelitici populi cuncta vastarunt. Locustam autem, Medos interpretantur et Persas, [qui subverso imperio Chaldaeorum, Iudaeos habuere captivos. Bruchum, Macedonas, et omnes Alexandri successores, maximeque regem Antiochum cognomento Epiphanem, qui instar bruchi sedit in Iudaea, et omnes priorum regum reliquias devoravit, sub quo Machabaeorum bella narrantur. Rubiginem referunt ad imperium Romanorum, qui quarti et ultimi in tantum oppressere Iudaeos, ut de suis finibus eos pellerent* (PL 25, 951 CD). Cyril chiefly differs from Jerome in that he omits all reference to the Medes and Persians; the Assyrians and Babylonians, whom Jerome associates together in one single symbol, are given separate representation in Cyril's explanation. The Latin exegete makes no reference either to the obscurity of the prophet's oracle or its figurative language.

(1) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 325, 5 ff.

(2) Εἰκὸς οὖν, ὅτι φαίην ἂν καὶ ἀληθές, ὥς ἐν τοῖς αἰνίγμασι τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἀκριδοῦς ἢ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔφοδος λεληθότως (*ibid.*, 325, 8 ff.).

(3) It is significant that ST. JEROME invokes 2, 17 as a proof that the locust-plague must be understood figuratively: *Et ne des haereditatem tuam*

## 2. Joel 1, 5

Of this verse Cyril again proposes three interpretations. To the second he gives no distinctive name; it is, however, a moralizing sense<sup>(1)</sup>. The third is introduced with the formula: Εἰ δὲ δὴ τῶν προκειμένων ἡ δύναμις καὶ γεωδεστέρωσ νοοῖτο; this is the obvious literal meaning<sup>(2)</sup>.

Cyril's first interpretation can be put as follows:

The oracle addresses the Israelites as children who are out of their minds and are already drunk. If in the very beginning they had decided to become sober, they would have been punished only by the caterpillar. However, since they remained unrepentant, a second, third and fourth punishment were added. They are commanded to become sober, that is to say, to abandon the drunkenness of voluptuousness and sin, to show that they fully realize their degradation by weeping for their sins<sup>(3)</sup>. This in-

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*in opprobrium, ut dominantur eis nationes. Apertum est aenigma quod latebat. Populus enim ille multus et fortis, qui supra sub erucæ, et locustæ, et bruchi, et rubiginis descriptus est nomine, nunc manifestius qui sit ostenditur: Ut dominantur, inquit, eis nationes. Datur autem in opprobrium hæreditas Domini, quando servierint hostibus, et dixerint nationes: Ubi est Deus eorum, quem sibi praesulem, quem defensorem esse iactabant? (PL 25, 969 B). Père ABEL is of opinion that Cyril depends on the Latin exegete for this explanation of the locusts (*Parallélisme exégétique entre s. Jérôme et s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie (Vivre et penser. Recherches d'exégèse et d'histoire, 1<sup>re</sup> série, 1941, pp. 110, 216)*. We should like to draw attention to the fact that both commentators agree that the figure of speech found in the oracle is an enigma.*

(1) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 295, 9 ff.

(2) *Ibid.*, 296, 7 ff.

(3) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 294, 4 ff. JEROME in his explanation of Joel 1, 5 furnishes no materials that can be aptly compared with Cyril's threefold interpretation. However apropos of 1, 6 the Latin exegete gives three explanations of the oracle, namely, a strictly literal one, a metaphorical one and a spiritual interpretation. Broadly speaking Jerome's first and second interpretation resemble the opinions that Cyril voices apropos of 1, 4. We shall quote from Jerome expressions that illustrate his hermeneutical terminology: Judæi putant in diebus Joel tam innumerabilem locustarum super Iudæam venisse multitudinem, ut cuncta complerent... (PL 25, 954 C); tantum dicimus, quod sub metaphora locustarum, hostium describatur adventus, sive Assyriorum et Babyloniorum, qui tunc imminabant: sive Medorum atque Persarum, qui post futuri erant: sive Macedo-

terpretation confronts us again with transferred meanings: the drunkenness caused by the wine represents voluptuousness and sin. In this place Cyril mentions nothing about the metaphorical meaning of the locusts; it is, however, present to his mind, for he harps on it throughout the whole of his commentary on *Joel*.

### 3. *Joel* 1, 11

This oracle is another case in point. Here Cyril enumerates four explanations of which the fourth is a moralizing interpretation<sup>(1)</sup>, and the third a spiritual explanation<sup>(2)</sup>. The first interpretation is really the obvious literal sense; it describes the plight of the farmers of Israel, who are bereft of every hope of gathering the harvest on account of the destruction of the crops<sup>(3)</sup>. The second explanation regards the expression γεωργοί as an αἰνίγμα of the rulers of the Jews then in power, who will be constrained to wail because all things, including the inhabitants of the land, are going to utter ruin. The subject population is designated by the words πῦρός, κριθή, ξύλα, different expressions being chosen on purpose to indicate the different social grades of the kingdom<sup>(4)</sup>.

Once again, St. Cyril's interpretation implies that the oracle is composed of figurative language. The sense is literal, because the objects to which it refers belong to the category of τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ οἰονεῖ πως ἐν ᾧ καίμενα καὶ γεγονότα πράγματα<sup>(5)</sup>.

num, quos multo tempore post fuisse cognovimus: sive ultimo Romanorum, de quibus supra diximus... Narratur impietas hostium sub figura locustarum... (*ibid.* 954 CD)... (omnia autem τυπικῶς intellige) (*ibid.*, 955 A)... Omnia autem sub metaphora locustarum dicta noscamus... Diximus iuxta historiam; transeamus ad intelligentiam spiritualem... (*ibid.*, 955 B). This passage is highly instructive; Jerome here regards the expressions *metaphora*, *figura*, and τύπος as synonyms. Moreover, he explicitly affirms that the metaphorical explanation expounded by him pertains to the literal sense (*historia*).

(1) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 305, 1 ff.

(2) *Ibid.*, 304, 16ff. The particle δέ seems to introduce an explanation that is distinct from what precedes.

(3) *Ibid.*, 303, 16ff.

(4) Ἦκουε δὲ καὶ τῷδε πάλιν ὁ λόγος γεωργοὺς ὀνομάζειν αἰνιγματωδῶς τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ταγμάτων τοτηνικάδε προσσηκότητας (*ibid.*, 304, 6 ff.).

(5) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 2, 16 ff.

4. *Joel 2*

In his exegesis of this chapter our author alludes not infrequently to the fact that the locust plague can be interpreted strictly or figuratively. Thus with regard to *Joel* 2, 1 he notes: "This verse describes neatly for us the outward appearance of the war. It is true whether it is regarded as referring to the locust and palmerworm or to the Babylonians" (1). Cyril commits himself to similar remarks apropos of 2, 3 (2), 2, 4 f. (3), 2, 6 f. (4), 2, 9 f. (5), 2, 18 f. (6),

(1) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 314, 3 ff. ST. JEROME only expounds the metaphorical sense: *Rursum per metaphoram locustarum describitur impetus Chaldaeorum...* (PL 25, 963 A).

(2) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 315, 9 ff. and 22 f.

(3) St. Cyril first expounds the strictly literal sense. The ravage caused by the locusts is described at some length (*Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 316, 4 ff.). After giving this explanation Cyril remarks: 'Ο αὐτὸς δ' ἂν γένοιτο καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀσουρίων λόγος (*ibid.*, 316, 18). Our author then applies the texts to the Romans inasmuch as they punished the Jews who encompassed Christ's death (*Ibid.*, 316, 19 f.). In his exegesis ST. JEROME consistently defends the metaphorical sense: *Non quod Babylonii equitibus comparentur; sed quod locustae per translationem hostium quasi equites dicantur huc illucque discurrere* (PL 25, 963 C). Both Jerome (*ibid.*, 964 C) and Cyril (PUSEY I, 316, 10) allude to the perfect formation maintained by the locusts in their flight.

(4) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 317, 7 ff., and 318, 13 ff.

(5) When expounding the strictly literal sense Cyril draws attention to the fact that the oracle contains hyperbole (*Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 319, 6 ff.). It is interesting to note that JEROME in his explanation (which is consistently metaphorical) draws attention to the presence of hyperbole: *A facie istiusmodi locustarum terra contremuit, et caeli moti sunt, quae dicta hyperbolico sentiamus, non quod locustarum aut hostium tanta vis sit, ut possit movere caelos, et terram concutere; sed quod adversa patientibus prae terroris magnitudine, et caelum ruere et terra fluctuare videatur. Denique prae multitudi- ne locustarum obtententium caelum, sol et luna convertentur in tenebras, et stellae retrahent splendorem suum; dum lumen in medio nubes posita locustarum, ad terram non sinīt pervenire* (PL 25, 964 BC). Cyril's remark to the effect that: Ἀτρεκέλης δὲ ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἐν εἰ νοοῖτο πάλιν ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων στρατιαῖς... (PUSEY I, 319, 8 ff.) shows that he defends once again the probability of the metaphorical sense.

(6) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 326, 13 ff. and 327, 10 ff. Cyril's claim that the locusts could invade Palestine from the north openly contradicts the opinion that JEROME voices: *Iuxta litteram, greges locustarum magis*

2, 20 f. <sup>(1)</sup>. Of the argument that Cyril infers from 2, 17 in favour of the figurative sense, we have already spoken <sup>(2)</sup>.

## 2. Second set of examples

The examples reviewed so far concern texts that, in St. Cyril's opinion, are capable of yielding *either* a strictly literal signification *or* a figurative one. At other times our author expounds but *one* interpretation of a prophetic oracle, in the course of which, incidentally, he makes conspicuous use of the expressions αἰνύμα, αἰνύεται and αἰνύματωδῶς. Since the explanations in question do not treat of any of the manifold aspects of Christ's mystery, they do not belong to the category of significations which Cyril classifies as spiritual. A few examples of the αἰνύματα, to which we allude, will show that they can be conveniently classified with the figurative significations encountered in the book of *Joel*:

### 1. Zach. 1, 7-11

The forms in which God chooses to reveal himself to the prophets, particularly those described in *Is.* 6, 1, *Ez.* 1, 25 ff. and *Zach.* 1, 7-11, are governed by deep reasons which can be discovered by those whose curiosity urges them to do so <sup>(3)</sup>. In the vision recorded by the text of *Zachary* just mentioned, God reveals himself in the guise of a warrior mounted on a red horse. These details

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Auster quam Aquilo consuevit adducere, id est, non ex frigore veniunt, sed ex calore: verum quoniam de Assyriis loquebatur, locustarum ponens similitudinem, ideo Aquilonem interposuit, ut non veram locustam quae ab Austro venire consuevit, sed sub locusta intelligamus Assyrios atque Chaldaeos. (PL 25, 971 C).

(1) Διαπλάττει μὲν ἔτι τοῦ λόγου τὸ σχῆμα καθὰ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὡς ἐπ' ἀκρόδος, καὶ βροῦχου... Μεθίστησι δὲ οὐδαμῶς ὁ λόγος τοῦ χρηναὶ νοεῖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάλιν ὡς ἐπὶ γε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων... (PUSEY I, 328, 10 ff.). JEROME emphatically affirms that the metaphorical interpretation is the only tenable one: Saepe commonui sub translatione locustarum describi impetum Chaldaeorum quo Iudaea vastata est. Itaque servat metaphoram in reliquis, et iuxta situm provinciae sic loquitur, quasi non de hostibus, sed de locustis referre videatur... (PL 25, 970 B).

(2) See p. 67.

(3) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 291, 17 ff. St. Cyril does not explain the reasons underlying the forms assumed by God in *Is.* 6, 1 and *Ez.* 1, 25 ff.

signify God's knowledge of military strategy and his prowess in war. Indeed, the purpose of the vision is to bring home to us that God is a warrior, who arms himself against those who refuse to bow their minds to him; in the present instance the guilty ones in question are idolatrous Judah and Samaria. God sets out αἰνιγματωδῶς against both of them, mounted on a horse in a form like unto us. He stands in the midst of two mountains, namely Sion and Samaria, which are styled "shady", because the density of their respective populations caused them to resemble thickly-wooded and extensive forests<sup>(1)</sup>. Behind the horseman mounted on the red steed come other horses whose colours are red, dappled, piebald and white. These signify warlike kings or nations who are bent on extending their dominion over the world. Cyril identifies the latter with the four Babylonian kings Pul, Salmanasar, Sennacherib, and Nabuchodonosor<sup>(2)</sup>. The variegated colour is an αἰνιγμα of the outlook and mentality peculiar to each king<sup>(3)</sup>. Being in doubt, the prophet asks for a revelation. He learns that these kings are "*they whom the Lord has sent to traverse the whole world*". The latter then affirm that they have gone round the whole earth and that it is silent; being incapable of offering effective resistance to them it is forced to submit, albeit unwillingly, to the yoke imposed on it<sup>(4)</sup>.

## 2. Zach. 3, 1 f.

In the vision recounted here the prophet Zachary beholds an angel before whom Joshua, the high priest, is standing<sup>(5)</sup>. The angel is a type and image of God<sup>(6)</sup>, whereas the priest represents the people<sup>(7)</sup>.

(1) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 291, 17 ff.

(2) *Ibid.*, 293, 1 ff.

(3) *Ibid.*, 293, 13 ff.

(4) *Comment. on Zach.*, 293, 16 ff. The explanation proposed by St. JEROME, differs from Cyril's. Moreover, the Latin exegete makes no reference to the literary dress of the prophecy (PL 25, 1422 A ff.).

(5) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 314, 1 ff.

(6) *Ibid.*, 314. The reading Χριστός is surely erroneous. In the sequel Cyril makes no reference whatsoever to Christ; he consistently supposes that the angel represents God. Moreover, Pusey notes that the manuscript *b* reads θεός instead of Χριστός.

(7) *Ibid.*, 314, 5.

To this vision St. Cyril ascribes the following meaning: By indulging in idolatry Israel departed from God's face. For that crime he was duly punished. God, however, had mercy on him and called him into his presence once more<sup>(1)</sup>. Satan then appears on the scene in the guise of a deadly foe and objects to the mercy which God showed Israel; he alleges that the latter can claim no credit whatsoever. The fact that Satan stands on the right indicates that he wishes to destroy Israel's good deeds<sup>(2)</sup>. In his reply the angel describes Satan as one who always opposes God's decisions; even when God has shown mercy to Israel and Jerusalem, he does not cease from accusing them<sup>(3)</sup>. The angel in the last part of his discourse implicitly admits that Satan's strictures are well-founded. However, the punishment meted out to Israel was excessive; he was barely extracted from the fire like a halfburnt brand. This is an image of the penalties attached to the exile. Israel barely escaped complete extinction<sup>(4)</sup>.

Cyril describes this oracle as Ὅρασις μὲν τὸ διήγημα, πλὴν ἔχει λόγον ἱστορικόν, αἰνίγματωδῶς εἰσβάλλοντα, καὶ ὥς ἐν εἰκόνι τῷ Ἰησοῦ προσδιαγραφόμενον<sup>(5)</sup>.

### 3. Zach. 3, 3-5

In his interpretation of this vision Cyril does not employ the expression αἰνίγμα; however, he takes it for granted that the oracle is couched in figurative language. He begins by informing us that, since the person who exercises the office of priest represents the Jewish people, the filthy garments are a symbol of the

(1) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 314, 10 ff. Cyril remarks: Καὶ τοῦτο, οἶμαι, ἔστιν αἰνίγματωδῶς τὸ ἐστάναι τὸν ἱερέα πρὸ προσώπου ἀγγέλου Κυρίου (*ibid.*, 314, 14).

(2) *Ibid.*, 314, 22 ff.

(3) *Ibid.*, 315, 5 ff.

(4) *Comment. on Zach.*..., 315, 14 ff.

(5) *Ibid.*, 313, 14 ff. Apropos of this oracle St. JEROME tells us: Antequam veniamus ad intelligentiam spiritualem, quomodo Hebraei locum istum edisserant, strictim breviterque dicendum est.... (PL 25, 1435 D). The opinion that Jerome here ascribes to the Jews could readily have supplied Cyril with materials for his own explanation. It is to be borne in mind that the Latin exegete, however, makes no reference to the literary dress of the oracle.



uncleanness of the people. The Jews spent their days of captivity in atonement for the crimes and sins "which they had donned after the manner of clothing". The moment comes finally when God has mercy on them. In God's name the angel commands the priest to take off his soiled robe and put on instead a garment that falls down over the feet, and to put on a clean tiara as well. Thus does the angel strike home that the glory of the priestly office is closely connected with the moral uprightness of the people<sup>(1)</sup>.

b) Μεταφορά / τροπή

Τρόπος and τροπή are the generic terms used by Greek rhetoricians to denote figurative language<sup>(2)</sup>. Quintilian in his definition echoes the accepted teaching of grammarians: "Est igitur tropus, sermo a naturali et principali significatione translatus ad aliam ornandae orationis gratia: vel (ut plerique grammatici finiunt) dictio ab eo loco, in quo propria est, translata in eum in quo propria non est"<sup>(3)</sup>. Of the various τρόποι, concerning whose genera, species and number both grammarians and philosophers were divided<sup>(4)</sup>, metaphor is the most beautiful and the most frequently used<sup>(5)</sup>. According to Tryphon metaphor is an expression which is transposed from the strictly literal sense to a figurative sense with a view to expressing emphasis or resemblance, for

(1) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 316, 7ff. Cyril says expressly: Ἀπόχρη λοιπὸν καθάπερ ἐγῆμαι, τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὰ ὄντα ἀνὰ σύμβολον ἂν εἶεν οὐκ ἀσυμμετρὲς τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας τοῦ λαοῦ. JEROME too implies that the signification of the verse is figurative: *Jesus erat indutus vestibibus sordidis*, tripliciter interpretantur. Vel ob coniugium illicitum, vel ob peccata populi, vel propter squalorem captivitatis (PL 25, 1436 A). However, he makes no explicit reference to the figure employed.

(2) ERNESTI implies that τρόπος and τροπή are synonymous: Τροπή, conversio, unde fiunt tropi et metaphorae. *Hermag. lib. IV περὶ εὐρ.* p. 206; τροπή ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου πράγματος, ἀλλοτρίου δὲ σημαντικὸν ὄνομα θεῖναι etc. Aliis τρόπος dicitur. (*Lexicon terminologiae rhetoricae graecae...*, p. 358).

(3) *Inst. orat.*, 9, 1, 4.

(4) Tropus est verbi vel sermonis a propria significatione in aliam cum virtute mutatio. Circa quem inexplicabilis et grammaticis inter ipsos et philosophis pugna est, quae sint genera, quae species, qui numerus qui cuique subiiiciantur (*ibid.*, 8, 6).

(5) *Ibid.*

example, "the impetuous javelin buried itself in his breast" <sup>(1)</sup>. In this instance the Greek expression *μαιώωσα*, which signifies the ardour and desire of a living being, is transferred to the javelin, an inanimate object.

Although St. Cyril does not define his terms, it is clear that the *αἰνίγματα*, which he discovers in the Scriptures, fit in with the definition of Tryphon just quoted. Our author remarks that "the Scriptures at times give figurative and metaphorical designations not only to inanimate beings but also to those which have no real existence at all" <sup>(2)</sup>. *Is.* 5, 14 is a case in point; commenting on this text St. Cyril reminds us that hell is a place and therefore has no soul; accordingly the expression "soul" used by the hagiographer here denotes the souls imprisoned in hell <sup>(3)</sup>. Our author draws attention likewise to the fact that the prophet Amos, who previous to his prophetic call had been a shepherd, employs language that is frequently reminiscent of his former occupations; for example, the destruction of Israel, foretold in *Am.* 1, 2, is a metaphor which is borrowed from what is wont to happen to pastures, when they are laid waste <sup>(4)</sup>. The figure that St. Cyril here calls *μεταφορά* is

(1) *Μεταφορά* ἐστὶ λέξις μεταφορουμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ κύριον ἐμφάσεως ἢ ὁμοιώσεως ἔνεκα... ὅλον αἰχμὴ δὲ διέσσοντο *μαιώωσα*... The metaphor quoted by Tryphon is taken from Homer, *Iliad* 15, 542 (L. SPENGLER, *Rhetores graeci*..., 3, 191, 24 ff.).

(2) PG 70, 152 D.

(3) PG 70, 153 A. JEROME has a remark which can be usefully compared with that of Cyril: *Infernus autem animam habere dicitur, non quod animal sit, iuxta errorem quorundam; sed quod verbis humanae consuetudinis, rerum insensibilium exprimamus affectum, quod insatiabilis sit, et nunquam mortuorum multitudine compleatur* (PL 24, 84 A). Both the Latin and Greek exegete hold that some form of figurative language is used in this text; the concrete interpretations advanced by them do not coincide.

(4) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 378, 9 ff. JEROME notes: *Naturae est, ut omnes artifices suae artis loquantur exemplis, et unusquisque in quo studio trivit aetatem, illius similitudinem proferat... Cur haec dicta sunt? ut scilicet ostendamus etiam Amos prophetam, qui pastor de pastoribus fuit, et pastor non in locis cultis et arboribus ac vineis consitis, aut certe inter silvas et prata virentia, sed in lata eremi vastitate, in qua versatur leonum feritas et interfectio pecorum, artis suae usum esse sermonibus, ut vocem Domini terribilem atque metuendam, rugitum leonum et fremitum nomina-*

elsewhere styled ὁμοίως (<sup>1</sup>). Presumably he regards both expressions as synonyms. We have already remarked that in Greek usage ὁμοίως is a generic name for simile, a form of speech that does not include the use of figurative language. Our author, therefore, by equating ὁμοίως with metaphor (to whose essence both figurative language and transferred meanings belong) departs from rhetorical usage.

Passages of sacred Scripture in which St. Cyril discovers metaphors are: *Nahum* 2, 3 f. (<sup>2</sup>), 2, 6 f. (<sup>3</sup>), 2, 11 and 12 (<sup>4</sup>), 3, 2 a (<sup>5</sup>),

ret. Eversionem Israeliticarum urbium, pastorum solitudini et ariditati montium comparans: *Dominus*, inquit, *de Sion rugiet, et de Ierusalem dabit vocem suam* (PL 25, 993 A-B). Both Cyril and the Latin exegete concur that the prophet's language is framed in terms of his profession. Cyril says that he uses metaphor; Jerome here implies that Amos has recourse to a *similitudo*.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 421, 21. The text in question is *Amos* 3, 5. JEROME makes no reference to the figure of speech used by the prophet (PL 25, 1015 A-1017 D). See also *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 440, 25 ff. With regard to this text (*Zach.* 10, 8 f.) JEROME makes no reference to the figure of speech that is found in the oracle.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 40, 9. The introductory formula used by St. Cyril reads: Πεπονήται δὲ ὁ λόγος ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνειν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις εἰωθότος. In his exegesis of this passage St. JEROME makes no allusion to the figure of speech employed by the prophet (PL 25, 1244 B-1246 A).

(<sup>3</sup>) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 42, 23 ff. St. JEROME notes: Ancillas vero Ninive per metaphoram minores urbes et viculos et castella intellige (PL 25, 1246 CD). Cyril does not say explicitly that the figure used here is a metaphor.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 43, 2ff; 46, 20ff.; 47, 10ff. JEROME writes: Adhuc autem de Ninive dicitur: quod habitaculum fuerit regum, et aula nobilium; ad quam pervenit leo rex Babylonius, id est Nabuchodonosor, et catulus leonis, subreguli quoque eius, et non fuit qui eis resisteret. Leo cepit sufficienter catulis suis, et necavit leaenis suis; Idem videlicet Nabuchodonosor victoriae cuncta iure possedit, et liberis urbibusque suis, vel certe uxoribus in servitutem captivos tradidit, et implevit praeda speluncas suas, sive ut in Hebraeo habetur, foveas suas, et cubile suum rapina, tam thesauros, quam civitates, auro, argento, vestibis, omnique ornatu complens, ut quod Ninive habuerat, Babylonque vicerat, possideret (PL 25, 1251 CD). The explanations given by both exegetes patently show that the language of the oracle is figurative.

(<sup>5</sup>) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 51, 1 ff.

3, 12 <sup>(1)</sup>, 3, 15 <sup>(2)</sup>, 3, 18 <sup>(2)</sup>. Worthy of note too are some examples of sustained metaphor to which our author draws attention:

*Os.* 6, 1 <sup>(4)</sup>. Cyril contrasts this figurative explanation with the spiritual explanation that he gives in the sequel <sup>(5)</sup>; *Os.* 7, 9 <sup>(6)</sup>; *Nahum*, 1, 10 <sup>(7)</sup>; *Hab.* 1, 15 <sup>(8)</sup>.

§ 3. — *Other figures of speech to which St. Cyril draws attention when expounding the literal sense of Scripture*

α) Προσωποποιία

According to Greek rhetoricians, the figure of προσωποποιία consists either in introducing fictitious or dead persons <sup>(9)</sup> or in endow-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 60, 1 ff. JEROME notes: Omnes bellatores tui et universa auxilia praedae hostibus erunt, et sine ullo labore capientur in similitudinem grossorum ficus, quae concussae non in terram, ne saltem parvus labor sit colligentium, sed statim in os devorantis cadent (PL 25, 1261 BC). Cyril, unlike Jerome, makes express reference to the use of figurative language.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 63, 6 ff. The figure used in this oracle is, strictly speaking, a simile, not a metaphor. ST. JEROME makes no reference to the reason why the palmerworm is impeded in his flight — at least, not the one mentioned by St. Cyril (PL 25, 1266 A).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 64, 16 ff. ST. JEROME makes no reference to this figure (PL 25, 1270 A ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> Ἐπιμένει δὲ ὁ λόγος τῇ τροπῇ (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 137, 9). JEROME makes no reference to the figure of speech used by the prophet (PL 25, 867 A).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 137, 21 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 160, 3 ff. JEROME in his elucidation of this passage makes no reference to the figure of speech used (PL 25, 877 A).

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 21, 15 ff. Concerning the figures of speech JEROME says nothing (PL 25, 1239 B).

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 89, 15 ff.; 90, 1 ff. In this context JEROME explicitly states that the prophet uses metaphor: ...Idcirco μεταφοράν piscium servat in caeteris, ut quomodo piscator mittit hamum, et rete et sagenam, ut quod hamus non potuit rete comprehendat, quod evaserit rete sagenis latoribus circumdetur: ita et rex Babylonius cuncta vastaverit, et universum hominum genus suam praedam fecerit (PL 25, 1287 B). For Jerome's notion of metaphor see A. PENNA, *Principi e carattere...*, pp. 77 f.

<sup>(9)</sup> ERNESTI, *Lexicon technologiae rhetoricae...*, p. 297; L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci*, 3, 162, 25 f.

ing irrational animals with the power of speech <sup>(1)</sup>. Our exegete discovers examples of prosopopoeia in which persons, who did not exist at the time that certain oracles were actually uttered, are introduced as speakers. For example, *Is.* 21, 3f. introduces the future king of Assyria and places in his mouth words betraying both his apprehensiveness of the attack to be made against himself, and his ignorance of the real strength of his enemies <sup>(2)</sup>. Scripture, St. Cyril tells us, has recourse to this literary artifice for the benefit of listeners <sup>(3)</sup>. At times, the Bible makes inanimate beings speak: *Is.* 14, 9 ff. records the words of annoyance and exasperation uttered by hell, as it goes to meet the personage, who is described here as descending into it <sup>(4)</sup>; *Mich.* 7, 8-11 are words of reproof addressed by Jerusalem to {Babylon; *Is.* 23, 4 represents the sea in the act of flouting Tyre <sup>(5)</sup>. In other biblical texts reasoning powers are ascribed to irrational animals with a view to lending grace and vivacity to the narrative as well as to underlining the importance of the message inculcated <sup>(6)</sup>. It is no wonder that in *Joel* 1, 17 ff. heifers are depicted as starting frantically and whole herds as mourning; the dread of unbearable hunger weighs them down. Even the fields would voice lamentations, if it were given them to perceive what the future has in store for them <sup>(7)</sup>.

(1) L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci...*, 3, 212, 14 ff. JEROME's treatment of the figure of prosopopoeia is discussed by A. PENNA, *Principi e carattere...* p. 80.

(2) Προσωποποιίας ἔχει δύναμιν ὁ ἐν γε τουτοιῶν λόγος... (PG 70, 485 C). JEROME discovers no such figure in this oracle. According to him *Isaias* himself is the speaker: Ergo et nunc vox Isaiae indicitur plangentis Babylonem spiritu prophetali... (PL 24, 191 A).

(3) Ἔθος γὰρ τοῖς ἁγίοις προφήταις προσωποποιεῖν τὰς φωνάς, διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἀκροαμένοις χρήσιμον (PG 70, 488 A).

(4) PG 70, 373 A. In this passage of Scripture JEROME seems to discover the figure of emphasis: Haec ἐμφατικῶς legenda sunt et scenae modo; non quod facta sint, sed quod fieri potuerint: nisi forte animas regum quos interfecerat, insultantes regi Babylonio occurrisset credimus. Solatium enim malorum est, cum inimicos viderint eadem sustinere (PL 24, 161 B).

(5) PG 70, 372 D.

(6) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 311, 1 ff.

(7) *Ibid.*, 311, 5 ff. St. JEROME contents himself with remarking that the oracle is couched in metaphorical language: ...Quodque sequitur iuxta LXX: *Fleverunt armenta boum, quoniam non sunt eis pascua*, compellit nos non de bobus et armentis accipere quae dicta sunt; sed de his, qui propter

## b) Ἐμφασις

To Greek rhetoricians the figure known as ἔμφασις was quite familiar. Tiberius defines it: "Ἐμφασις δὲ ἐστὶν ὅταν μὴ αὐτό τις λέγῃ τὸ πράγμα ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέρων ἐμφαίνῃ. Accordingly, in this figure of speech the speaker does not name the thing envisaged, but manifests it by means of other things. As an example Tiberius instances the saying of Apollodorus: "I know that my brother Pericles has the same mother as I, but I do not know that he has the same father". The statement in question contains no slander, but previous adultery is alluded to in the emphasis<sup>(1)</sup>. In Tryphon's opinion emphasis is an expression which increases the force of its signification by means of a suspicion or a guess<sup>(2)</sup>; his examples are taken from Homer, namely, αὐτὰρ ὅτ' εἰς Ἴππον κατεβαίνομεν<sup>(3)</sup>, and ἱππόθεν ἐκχυμένοι<sup>(4)</sup>. In the first example the expression κατεβαίνομεν denotes the magnitude of the Trojan horse; in the second the participle ἐκχυμένοι describes the impetuous rush of the soldiers as they emerge from the horse<sup>(5)</sup>.

St. Cyril ascribes practically the same connotation to the term ἔμφασις as the rhetoricians do; the texts in which he detects this figure of speech are shown to have a fuller meaning than that conveyed by the mere words. For instance, *Is.* 17, 3 contains an innuendo that can only be understood in the light of the events recounted in the book of *Kings* <sup>(6)</sup>. *Is.* 19, 19 enunciates a para-

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simplicitatem boves vocantur et oves... Haec autem omnia intellige sub metaphora, erucæ locustæ, bruchi et rubiginis, quod, sublatis frugibus, atque vastatis, fames et pestilentia cuncta possederint (PL 25, 960 D).

(1) L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci...*, 3, 65, 27 ff.

(2) "Ἐμφασις ἐστὶ λέξις δι' ὑπονοίας αὐξάνουσα τὸ δηλούμενον (*ibid.*, 3, 199, 14).

(3) *Odyssey* 11, 522.

(4) *Ibid.*, 11, 531.

(5) QUINTILIAN somewhat depends on Tryphon: Vicina praedictae (i. e. βραχυλογία) sed amplior virtus est emphasis, altiore praebens intellectum, quam quem verba per se ipsa declarant. ἸEius duae sunt species: altera, quae plus significat, quam dicit; altera, quae etiam id quod non dicit. Prior est et apud Homerum, quum Menelaus Graios in equum descendisse ait: nam verbo uno magnitudinem eius ostendit... Sequens posita est in voce omnino suppressa aut etiam abscissa... (*Inst. orat.* 8, 3, 83). See also ERNESTI, *Lexicon technologiae Graecorum rhetoricae...*, p. 104).

(6) PG 70, 424 C. See PL 24, 174 A ff.

dox: there will be an altar to the one true God in the land of Egypt – something which a person acquainted with the flourishing state of idolatry in ancient Egypt would never believe<sup>(1)</sup>. *Is.* 42, 24 asks a question about the Israelites which must be answered in terms of their previous history; 'only God could have delivered them over to robbers, seeing that throughout the whole of their history they were constantly under his vigilant protection<sup>(2)</sup>. When Amos proclaims in 8, 13f. that the young girls and boys will be missing in the period in question, he really alludes to captivity<sup>(3)</sup>. The expression ἀνέβη in *Nahum* 2, 1 cannot be fully understood save in terms of *Jer.* 4, 7, a prophecy which opens with the words ἀνέβη λέων and refers to the attack led by Cyrus against Niniveh<sup>(4)</sup>.

c) Ὑπερβολή

Quintilian, following as usual in this respect the tradition of Greek rhetoricians defines ὑπερβολή as "superlatio, decens veri superiectio" <sup>(5)</sup>. Our exegete informs us that the prophets have recourse to this figure when they are describing the unspeakable power of God. They introduce things that are really extraordinary into their statements. For example, they say that nature itself is egged on to anger whenever God is angry. They claim too that, when he was wroth with the Egyptians, he did not allow nature to be idle; water was changed into blood; the earth was infested with frogs; the heavens poured down hailstones; impenetrable darkness covered the land of Egypt for three days <sup>(6)</sup>. *Is.* 13, 13 utters a similar hyperbole: heaven, which is God's creature, will fight in unison with him against foolish hu-

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 469 C. See PL 24, 186 B ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 880 D. See PL 24, 427 A ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 523, 23 ff. See PL 25, 1084 Aff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 35, 12 ff. See PL 25, 1244 Aff.

In the texts just quoted JEROME does not draw attention to the use of *emphasis*. For his view on this figure of speech see A. PENNA, *Principi e caratteri...*, p. 80.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Inst. orat.*, 8, 6, 67. For JEROME'S treatment of hyperbole see A. PENNA, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 357 CD.

man beings <sup>(1)</sup>. This holds good too of *Soph.* 1, 2f.: the prophet wishes to convince his listeners that in the impending destruction absolutely nothing will be spared – man, beast, bird, nor fish; at the same time Sophonias does not wish to convey the idea that these irrational animals, though doomed to destruction, will be punished in the strict sense of the word <sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril contends too, that in *Gen.* 11, 4 the expression εἰς οὐρανόν stands for ὑψοῦ; this, he claims, is a convention that is very commonly accepted <sup>(3)</sup>. In *Ps.* 106, 23ff. the expressions ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἕως τῶν ἀβύσσων are hyperbole derived from the usage of mariners <sup>(4)</sup>.

#### § 4. – *Anthropomorphisms and the literal sense*

Highly significant is the attitude that St. Cyril takes with regard to anthropomorphisms. Commenting on *Is.* 50, 1 he remarks: "The godhead is incorporeal, invisible and simple. Nobody can have a correct corporeal representation of it. However, sacred Scripture speaks to us about God in human fashion (ἀνθρώπωνως), because those who are clothed with this palpable and thick body could not otherwise understand, unless the things which happen to us are adduced as παραδείγματα. Hence we come to know something about the divine essence, at least partially, by means of things perceptible to the senses" <sup>(5)</sup>. Our author repeats these views in the treatise *De solutione dogmatum*: "The divinity is incorporeal and has neither parts nor members. If the divine

(1) PG 70, 357 CD. JEROME notes: Vel eo sensu accipe quo supra de stellis, et sole et luna et orbe exposuimus vel ὑπερβολικῶς quod ab indignatione Dei et caelum triste sit, et terra moveatur, elementa quoque omnia iram Creatoris agnoscant" (PL 24, 157 D). Both exegetes agree in regard to the figure of speech used by the prophet.

(2) *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 172, 2f. ST. JEROME makes no reference to the use of hyperbole (PL 25, 1340 Cf.).

(3) PG, 76, 709 D.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) PG 70, 1084 A. St. Cyril tells us that in this text God describes his relations with the Chosen People in terms of the union that binds a husband to his wife. The terrestrial Jerusalem is styled "the mother of the Jews" so that the familiar intimacy between God and Israel be understood in the person of a woman. ST. JEROME offers no point of comparison (PL 24, 475 A.).



Scripture, when speaking to us about God's attributes, refers to members, we must bear in mind that it speaks to us in terms of the things we know and of the elements of which we are constituted. For it is impossible for us to think about God's attributes in any other way. The reason why the inspired Scripture speaks to us about God in corporeal fashion is the poverty of our own mind and speech. God's attributes are altogether ineffable. We, who find ourselves in thick bodies subject to the sense of touch, cannot understand τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, unless we regard our own properties as παραδείγματα" (1). In *Contra Iulianum*, taking the Emperor Julian to task for ascribing to the expression κατέβη (*Gen.* 11, 5) the meaning of a descent carried out in accordance with the laws of bodies (thereby necessitating movements that involve a change from one place to another), Cyril says: "If Julian derides the word used by Moses, who wrote that the God of all descended from heaven to earth, he is ignorant of the fact that, though Moses used human words, he was not unaware that the terms used by him express qualities characteristic of the nature of man. For he had not words capable of describing adequately God's glory" (2).

In the texts just quoted St. Cyril expresses his views on the anthropomorphisms of Scripture in terms of the antithesis τὰ αἰσθητά/τὰ ἀναγκαῖα (3). As we shall see further on, this antithesis, in his opinion, serves to characterize one of the constitutive elements of the spiritual sense of Scripture (4). A problem now

(1) *Comment. on St. John.*, PUSEY III, 550, 13 ff. This statement can be usefully compared with the following extract from St. JEROME: In Deo membra non sunt, ideo sic dicit ut nos quotiescumque in Deum talia legimus quae in Scripturis saepe inveniuntur, intellegamus efficientiam significari, non membra (*Tract. de psalm.* 93, 7, *Anecd. Mareds.*, III, 3, p. 83).

(2) PG 76, 713 C. JEROME endorses very similar views: Furorem... oblivionem, iram, plenitudinem ita de Deo debemus accipere, quomodo pedes, manus, oculos, aures et cetera membra, quae habere dicitur incorporalis et invisibilis Deus. Non quod his pateat perturbationibus... sed quod per nostra verba Dei erga nos intellegamus affectum (PL 25, 634 B.).

(3) In the texts quoted in note 1 and 2 τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ ὁρατὰ πράγματα are contrasted with τὰ περὶ τῆς θείας τε καὶ ὑπεράτης οὐσίας (PG 70, 1084 A); τὰ ἀναγκαῖα are opposed to the properties of human nature (PG 76, 1077 D); human words are contrasted with God's glory (PG 76, 713 C).

(4) See pp. 191 ff.

arises that bears directly on our present subject: does St. Cyril classify anthropomorphisms with the spiritual sense? If we were to confine ourselves to arguments based exclusively on the expressions used by him, the obvious reply would be in the affirmative. Such an answer would be corroborated by the fact that exponents of the Alexandrian school such as Philo<sup>(1)</sup> and Clement<sup>(2)</sup>, on whom St. Cyril depends for some of his views on the spiritual sense<sup>(3)</sup>, analyse these anthropomorphisms in terms of the antithesis τὰ αἰσθητά/τὰ νοητά, thereby assimilating them to the higher sense of Scripture. In the present instance, however, arguments based on terminology yield to another consideration, namely, the likelihood that our author is influenced by St. Jerome, who expressly teaches that the study of anthropomorphisms belongs to the literal sense<sup>(4)</sup>. At all events, St. Cyril in one passage at least classifies anthropomorphisms with the literal sense.

The relevant passage deals with *Mich.* 1, 3, 4. Cyril begins by remarking that anthropomorphisms are to be regarded as enigmas and metaphors<sup>(5)</sup>. Expressions such as "sitting", "rising" as well as those which speak of God's "thrones", "ways" and "paths" are borrowed from the sphere of what is human and ignoble. However, skilled and intelligent persons are capable of understanding them properly when they are applied to God. The text of *Micheas* under discussion invites us to raise ourselves above the strictly literal sense (τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει πράγματα) and to

(<sup>1</sup>) *De confusione linguarum* 21, 98 (COHN, ed. *minor* 2, 237, 22 ff.). Philo explains the anthropomorphisms of Scripture in terms of the doctrine of Plato's dual world. See M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole chez Clément d'Alexandrie...*, p. 58.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Stromata* 2, 16, 72, 3-4: "If we think that in almighty God things are realized in the same manner that we are capable of perceiving them, we err and are guilty of impiety. Because the Godhead is inexpressible; but, as far as our insertion in matter permits us to understand, the prophets have spoken in that way, because God adapts himself to our human weakness in order to save us" (GCS 15, 151, 14 ff.).

(<sup>3</sup>) See pp. 205 f.

(<sup>4</sup>) See A. PENNA, *Principi e carattere...*, pp. 177-180.

(<sup>5</sup>) Ἀσαφῆς μὲν λίαν καὶ αἰνιγμάτων ἐμπλεὺς ὁ τοιόσδε λόγος... Γίνονται γὰρ ὡς ἐξ ὁμοιώσεως καὶ μεταφορᾶς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἱ λόγοι (*Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 605, 4 ff.).

ascend to subtle thoughts (ἐννοιαὶ λογφαί) <sup>(1)</sup>. St. Cyril elucidates the clauses of this pericope as follows:

1. "*For behold the Lord will come forth out of his place*". By God's coming forth out of his place we must understand movement that follows a previous state of repose. The movement in question is expressed concretely in deeds yet to be done. Put more explicitly the clause means: God, who in the past showed himself to be forbearing, is about to move. He will no longer put up with those who persistently offend him but will punish them <sup>(2)</sup>.

2. "*He will go upon the high places of the earth*". He will trample on the things that are on the heights, namely, those who rule in Samaria and Jerusalem <sup>(3)</sup>.

3. "*And the mountains will be shaken under him*". Those who lord it over others will be deprived of their dignities. Such persons are likened to mountains <sup>(4)</sup>.

4. "*And the valleys will melt like wax before the fire*". The lower classes of society, who chance to be both wicked and heedless of God's warnings, will rush into the fire of God's wrath and melt away like wax <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 605, 10ff. Notice that St. Cyril contrasts τὰ ἐν αἰσθησί πράγματα not with τὰ πνευματικά but with ἐννοιαὶ λογφαί.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, 605, 16ff. St. Cyril's explanation can be usefully compared with that proposed by ST. JEROME: O Samaria et Ierusalem audite, et diligenter attendite Dominum vobis de templo suo testificantem, et praedicentem quaecumque facturus est. *Ecce egredietur Dominus de loco suo*. Qui enim mitis est et benignus, et cuius natura clementia est, vestri causa cogitur personam, quam non habet, crudelitatis assumere. (PL 25, 1155 A.).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 606, 4ff. Compare with JEROME: *Et descendet et calcabit super excelsa terrae*. Descensio Dei est, et maiestatis eius ad inferiora decursus, calcare terram, et potentes quosque contere (PL 25, 1155 AB).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 606, 7ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, 606, 11ff. Compare with JEROME: *Et consumuntur*, inquit, sive *tabescent montes*, et *valles sub eo*, quos principes intelligamus et populos (PL 25, 1155 B).

5. "And as water rushing down a declivity". They will rush headlong into it like water down a sharp and steep incline <sup>(1)</sup>.

St. Cyril's concluding remarks imply that God executed these designs by means of *human instruments*: "As we have mentioned before, the kings of the Assyrians destroyed the kingdoms of Samaria and Jerusalem, deported some of their kings, killed all the leaders and like a runner and water going down an incline carried away the multitude of the common people. For that was the water running down the declivity and travelling from Samaria to the land of the Persians and the Medes" <sup>(2)</sup>. With this literal metaphorical explanation <sup>(3)</sup> St. Cyril contrasts two spiritual interpretations <sup>(4)</sup>. The accompanying footnotes show how closely the explanations of our exegete resemble those of St. Jerome. A significant detail helps to distinguish them: St. Cyril expressly classifies anthropomorphisms with metaphor; we infer that he attaches them to the literal sense; on the other hand, the Latin exegete states expressly

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 606, 16ff. Compare with JEROME: Et quomodo vicinam ignis ceram non sustinet, et prono cursu aquae feruntur in praeceps: ita omnis impiorum superbia, Domino veniente, solvetur et defluet (PL 25, 1155 B).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 606, 17ff. JEROME too adds a few concluding words which like Cyril's serve to set the prophecy in its historical context: Hoc autem totum fiet propter scelera decem tribuum, quas vocat Iacob et Israel, et propter praevaricationem Iudae; quia in decem tribubus Samaria metropolis fuit, et in regno Iudae Ierusalem excelsorum idola fabricata est: hoc iuxta litteram. (PL 25, 1155 B).

<sup>(3)</sup> St. Cyril's concluding remarks show that in his opinion the oracle (which he expressly says is couched in metaphorical language) envisages an historical event yet to come to pass. This event presumably belongs to the category of τὰ ἐν αἰσθησέαι πράγματα, which the prophets in their visions contemplate in an obscure fashion (ἀσυμφανῶς) (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 2, 19ff.). The signification expounded by Cyril belongs, therefore, to the literal sense. JEROME expressly says that the meaning expounded by him belongs to the literal sense.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 606, 26 (the particle δέ shows that St. Cyril opposes this explanation to the preceding one); 607, 10ff. JEROME also expounds two spiritual interpretations, which differ from those of Cyril. He introduces them with the formula: Tropologice autem egredietur Dominus de loco sancto suo quem vel Filium, vel omnes sanctos intelligere possumus... (PL 25, 1155 B).

that the interpretation which he gives of *Mich.* 1, 3, 4 belongs to the literal sense; he makes no reference to the fact that the text contains anthropomorphisms and metaphor.

### *Concluding remarks*

The examples reviewed in the preceding pages demonstrate that St. Cyril not only discovers figurative language in sacred Scripture but also attaches it at times to the literal sense. This fact is not without importance; it enables us to rank the Patriarch of Alexandria with Theodore of Mopsuestia, St. John Chrysostom and St. Jerome in the history of biblical hermeneutics <sup>(1)</sup>. Indeed, St. Cyril's attitude in this respect differs so sharply from that of the Alexandrians, who preceded him, that we suspect he has been influenced by other currents of exegesis. Elsewhere in this essay <sup>(2)</sup> we endeavour to confirm the conclusions advanced by Père Abel to the effect that many of St. Cyril's exegetical opinions are dependent on those of St. Jerome <sup>(3)</sup>. In the footnotes that accompany the preceding pages the remarks of both exegetes have been compared with a view to testing if St. Cyril has been influenced by St. Jerome's opinions on the nature of the metaphorical signification of Scripture.

The comparisons made by us permit us to formulate the following conclusions:

1. Both exegetes agree that prophetic utterance is obscure and enigmatical; it is significant, however, that they express their views on this point in different places of their commentaries <sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 51 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 435 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique entre s. Jérôme et s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie* in *Vivre et penser. Recherches d'exégèse et d'histoire*, 1<sup>re</sup> série, 1941, 94-119, 212-230.

<sup>(4)</sup> St. JEROME alludes to this point in the course of his explanation of *Nahum* 3, 8 ff.: ... Et dicemus, ideo Scripturam sanctam his difficultatibus esse contextam, et maxime prophetas, qui aenigmatibus pleni sunt, ut difficultatem sensuum, difficultas quoque sermonis involvat: ut non facile pateat sanctum canibus, et margaritae porcis, et profanis sancta sanctorum. St. Cyril, as we have noted (p. 62) makes a similar remark apropos of *Joel* 1, 4 (*Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY 1, 290, 18 f.).

2. In the examples quoted by us St. Cyril draws attention more frequently than St. Jerome to the fact that the hagiographer is using figurative language.

3. Both commentators imply that the figurative sense belongs to the literal sense; this is particularly clear in the instances taken from their commentaries on *Joel*.

4. Both the Latin exegete <sup>(1)</sup> and St. Cyril <sup>(2)</sup> state formally that the figurative signification pertains to the literal sense. Once again it is interesting to draw attention to the fact that their statements are found in different commentaries.

5. Lastly, the likelihood that some of St. Cyril's opinions on the second chapter of *Joel* are derived from St. Jerome's commentary <sup>(3)</sup>, renders it highly probable that the influence of the Latin exegete succeeded in creating in the Egyptian a conviction that a signification of Scripture can be figurative and literal at one and the same time. Once awakened to this feature of Scriptural utterance, St. Cyril seems inclined to draw attention to it more frequently than his mentor.

#### Art. 5. — THE ΣΚΟΠΙΟΣ OF THE LITERAL SENSE

##### § 1. — *The σκοπός in profane and Christian exegesis*

The Encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* reminds us that the supreme rule of interpretation is to discover and define what the hagiographer intends to express <sup>(4)</sup>. By taking pains to fix

<sup>(1)</sup> The Latin exegete formally identifies the metaphorical sense with the literal sense apropos of *Os.* 10, 11 and *Hab.* 3, 14ff. (See p. 58, note 4). With regard to the text of *Osee* St. Cyril merely notes that the prophet compares Ephraim to a heifer (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 216, 14ff.); however, in the instance, it is clear that the Alexandrian exegete intends to render the literal sense of the oracle. Of *Hab.* 3, 14f. St. Cyril gives only the spiritual signification; however, he expressly states that the metaphor is sustained in v. 15 (*Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 159, 10).

<sup>(2)</sup> St. Cyril identifies the figurative sense with the historical sense in his explanation of *Zach.* 3, 1 f. (See pp. 72 f.). Between him and St. JEROME there is here no point of contact.

<sup>(3)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique...*, p. 110, 216.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, 35 (1943), p. 314.

the σκοπός of the different authors of Scripture before venturing to expound the meaning of particular texts, St. Cyril shows that some of his exegetical principles are as up to date as any modern exegete could desire. In the usage of St. Cyril σκοπός broadly speaking denotes the purpose of the sacred writers and can affect both the literal and spiritual meaning of texts <sup>(1)</sup>. To judge from certain expressions that the Patriarch of Alexandria uses at times, it would seem that he conceives the σκοπός as the angle of vision from which the hagiographer views things; hence it follows that the component parts of his message cannot be properly appraised if this angle of vision is ignored <sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Ἐπεὶ τοι τῆς προφητείας τὸν σκοπὸν διττὴν ἑαυτῷ τὴν θεωρίαν ὀδίνοντα κατίδοι τις ἂν, πνευματικὴν τε ἅμα καὶ ἱστορικὴν (*Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 68, 11 ff.).

<sup>(2)</sup> Here are some examples of formulae used by St. Cyril in which he alludes to the σκοπός either of particular books or texts of Scripture: "All the holy prophets had one god-loving σκοπός namely, to persuade Israel to give up his errors manfully, and to strive instead to serve the living and true God and to take pride in the glories attached to righteousness, by casting aside evil tendencies as much as possible" (*Prol. to Mich.*, PUSEY I, 599, 5 ff.). "...Yet other prophets nourish the suffering Israel with good hope and dispose him to realize that, having experienced misery on account of his sins, he will be happy again, when things will return to their pristine state. For God in his mercy, grace and power easily changes everything just as he pleases. We shall find that this is the σκοπός of the present prophecy" (*Prol. to Nahum*, PUSEY II, 2, 1 ff.). See also *Prol. to Hab.* (PUSEY II, 68, 11 ff.); *Prol. to Soph.* (PUSEY II, 168, 7 ff.); *Prol. to Aggeus* (PUSEY II, 241, 4 ff.); *Prol. to Mal.*, (PUSEY II, 546, 24 f.).

Notice too how St. Cyril makes σκοπός the subject of the verbs βλέπειν and τρέπειν in the following formulae: "...Ἄλλ' ἐννοεῖν ἐκεῖνο προσήκει καὶ μάλα ἐμφρόνως, ὥς ὁ τοῦ λόγου σκοπὸς τέτραπται τε καὶ βλέπει πρὸς ὅτι μάλιστα τυποῦν τοὺς Φιλιστείμ, ἦτοι τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους (PG 70, 392 C); εἰσόμεθα γὰρ ὧδε, καὶ λίαν εὐκόλως, ὅποι περ ἂν βλέπη τῆς προφητείας ὁ σκοπός (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 8, 14 f.); "Ὅλον ἡμῖν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προφητείας ἐν τούτοις, ἥγουν τῆς ὁράσεως διερμηνεύει τὸν σκοπὸν, καὶ ὅποι ποτὲ βλέπει διατρανοῖ (*Comment. on Abdias*, PUSEY I, 548, 20-23); "Ὁρίζεται πρῶτον τῆς προφητείας τὸν σκοπὸν, καὶ ἐφ' ὃ τι τε καὶ ὅποι βλέπει χρησίμως διατρανοῖ (*Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 3, 17 ff.); Of much importance is the remark that Cyril makes apropos of *Is.* 58, 1: Χρηῖναι δέ φημι τὸν τῆς προφητείας σκοπὸν προαπογυμνῶσαι τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις, ὥς ἂν εἰδεῖεν ἐφ' ὅτῳ λοιπὸν ὁ τῶν εἰρημένων συντείνεται νοῖς (PG 70, 1280 A). This is tantamount to saying that the text in question cannot be interpreted without reference to the prophet's σκοπός.

The principle of εἰς σκοπός, that is to say, the principle of unity and of consequence, was cultivated with much determination by the exponents of later Neoplatonism, whose activity for the most part consisted in commenting on the works of Plato and Aristotle <sup>(1)</sup>. Porphyry's exegesis respected neither rules nor method; he spun his threads here and there and took no pains to gather them into a single web <sup>(2)</sup>. Keenly sensitive to the defects of such exegesis, Iamblichus fixed a norm, namely, the law of εἰς σκοπός and required that it be rigorously followed in interpreting the dialogues of Plato. In other words he stipulated that the prologue of a dialogue, the dialogue itself and the latter's different parts should be brought into the closest possible doctrinal contact and be given an uniform interpretation. For example, if a dialogue deals in the main with "physical" realities, a "physical" exegesis must be applied to all its parts including the prologue. If, however, the contents of a dialogue are "ethical", then an "ethical" exegesis must be applied consistently <sup>(3)</sup>. The application of the rule

(1) K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen und Schulen im Neuplatonismus*, Carl Robert zum 9 März 1910, *Genethliakon*, überreicht von der Graeca halensis, Berlin, Weidmann, 1910, p. 121; more briefly in F. UEBERWEG-K. PRAECHTER, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, I. Die Philosophie des Altertums*, Berlin, 1926, pp. 615f.

(2) F. UEBERWEG-K. PRAECHTER, I. *Die Philosophie des Altertums*, p. 616. Proclus in several places of his commentary on *Timaeus* speaks of Porphyry's exegesis of the same Dialogue and of Iamblichus's criticism of it. The differences existing between the methods of these exegetes seem to be the following:

a) Porphyry gives an "ethical" explanation, whereas Iamblichus gives a "physical" interpretation;

b) Porphyry explains things μετὰ τὸ φυσικόν, that is to say, he constructs his views in fluctuating fashion, at one time on a certain part of nature at another time on another part. On the contrary, Iamblichus explains things ἐμπνευματικόν inasmuch as he ascends to the last metaphysical reasons and thus works out a more universal explanation;

c) As a result of the "universalistic" leanings of his exegesis, Iamblichus tends to make the σκοπός of a dialogue as wide as possible and thus make it as easy as possible to ascend or descend the various realms of being;

d) Porphyry indulged in no metaphysical speculations, whereas Iamblichus explained Aristotle and elaborated several νοεῖαι θεωρίαι (See K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen...*, p. 134-138).

(3) "Leitender Grundsatz für Iamblich ist Konsequenz und Einheitlichkeit der Exegese. Für jede Schrift wird ein Zielpunkt (σκοπός) d. h. ein



of uniformity was liable to give rise to difficulties at times; for instance, occasionally "ethical", "mathematical" and "metaphysical" explanations were inserted into a "physical" dialogue, or (as in the case of the *Timaeus*), into the prologue of a dialogue, which strictly speaking should contain only "ethical" explanations<sup>(1)</sup>. Iamblichus, however, managed to devise expedients which enabled an exegete to observe the law of εἰς σκοπὸς and yet pass from the "ethical" and the "physical" spheres to the "mathematical" domain and from the latter to the realm of metaphysics; indeed, on occasions, expedients were at hand whereby, without any reference to a middle-term, a "physical" element could be appraised "metaphysically" and an "ethical" element could be interpreted either "metaphysically" or "physically"<sup>(2)</sup>. As a matter of fact, many of Iamblichus's doctrines

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Grundthema angesetzt, dass bei der Deutung des Einzelnen überall im Auge behalten muss". (K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen...*, p. 128).

(1) K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen...*, p. 131; more briefly F. UEBERWEG-K. PRAECHTER, I, *Die Philosophie des Altertums...*, p. 616.

(2) K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen...*, pp. 132-134. Stated briefly Iamblichus's theory comes to this: The "metaphysical" element is a παράδειγμα of the "mathematical" element. The "mathematical" is an εἰκὼν of the "metaphysical" and the same relation is found again between the "mathematical" element and the "sense-element" which constitutes the object of physics. On the other hand the "ethical" element is closely related to the "mathematical". Between each of these spheres there is an interplay of analogous relations, even though they are modified in accordance with the peculiar character of the sphere in question. Praechter recurs to an illustration to clarify this conception of Iamblichus. The sphere of all things, he claims, is comparable to a huge building consisting of several storeys (namely, elements that are "metaphysical", "mathematical", "physical" but especially "ethical" elements). The space available is fundamentally the same; withal it shows differences of division and accommodation that are due to the architectural conditions of the storeys. In the system of Iamblichus each single text can be likened to a lift which traverses the whole building right to the top, thus offering the possibility of joining the various storeys and affording an opportunity of acquiring knowledge about the aspects in which they resemble and in which they differ from each other. As Praechter remarks, this method contradicts the laws of philological interpretation which aim at fixing the genuine meaning of a text. Yet, provided that allowances are made for the rather free dependence of the Neoplatonists on Plato, this method is not altogether despicable on account of its con-

were far removed from Platonism. But the logical and consistent manner in which he succeeded in constructing them on the basis of the dialogues of Plato called forth applause and admiration (1). Philosophers of a later generation such as Syrianus (2), Proclus of Athens (3), Hierocles (4), Hermias (5), Ammonius (6), Asclepius (7),

sistency and of its boundless possibilities (F. UEBERWEG-K. PRAECHTER, I, *Die Philosophie des Altertums*, pp. 616 f.).

(1) F. UEBERWEG-K. PRAECHTER, I. *Die Philosophie des Altertums*, p. 616. It was for these merits that Iamblichus was hailed as *divus* by Syrianus, Proclus, Damascius and Simplicius.

(2) The following text informs us that Iamblichus, Syrianus and Proclus defended the principle of εἰς σκοπός: ἀρέσκει δὲ τοῦτω (namely, Iamblichus) τε καὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ καθηγεμόνι τὴν ἐναντίωσιν ταύτην (that of the Athenians) οὐκ ἐπ' ἀθετήσῃ των φαινομένων τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν, ἐκείνων πάντως δεδογμένων ὡς γεγονότων, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰώθαμεν τὰ πρὸ τῶν ὑποκειμένων τοῖς διαλόγοις ἀνάγειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τοῖς διαλόγοις σκοπὸν (E. DIEL, *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, I, 77, 25 ff.). See K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen...*, p. 129, note 3, pp. 139 ff. Syrianus together with Plutarch and Proclus were members of the school of Athens (*ibid.*, p. 155).

(3) Here are some relevant texts: Λέγω τοίνυν πρὸ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τῆς Πολιτείας ἐπὶ ταῦτα χρῆναι τὸν πρέποντως αὐτῆς ἀκουσόμενον διεγνωνέειν. πρῶτον μὲν, ὅστις πότε ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ὁ σκοπός, ὃν δεῖ καταδήσασθαι κατ' ἐκείνους, οὓς πολλάκις οἶδα κανόνας εἰπὼν περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως τῶν ἐν τοῖς Πλατωνικοῖς διαλόγοις σκοπῶν... (G. KROLL, *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Rem Publicam commentarii*, Leipzig, 1899, I, 5, 27 ff.); Δεῖ γοῦν ἐπειπερ ζῶφ προσέεικεν ὁ λόγος, οὗ τι καὶ ὄφελός ἐστιν, ἓνα σκοπὸν ἔχειν, ὥσπερ πᾶν ζῶον πρὸς τὰ μέρη πάντα συντέτακται κατὰ μίαν ὁμολογίαν... (*ibid.*, I, 11, 9 ff.). In yet another text the principle of the σκοπός is explicitly ascribed to Plato in *Phaedron* 264 c (*ibid.*, I, 6, 24 ff.).

(4) *Commentary on the golden poems* (quoted by K. PRAECHTER, *Die griechischen Aristoteleskommentare in Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 18 (1909), p. 531).

(5) Πάντες (οὖν) οὗτοι μερῶν τινων τῶν ἐν τῷ διαλόγῳ δραξάμενοι, περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀπεφῆναντο τὸν σκοπόν. ἓνα δὲ πανταχοῦ χρῆ εἶναι τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα (πάντα) παρειλήφθαι, ἵνα ὡς ἐν ζῶφ πάντα τῷ ἐνὶ συντάττῃται. Διὸ περὶ τοῦ παντοδαποῦ καλοῦ φησὶν ὁ Ἰάμβλιχος εἶναι τὸν σκοπόν, ὡς ἐφεξῆς ἐροῦμεν... (P. COUVREUR, *Hermiae Alexandrini in Platonis Phaedrum scholia ad fidem codicis parisini 1810 denuo collati, edidit et apparatu critico ornavit*; Paris, 1910, p. 9, 6 ff. See also p. 11, 17 ff.).

(6) Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦ τῶν Κατηγοριῶν βιβλίου βουλόμεθα ἀρξασθαι, φέρε τὰ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένα ζητήσωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον τὸν σκοπόν... (A. BUSSE, *Ammonius in Aristotelis Categoriae commentarius*, CAG, 4, pars 4, Berlin, 1895, p. 8, 20 f.).

(7) Δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀρχομένους τῆς παρούσης πραγματείας εἰπεῖν τὸν σκοπόν, τὴν τάξιν, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς. σκοπός μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τῆς παρούσης πραγματείας

Elias <sup>(1)</sup> and David <sup>(2)</sup>, the last-named Alexandrians all <sup>(3)</sup>, defended the law of εἰς σκοπός with enthusiasm. Olympiodorus of Alexandria recognised the norm of uniformity but, in opposition to Iamblichus <sup>(4)</sup>, made the σκοπός of the dialogues as narrow as possible <sup>(5)</sup>; indeed he practically returned to the μερικὴ ἐξήγησις of Porphyry <sup>(6)</sup>.

In the field of biblical hermeneutics no exegete, to our knowledge, stresses the principle of the σκοπός with greater emphasis and universality than St. John Chrysostom. In the first paragraph of his commentary on Ps. 3 he writes: "Just as a building which has no foundation is unsound, so too Scripture is utterly profitless, if one fails to investigate its σκοπός" <sup>(7)</sup>. Theodore of

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τὸ θεολογῆσαι. θεολογεῖ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀριστοτέλης... (M. HAYDUCK, *Aslepii in metaphysica commentaria*, CAG, 6, pars 2, p. 1, 16 ff.).

(1) Ἐπειδὴ ὅλην ὡς ὅλην ἔγνωμεν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διὰ τῶν ἐξ ὀρισμῶν καὶ ὡς μέρη ἔχουσιν αὐτὴν διὰ τῶν διαιρέσεων, φέρε καὶ τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου φροντίδα ποιησώμεθα τὰ εἰωθότα ὁκτῶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντα, τὸν σκοπὸν, τὸ χρῆσιμον, τὴν τάξιν, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν, τὸ γνήσιον, τὴν εἰς τὰ κεφάλαια τοῦ βιβλίου διαίρεσιν... (A. BUSSE, *Eliae in Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis Categoriae commentaria* CAG, 18, pars 1, p. 34, 3 ff.); Σκοπὸν τοίνυν ἔχει ὁ Πορφύριος πᾶσαν φιλόσοφον φωνὴν διδάξαι ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ πέντε κοινότητος καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ οὐχ, ὥς τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὅτι σκοπὸν ἔχει περὶ πέντε τινῶν διαλαβεῖν, περὶ τε γένους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνὸς ὄντος βιβλίου καὶ ταῦτα βραχυτάτου πλείονας ποιήσῃ σκοπούς, τοῦ Πλάτωνος λέγοντος παντὸς βιβλίου ὅσον ἂν ᾗ καὶ οἷον ἂν ᾗ ἕνα σκοπὸν ποιεῖσθαι (*ibid.*, p. 41, 13 ff.).

(2) Καὶ γὰρ τὸν σκοπὸν ζητοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ σκοπὸς ἐν συντόμῳ περιέχει πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λεγόμενα καὶ ἔξιν τινα ἐν τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι τίθησι [δῆλον ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λεγόμενα δεῖ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἀπευθύνεσθαι] (A. BUSSE, *Davidis prolegomena et in Porphyrii Isagogen commentarium*, CAG, 18, pars 2, Berlin, 1904, p. 80, 16 ff.). PHILOPONUS refers to the σκοπός in similar strains (*Philoponi (olim Ammonii) in Aristotelis Categoriae commentarium*, CAG, 13, pars 1, p. 1, 2 ff.).

(3) K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen...*, p. 155.

(4) See p. 89, notes 2 and 3.

(5) K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen...*, p. 149 ff.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Ὡς γὰρ ἄνευ θεμελίου σαθεῖ ἡ οἰκοδομή, οὕτως ἄνευ τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ σκοποῦ οὐκ ὠφελεῖ ἡ Γραφή (PG 55, 35). In the sequel Chrysostom tells us that David's σκοπός in Ps. 3 consists in disciplining and arranging his life so as neither to do evil nor to despise God's laws, lest sinners should ever experience what he had already suffered.

Mopsuestia<sup>(1)</sup> and Gregory of Nyssa<sup>(2)</sup> make passing references to the σκοπός apropos either of particular books or texts of Scripture. St. Jerome does not explicitly allude to this principle; yet the remarks he makes concerning the *sensus* of the human authors of sacred Scripture can be suitably compared with the statement of St. Chrysostom, which we have just quoted<sup>(3)</sup>. Even before St. Cyril's time this principle was not altogether unfamiliar to the Alexandrians. In one of his treatises against the Arians St. Athanasius, alluding to *Heb.* 1, 4; 3, 1 etc., formulates a norm that is applicable to the whole of Scripture: "Here, and for that matter, in all other passages of Scripture, one should note carefully on what occasion the apostle spoke; one should carefully and diligently observe to whom he wrote and why, lest, being ignorant of these points or confusing one thing with

(1) In the prologue to *Jonas* the Bishop of Mopsuestia writes: Εἰς καὶ ὁ οὗτος τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας διαθήκης ὑπάρχων θεὸς ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ποιητὴς τῶν ἀπάντων, πρὸς ἓνα σκοπὸν ὁρῶν, τὰ τε κατ' ἐκείνην ὀκονόμησε καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν (PG 66, 317 C). In his explanation of *Ps.* 39 THEODORE criticizes as follows the way in which some interpreters explain the σκοπός of St. Paul when he quotes *Ps.* 39, 8 in *Heb.* 10, 4-7: Οἱ δὲ μὴ μεμαθηκότες τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, τὸν μὲν ψαλμὸν ἐβουλήθησαν περιᾶσαι τῷ Χριστῷ, 'τὸ δὲ ὡτία κατηρτίσω μοι' — οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐβραϊκὸν — ἀλλάξαντες τεθεῖκασιν 'σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι', οὐ προσεσχηκότες τῇ αἰτίᾳ τῆς ὑπαλλαγῆς τοῦ ἀποστόλου (R. DEVRESSE, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes...* p. 249, 21).

(2) Referring to the σκοπός of the law, ST. GREGORY notes: Φημι τοίνυν ἐγὼ πάσης νομοθεσίας τῆς θεόθεν γεγεννημένης ἓνα σκοπὸν εἶναι... (In *Ecclesiasten hom.* 7, PG 44, 716 AB). Accordingly its purpose was to ensure that Israel should abstain from evil.

(3) ...Sed cum aliud sit proprios libros componere, verbi gratia, de avaritia, et de fide, de virginitate, de viduis, et super unaquaque materia testimoniis Scripturarum hinc inde quaesitis eloquentiam iungere saecularem, et pene in communibus locis pompaticum iactare sermonem: aliud in sensum prophetae et apostoli ingredi, intelligere cur scripserint, qua sententiam suam ratione firmaverint, quid habeant in veteri lege proprium Idumaei, Moabitae, Ammonitae, Tyrii, Philistii, Aegyptii, et Assyrii; quid rursum in novo Testamento Romani, Corinthii, Galatae, Philippenses, Thessalonicensenses, Hebraei, Colossenses, et quam nunc ad Ephesios epistolam habemus in manibus. Necesse est enim, ut iuxta diversitates locorum et temporum, et hominum, quibus scriptae sunt, diversas et causas, et argumenta, et origines habeant. (PL 26, 440 BC).

another, one miss the real meaning of the writer" (1). Though St. Cyril does not proclaim expressly that an interpreter may never ignore the σκοπός of Scripture, the frequency with which he invokes this principle is itself an indication and proof that he regarded it as a principle of universal application (2). Most probably he was indebted for this norm to St. Athanasius, whom he greatly admired (3); it is significant at any rate that, in his letter to the Egyptian monks after the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy, St. Cyril quotes verbatim a passage of the treatise *Contra Arianos* in which St. Athanasius expressly alludes to the σκοπός of Scripture (4). Nor, indeed, is it to be excluded that St. Cyril, who, as we have noted (5), was anything but a stranger to trends of philosophical opinion, was influenced by the systems of pagan exegesis which were being expounded then at Alexandria (6). The wide interpretation that Iamblichus and his followers accorded to the σκοπός of the dialogues of Plato was certainly a principle which St. Cyril would have greeted with favour, seeing that he himself pays attention to a σκοπός that includes not only the literal sense of Scripture but its spiritual sense as well.

(1) Δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς θείας Γραφῆς προσήκει ποιεῖν, καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα, καθ' ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος καιρόν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, διόπερ ἔγραψε, πιστῶς ἐκλαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ ταῦτα ἢ καὶ παρ' ἑτερόν τι τούτων ἀγνοῶν ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ἔξω τῆς ἀληθινῆς διανοίας γένηται (*Oratio 1 contra Arianos*, 54, PG 26, 124 B). See als PG 26, 124 B, where the order is: τὸ πρόσωπον, τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὁ καιρός.

(2) See the texts quoted on p. 88, note 2.

(3) See the references collected by H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE in which St. Cyril praises St. Athanasius (*Dogme et spiritualité chez saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie...*, p. 18).

(4) Σκοπός τοίνυν οὗτος καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ἀγίας Γραφῆς, ὡς πολλάκις εἶπομεν, διπλὴν εἶναι τὴν περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπαγγελίαν ἐν αὐτῇ (*Oratio III contra Arianos*, 29, PG 26, 385 A). Cyril quotes this text in *Epist. I ad monachos Aegypti*, 4, PG 77, 13 C).

(5) See pp. 9 and 12.

(6) Praechter regards Hypathia as a follower of Iamblichus. She was killed at Alexandria during the early period of Cyril's episcopacy (K. PRAECHTER, *Richtungen...*, p. 155).

## § 2. - St. Cyril's treatment of the σκοπός of Scripture

We shall now discuss some statements of St. Cyril that bear upon the literal sense, firstly with reference to individual books of the Bible and secondly with reference to particular texts:

### 1. The σκοπός of the different books of Scripture

#### a) *The books of Moses*

Among the objections urged by Julian the Apostate against Christians is the inferiority of their cosmogony (derived from Moses) to that of Plato <sup>(1)</sup>. As instances of this inferiority Julian singles out the fact that nowhere does *Genesis* say that night, the abyss, water and the angels were made by God; from this the Emperor infers that the God, about whom Moses speaks, created no incorporeal being; Moses's God seems to have been no greater than a mere manipulator of matter already existing (ὑλης ὑποκειμένης κοσμήτωρ <sup>(2)</sup>). Answering these strictures Cyril remarks that in the biblical account of creation Moses wrote down such details as he deemed useful for orientating one's life <sup>(3)</sup>. "He did not bother about subtle investigations into natural causes or such things which are styled first principles and the elements derived from them... His σκοπός was to ensure that his contemporaries should come to grasp true doctrines. In their error they adored just what they pleased... the heavens, the sun... the moon, the stars, the earth, plants, water, birds and irrational animals" <sup>(4)</sup>. In these circumstances, by proclaiming that the Creator of all things was one in nature and was distinct from all the other things which had been brought into existence by him, Moses became a real helper of mankind and showed himself to be the exponent of most excellent [doctrines] <sup>(5)</sup>. "He refrained quite usefully and wisely from subtle disputation and paid attention to essentials. Why should he have spoken about the nature and origins of water?

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 76, 576 AB.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 576 CD.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 577 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 577 AB.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 577 B.

Why should he have measured the heavens or have inquired into the manner in which the angels came into existence? I think that everybody will agree that these things are difficult to explain. Suppose that God were to make it possible for one to speak about things so subtle as these (which, in sooth, are beyond man's mind), what listener would grasp them?"<sup>(1)</sup> St. Cyril then shows that the contemporaries of Moses, for whom his writings were destined, were so dull-witted "that they made gods of the very things which should have led them to knowledge of the true God"<sup>(2)</sup>.

### b) *The prophetic writings*

The innovations of St. Cyril in exegesis, at least as far as the tenets of the school of Alexandria are concerned, are best perceived by comparing the prologues to his commentaries on the prophets with the corresponding introductions written by exponents of the school of Antioch. In order to render the reader's task easier, the materials gathered by us are arranged in parallel columns.

### *Osee*

Our author is of opinion that the σκοπός of the prophecy of *Osee* can be determined only by examining the religious dispositions of the kings mentioned in the inscription and the deeds

Theodore of Mopsuestia is of opinion that *Osee* aimed at recalling the predictions of David and at impressing on the minds of his contemporaries that the predictions made by others in

(1) PG 76, 577 C.

(2) *Ibid.*, 577 C-580 A; 581 B. St. Cyril's exposition harmonizes with the aim that the BIBLICAL COMMISSION ascribes to Moses in the first chapters of *Genesis*: VII. Utrum, cum in conscribendo primo Geneseos capite non fuerit sacri auctoris mens intimam adspectabilium rerum constitutionem ordinemque creationis completum scientifico more docere, sed potius suae genti tradere notitiam popularem, prout communis sermo ferebat per ea tempora, sensibus et captui hominum accommodatam, sit in horum interpretatione admissim semperque investiganda scientifici sermonis proprietates? Resp. Negative (*Enchiridion biblicum*. Documenta ecclesiastica sacra Scripturam spectantia auctoritate pontificae commissionis de re biblica, Romae, 1927, no. 338).

which they accomplished <sup>(1)</sup>. On terminating his historical investigation St. Cyril concludes: "These things are usefully commemorated here. Because the prophet's message can be adapted to each of these events. At times he reproves the inhabitants of Samaria; at other times he threatens with invasions those living at Jerusalem. He foretells the captivities, stirs up fear beforehand, promises help, and invites his listeners to repentance. Nothing, that could be of use to the wayward, is omitted in this prophecy" <sup>(2)</sup>.

the past would be fulfilled quite soon <sup>(3)</sup>.

According to Theodoretus the prophecies of *Osee* deal with the fate of both the northern and southern kingdoms, the liberation from the menace of Sennacherib and the destruction wrought by the Babylonians <sup>(4)</sup>. The prophet himself was commanded to deliver these predictions to the people "so that they might fear the predictions, flee the punishments, and avoid the actual experience of these evils. For the God of all does not threaten punishments in order to inflict them on those whom he menaces, but rather to move them to penance by instilling fear into them and to confer salvation on them by freeing them from the evil which they dared to commit. He would not have threatened, if his sole wish had been to punish them. The fact that he utters threats shows that he wishes to save and not to

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 8, 10 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 13, 16 ff. In his prologue to *Osee* JEROME makes a few remarks which are somewhat reminiscent of those of Cyril. After briefly commemorating the reigns of Azarias (= Ozias), Joatham and Achaz he writes: Hoc dicimus ut tibi breviter ostendamus, Osee prophetam, et ante captivitatem eius vaticinatum, et tam vicinam, quam praesentem, et praeteritam vidisse, et denuntiasset venturam, et luxisse ingruentem, et in emendationem Iudae retexuisse praeterita: quod in ipso propheta iuxta historiam conabimur approbare (PL 25, 821 B).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 66, 128 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 81, 1553 A.



punish" (3). Theodoretus's views resemble those of Cyril.

### *Joel*

*Joel's* message, St. Cyril claims, was addressed to persons whose pride, stupidity and impenitence were so crass that calamities occurring in quick succession failed to impress them (1). The prophet's purpose was: "to complain about Israel, who remained unwarned, in spite of the many blows inflicted already on him. He persuades the Israelites to give up shameful pursuits, to turn over a new leaf and to do what is pleasing to God. In addition, he promises them the choicest rewards in the event of repentance. He instills confidence into them, by reminding them that the God whom they will encounter is benign and good" (2).

In delineating the ὑπόθεσις of *Joel* Theodore of Mopsuestia is more *nuancé* than Cyril. First of all, this prophet has one aim common to all the prophets: to reaffirm statements (already made by David concerning future events) shortly before they were due to come to pass, with a view to admonishing listeners about them, and in order to prove the truth of the ancient predictions by asserting that their fulfilment was at hand (4). Like the other prophets *Joel* mentions events that would happen after his time, notably, what would happen to the people at the hands of the Assyrians and Babylonians. He foretells too events that would come to pass after the return from Babylonia: the Scythians under the leadership of God would try to exterminate the Israelites; the latter, however, would eventually overcome them in virtue of God's help. All of these things, Theodore expressly notes, were foretold by David also (5).

(1) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 287, 4 ff.

(2) *Ibid.*, 288, 9 ff.

(3) PG 81, 1552 C ff.

(4) PG 66, 212 A.

(5) *Ibid.*, 212 BC.

Theodoretus in his introduction to *Joel* merely summarizes the conclusions of Theodore (<sup>6</sup>).

### *Amos*

Cyril discovers the σκοπός of *Amos* in the oracle contained in 1, 2, though veiled in obscure metaphors (<sup>1</sup>). He notes that the mention of Jerusalem introduces into the text a narrow-minded conception (shared, however, by the ancients) which restricted God's influence to his own particular shrine (<sup>2</sup>). Opting for the Hebrew text (<sup>3</sup>), our author remarks that the expression "*the pastures of the shepherds*" denotes the foreign nations, which are described here as the victims of the arbitrariness of their own overlords (<sup>4</sup>). On the strength of these observations Cyril next deduces the following meaning from the first part of *Am.* 1, 2: the foreign nations are in tribulation because God has roared like a lion from Jerusalem and has menaced them with extermination (<sup>5</sup>). In the second part of this oracle Cyril describes menaces that are levelled at Je-

By claiming that the prophecy of *Amos* deals with the fate of the northern and southern tribes, Theodore of Mopsuestia concurs with the point of view expressed by the Patriarch of Alexandria. However, more clearly than the latter, he points out that the calamities involving both kingdoms were brought about by the Assyrians and the Babylonians respectively. Though the invasions alluded to were separated in time, there was only one universal captivity that was begun by the Assyrians and was consummated by the Babylonians; the former attacked the ten northern tribes, the latter the two southern ones. The beginning of the prophecy refers briefly to the fate that awaits the nations bordering Israel in punishment of the shameful treatment meted out by them to the Israelites (<sup>7</sup>). Theodore continues: "Thus did

(<sup>1</sup>) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 378, 9 ff.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Ibid.*, 379, 5 ff.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Ibid.*, 379, 10 ff.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Ibid.*, 379, 12 ff.

(<sup>5</sup>) *Ibid.*, 379, 16 f.

(<sup>6</sup>) PG 81, 1633 A f.

(<sup>7</sup>) PG 66, 241 A-244 BC.

rusalem, who is styled here "*crest of Carmel*". This appellation she richly deserved on account of the prestige accruing to her: the temple was erected within her precincts and members of the house of Judah reigned over her (<sup>1</sup>).

God demonstrate that he handed over the people to the calamities of the Assyrians and the Babylonians, not out of cruelty or negligence, nor because of a change of plan. The Supreme Being, who punished at this time the neighbouring nations that had previously injured the Chosen People, would never have chastised them for these things, unless he thought highly of Israel. Accordingly, by punishing the evildoers referred to, God showed his care for the Chosen People. The evils that eventually overtook them, were not inflicted by God out of cruelty,

(<sup>1</sup>) PG, 66, 379, 22 ff.

In Antiquity exegetical opinion was fairly uniform concerning the meaning of this oracle. For his part ST. JEROME thinks that it alludes to the destruction of the Israelitic towns, which are here compared to the solitude of shepherds and the aridity of mountains (PL 25, 993 BC). THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA thinks that the oracle alludes to the mourning that the neighbouring nations and Israel will show when the predictions of the prophet will come to pass. The opening words of the oracle show quite clearly that the prophet delivers his message in the name of the Creator of all things, the Being who has commanded that suitable worship be shown him on Sion (PG 66, 248 CD). Both THEODORETUS and JULIAN OF ECLANUM offer alternative explanations: 1. God will speak from Jerusalem. As a result shepherds will weep since they will find no fodder for their sheep. Carmel will be deprived of crops. Lack of rain, locust-plagues etc. will cause these things (PG 81, 1665 Df.; PL 21, 1059 C); 2. Carmel represents Israel. The shepherds denote the kings of the neighbouring peoples. The pastures represent the subjects of the latter not only because they give them tribute as fodder, but also because they are being "devoured" by them continuously. God speaks from Sion and the neighbouring peoples are visited with calamities in accordance with the divine decree (PG 81, 1668 A). JULIAN expressly styles this second interpretation *tropologia* (PL 21, 1059 C). He prefers the first explanation on the grounds that it is "simplicior... et accommodatior historiis". Cyril's explanation is not far removed from those of his contemporaries.

contempt or hatred, but rather out of care for them, with a view to chastising them thoroughly and to inducing them to do better. This is the argument (ὑπόθεσις) of the book" (4).

Theodoretus's version of the argument of *Amos* is substantially the same as that of the Bishop of Mopsuestia (5).

### *Abdias*

*Abdias* indicates the σκοπός of his prophecy in v. 1, where he endeavours to convince readers that his vision deals with the calamities destined to befall Idumaea (1). Of the clause περιοχὴν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἐξάπεστελεν Cyril offers two explanations: a) either the prophet means that God has fenced in, beleaguered or imprisoned Idumaea, because his judgement compels the inhabitants to endure devastation (2); b) or, he insinuates that God issued commands inciting the surrounding nations to attack Idumaea (3).

In Theodore's opinion the prophecy deals with the punishment to be meted out to the Idumaeans. He stresses the fact that this chastisement will coincide with the rehabilitation of Israel. God will liberate him from slavery and restore him to his native land, so that he may rebuild Jerusalem and reconstruct the temple. The prediction itself was intended to console Israel. After its fulfilment he would believe more firmly that both the punishment of the Idumaeans and his own rehabilitation were proofs of God's providence in his regard (6).

(1) *Comment. on Abdias*, PUSEY I, 548, 20 ff.

(2) *Ibid.*, 548, 20 ff.

(3) *Ibid.*, 549, 4 ff. Both THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (PG 66, 309 A) and THEODORUS (PG 81, 1712 A) offer a similar explanation. Curiously enough between Cyril and JEROME (PL 25, 1099 A-1102 D) there are no points of contact. The exegesis of all three Greek exegetes is an attempt to read some plausible meaning into the expression περιοχὴν which in the Greek text corresponds to the Hebrew expression יִצְיָ.

(4) PG 66, 244 CD.

(5) PG 81, 1664 BC.

(6) PG 66, 308 BC.

Theodoretus, like Cyril, contents himself with a jejune reference to the punishment in store for the Idumaeans (<sup>4</sup>).

### *Micheas*

*Micheas* seems to have no distinctive σκοπός other than that common to all the prophets, namely, "to persuade Israel to give up his errors manfully, to strive to serve the living and true God and to take pride in the glories of justice, by getting rid of evil propensities as much as possible" (<sup>1</sup>). In the conclusion of his prologue St. Cyril tries to exculpate the prophets from the charge of tautology (<sup>2</sup>).

In their prologues both Theodore of Mopsuestia (<sup>5</sup>) and Theodoretus (<sup>6</sup>) state expressly that the prophet's vision concerns events that will happen to both Samaria and Jerusalem. The latter mentions that "God foretold these things by means of several persons so that those who were suffering from stupidity should revere the multitude of the prophets and sooner or later give up their irreligion and malice" (<sup>7</sup>).

### *Nahum*

*Nahum* belongs to those prophets who try to inspire Israel with hope in times of trial (<sup>3</sup>). He foretells the destruction of Niniveh for a twofold purpose: firstly to assure the Israelites living in exile of their eventual release (incidentally he urges them to be neither faint-hearted

According to the Bishop of Mopsuestia, the prophet *Nahum* predicts the punishment that God will inflict on the Assyrians for the pride shown by them in their dealings with the Israelites. Theodore notes that they were punished actually by the Babylonians. He draws attention to

(<sup>1</sup>) *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 599, 5 ff.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 600, 1 ff.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 1, 13 ff.

(<sup>4</sup>) PG 81, 1709 C.

(<sup>5</sup>) PG 66, 345 BC.

(<sup>6</sup>) PG 81, 1751 B.

(<sup>7</sup>) *Ibid.*

nor given to despair but rather to adore and pray to the God who is able to release and redeem them <sup>(1)</sup>; secondly, to persuade the inhabitants of Judaea to have no further intercourse with the neighbouring peoples <sup>(2)</sup>.

### *Habacuc*

The σκοπός of *Habacuc*, so far as it concerns the literal meaning of his message <sup>(3)</sup>, consists in showing clearly that the future captivity and its attendant evils will be the just punishment of deliberate sin. "This he establishes patently in a condemnation of evil-doers which constitutes the introduction and subject-matter of his whole prophecy. Later on, he introduces God in the act of threatening the insolent with invasion by the Babylonians <sup>(4)</sup>. Finally, in an attempt to provide the suffering Israelites with a breathing-space, he

the fact that in the opinion of the prophet punishment of Israel by the Assyrians was directly willed by God; in due course, however, the Assyrians, who were God's instruments in the matter of punishing Israel, will be chastised for their own offences <sup>(5)</sup>.

The opinions voiced by Theodoretus are similar to those of Theodore <sup>(6)</sup>.

Cyril's presentation of the first part of the prophecy of *Habacuc* agrees substantially with that of Theodore <sup>(7)</sup>. Whereas the former characterizes the sins of Israel as "life at constant variance with the law" and "leanings towards everything that is false" <sup>(8)</sup>, the latter singles out the social crimes of the judges who ruthlessly oppressed the poor.

With the Patriarch's presentation of the second part of *Habacuc* Theodore is again in substantial agreement <sup>(9)</sup>. He notes expressly, however, that

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 2, 25 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 4 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 68, 7 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 69, 11 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 66, 400 C-402 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 81, 1788 A ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 66, 425 A.

<sup>(8)</sup> PUSEY II, 69, 4 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 66, 425 A.

inveighs against the Babylonians and treats clearly about the capture of Babylon and of the liberation to be granted by Cyrus" (1).

the Babylonians will be punished for having abused their victory over Jerusalem and for their excessive cruelty to the Jews. In the last part of his prologue Theodore shows that *Habacuc* has the same ὑπόθεσις as *Ps.* 9 (2).

Theodoretus holds that the prophecy of *Habacuc* contains the inspired answer of a person who endeavours to satisfy the objections raised by those who, on beholding the happiness of the wicked, begin to doubt if human affairs are really administered by God's providence (3). The Bishop of Cyrrhus states: "The προοίμιον testifies that the prophet does not give utterance to his own thoughts, but bent on preparing a remedy for the sick, presents his prophecy in the form of question and answer" (4).

### *Sophonias*

*Sophonias* reprimands the tribes of Judah and Benjamin for their idolatry and foretells their punishment (5). This came to pass during the reign of Jecho-nias, when Nabuchodonosor devastated the whole region of

*Sophonias*, Theodore claims, prophesied not long after *Habacuc*. The oracles contained in the book that bears his name were delivered during the reign of Josias of Juda. The historical setting of the prophecy

(1) *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 69, 16 ff. Once again JEROME offers no points of contact with Cyril (PL 25, 1273 A ff.).

(2) *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 168, 7 ff.

(3) PG 66, 425 A-B.

(4) PG 81, 1809 A.

(5) *Ibid.*, 1812 A.

Judaea, took Jerusalem, burned the temple and carried off Judah and Benjamin into captivity (<sup>1</sup>). Cyril adds: "But it is necessary to know that the Babylonians in their ferocity overthrew and maltreated the cities of the foreign nations situated on the coast, namely, Gaza, Ascalon, other cities together with these, as well as the Idumaeans and the Ammonites. For the prophecy mentions these things" (<sup>2</sup>).

refers to an expedition of the Babylonians against Jerusalem; the destruction was so complete that the survivors could not even find security in the ruins (<sup>4</sup>). The Bishop of Mopsuestia remarks that the title of the book shows who *Sophonias* was, what his parentage was and when precisely he exercised his ministry (<sup>5</sup>). Theodore offers no parallels with Cyril.

Theodore's presentation of the prophecy is similar to that of Cyril. He notes, in addition, that *Sophonias* predicts the complete destruction of the Assyrians, the recall of the people from exile and the future salvation of the Gentiles after Christ's Incarnation (<sup>6</sup>).

### *Aggeus*

Cyril informs us that, whereas the σκοπός of *Osee* and of the prophets following him gives great prominence to coming calamities (<sup>3</sup>), that of *Aggeus* aims at bringing home to his listeners that God wishes to make them better. He will achieve this

Theodore of Mopsuestia like Cyril glances over the activities of the prophets (<sup>7</sup>). The Antiochian exegete claims that *Aggeus* addresses his message to those who had returned from captivity. But the purpose that he ascribes to *Aggeus* differs entirely from

(<sup>1</sup>) *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 171, 10 ff.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Ibid.*, 171, 13 ff. JEROME offers no points of contact with Cyril (PL 25, 1337 B f.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Comment. on Aggeus*, PUSEY II, 241, 4 ff.

(<sup>4</sup>) PG 66, 449 B.

(<sup>5</sup>) *Ibid.*

(<sup>6</sup>) PG 81, 1837 AB.

(<sup>7</sup>) PG 66, 473 D ff.



purpose not by punishing them with penalties proportionate to their crimes, but by showing mercy to the weary and by rehabilitating them out of love<sup>(1)</sup>.

Cyril's interpretation; according to Theodore the prophet blames the Jews for neglecting to build the temple. God was particularly solicitous about this matter "because it was to the advantage of the Jews that they should meet there before the rest of mankind with a view to offering him fitting worship"<sup>(2)</sup>.

In the opinion of Theodoretus the ὑπόθεσις of this prophecy blames the Jews for their remissness in building the temple; Zorobabel and Josue are commanded to resume the work that had been interrupted; a great victory over the nations is promised together with rich spoils; finally abundant riches will be bestowed on the Israelites with a view to helping them to complete the sacred edifice<sup>(4)</sup>.

### *Zachary*

*Zachary's* prophecy is a παιδαγωγία in which the seer himself plays the role of instructor and tutor<sup>(2)</sup> to the newly-liberated exiles. He dwells on the misdeeds of their ancestors which finally called forth God's anger; he recalls the circumstan-

*Zachary*, according to Theodore, guarantees that Jerusalem will regain her former splendour; her divinely chosen king will rule there and be in a position to resist his enemies; the priesthood, too, will regain its pristine excellence. The Antiochian exegete implies

(1) *Comment. on Aggeus*, PUSEY II, 243, 12 ff. JEROME offers no points of comparison (PL 25, 1387 B).

(2) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 284, 1 ff.; 283, 12 ff.

(3) PG 66, 476 C-477 A.

(4) PG 81, 1861 BC.

ces in which chastisement was inflicted on them and liberation accorded to them <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril defends *Zachary* from the charge of tautology. The prophet, he claims, addresses his message to two sets of persons; firstly, to those who returned to Judaea from captivity and who know by personal experience how terrible God's anger had been; secondly, to young Israelites, born in exile, who were not conversant with past history. *Zachary's* reminiscences are intended to stimulate the former and to assure the latter that similar chastisements will overtake them if they live an evil life <sup>(2)</sup>.

that the prophet's message is addressed to two classes of persons; his description of them does not tally with that of Cyril: the first includes exiles already returned to Palestine, whom *Zachary* exhorts to take up permanent residence there; the second class consists of Jews not yet returned to Palestine, whom he invites to join the former class. Theodore explicitly says in the prologue that the prophet predicts the attack against Gog and the calamities destined to accompany the period of the Maccabees <sup>(3)</sup>.

In the opinion of the Bishop of Cyrrhus *Zachary's* message predicts the joyful and sad events destined to overtake those who assent to his statements and those who contradict them <sup>(4)</sup>.

Towards the end of his prologue Theodore draws attention to a feature of *Zachary's* style: the prophet depicts past events as if they were impending. He does so for two reasons, firstly that he himself may have a firm pledge of their reality, secondly that he may make his listeners realize that the punishment of their oppressors is as

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 283, 21; 284, 1 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 284, 12 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 66, 496 BCD.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 81, 1873 B.

lasting as the benevolence shown themselves <sup>(3)</sup>.

Theodoretus adapts this last idea to suit his own train of thought and remarks that the images and types seen by *Zachary* in his visions were destined to make his statements more credible <sup>(4)</sup>.

### *Malachy*

The σκοπός of *Malachy* embraces reproofs addressed to both the priests and the people. The former are censured for failing to ensure that the victims offered in sacrifice were up to the standard and for neglecting to instruct the people in the prescriptions of the law <sup>(1)</sup>. The latter are chided for granting bills of divorce without a suitable reason and for marrying Philistine women <sup>(2)</sup>.

Broadly speaking, both Theodore <sup>(5)</sup> and Theodoretus <sup>(6)</sup> ascribe the same purpose to *Malachy* as Cyril does. The Alexandrian exegete, however, shows greater interest in certain details; he alone alludes to the infringement of the matrimonial laws.

## 2. The σκοπός of particular texts of Scripture

St. Cyril appeals to the σκοπός not only in his prologues but also in elucidating the literal meaning of particular texts. For example, in the first of the alternative explanations which he gives of *Is. 14, 29* our exegete identifies Ozias (also known as Azarias) with the "*seed of the serpent*", Achaz with the "*brood of the asps*" and

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 546, 23 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 547, 14 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 66, 496 D f.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 81, 1873 C.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 66, 597 AB.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 81, 1960 C f.

Ezechias with the "*flying serpent*". Each of these, Cyril claims, bit the Philistines, inasmuch as they devastated their cities or made them pay tribute. Although Ozias and Ezechias were deeply religious-minded, both of them are styled *serpents*. In their instance these appellations must be interpreted in the light of the σκοπός of the oracle, which here envisages the Philistines, persons who deserve drastic severity and not gentle treatment <sup>(1)</sup>.

Before expounding *Is. 58, 1* St. Cyril thinks it wise to recall the σκοπός of the prophet <sup>(2)</sup>. He reminds us that further back in *47, 11-13* the prophet predicted war and distress. Word of these had been noised abroad and, as a result, some persons (great sinners too) had dallied with the illusion that the future calamities could be warded off by means of external religious rites such as fasting and lengthy prayers. Now, it is persons of this description that Isaias is commanded to admonish publicly and with daring; if they wish to become worthy of God's mercy, they must desist from their crimes <sup>(3)</sup>.

Cyril thinks that the σκοπός of *Nahum 1, 2-3a* permits us to choose between two meanings: either the passage is addressed to the Jews and consequently contains a message of consolation

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 392 C: Εἰ δὲ ὄφεις ὀνομάσθησαν Ὁζίας τε καὶ Ἐζέχιας, καίτοι γεγονότες εὐσεβεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖν ἐκεῖνο προσήκει καὶ μάλα ἐμφερῶς, ὥς ὁ τοῦ λόγου σκοπὸς τέτραπται τε καὶ βλέπει πρὸς ὅτι μάλιστα τυποῦν τοὺς Φυλιστιεῖμ, ἦτοι τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους. In the second interpretation that he gives of this text Cyril identifies Tiglath-pileser with the *seed of the serpent*; Salmanasar is the *brood of the asp*, and merits the appellation *flying serpent* as well on account of the rapidity of his movements (*ibid.*, 392 D). No other exegete of Antiquity raises the problem of the σκοπός of this text. EUSEBIUS is of opinion that the *serpents* denote the false gods that the ἀλλόφυλοι were wont to worship (PG 24, 197 BC). BASIL holds that the expressions refer to Achaz and his successors; their succession, it is predicted, will be bitter (PG 30, 621 C). THEODORETUS like Cyril holds that the *seed of the serpent* denotes Ezechias; this appellation is given him not because he imitated the wickedness of the ἀλλόφυλοι but because he inflicted on them a wound resembling that caused by a serpent (PG 81, 340 A). JEROME offers no points of comparison (PG 24, 228 Bff).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 1280 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 1280 BC.

EUSEBIUS (PG 24, 477 C), JEROME (PL 24, 561 A ff.) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 456 D) offer no points of comparison with Cyril.

mixed however with words of blame <sup>(1)</sup>, or it announces the punishment of Niniveh <sup>(2)</sup>, and on that account inspires the Israelites living in captivity with hopes of rehabilitation <sup>(3)</sup>.

According to our author it is the angel himself who explains the σκοπός of the vision described in *Zach.* 4, 4-6: Zorobabel is to be informed that everything, which Zachary has just contemplated in prophetic vision, will be accomplished in due time not by human beings but rather by the power of the Holy Spirit <sup>(4)</sup>.

The footnotes, which accompany this article, show that St. Cyril interests himself in problems bearing on the literal sense that do not arouse the attention of St. Jerome. This point must be stressed in passing judgement on the factors that influenced the exegetical method of the Egyptian exegete; the numerous parallels between him and the Latin exegete, which we have either examined in the preceding pages or shall discuss in those to follow, must not cause us to forget that St. Jerome is not his only source. In his prologues to the *Minor Prophets* St. Cyril shows affinities with Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus of Cyrrhus that are really striking. Though the solutions offered by him frequently differ from those of the Antiochians, Cyril discusses in terms of the σκοπός of Scripture the selfsame problems that they do in terms of its ὑπόθεσις. Indeed, at times he seems to be more interested in these problems than they; the examples examined by us overleaf are sufficient proof of this. It is not unlikely that St. Cyril's preoccupations about the σκοπός were more directly influenced by Alexandrian rather than by Antiochian factors <sup>(5)</sup>.

(1) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 4, 15f. The development of the first opinion is found on pp. 4, 16-6, 7. Of the exegetes of Antiquity only Cyril draws attention to the σκοπός. THEODORE (PG 66, 405 A ff.) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1789 CD) note that the oracle is addressed to the inhabitants of Niniveh. JEROME offers no points of comparison with Cyril (PG 25, 1233 C ff.).

(2) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 6, 7; 7, 17.

(3) *Ibid.*, 6, 11 ff.

(4) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 333, 3 ff. With this explanation THEODORE (PG 66, 529 BC), JEROME (PL 25, 1442 C) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1897 C) are in agreement. Cyril alone discusses the problem of the σκοπός.

(5) See p. 94.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SPIRITUAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

The Patriarch of Alexandria spares no pains to persuade his readers of the need of outstepping the literal sense of Scripture. He harps on this lesson almost to the point of causing tedium, disguising poorly the fact that he frequently repeats himself with the diversity of formulae invented by him. "We shall cut down the prolixity of the literal sense, restricting it to such elements as prove that the mystery of Our Saviour concerning us was portrayed in advance. Having grasped them, we shall not hesitate to explain their meaning. Let nobody complain, if everything contained in the literal sense is not explained. For frequently the spiritual sense is hidden in the superfluities of the literal sense. it is like those fragrant flowers of a garden that are clothed all around externally with superfluous leaves; the removal of the latter permits one to find naked what is most delectable and useful" <sup>(1)</sup>. "The language of the holy prophets is deep and it creeps through the hidden and inner path. Accordingly one should not think that the external surface of the letter represents the truth. One must seek rather the meaning buried in the letter" <sup>(2)</sup>. Extracts like these can be readily multiplied. Let those quoted suffice to introduce us to the study of the higher sense to whose sovereign importance St. Cyril bears witness in all his writings on the Old Testament.

#### Art. 1. — ST. CYRIL'S TERMINOLOGY

Students of hermeneutical problems cannot but be struck by the varied nomenclature which modern writers use to designate the higher sense of sacred Scripture: "the typological sense" <sup>(3)</sup>,

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 137 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 565 C. See also PG 68, 585 D; 69, 189 D etc.

<sup>(3)</sup> See the writers mentioned on p. 25, note 1.

"the consequent sense" <sup>(1)</sup>, the *sensus plenior* <sup>(2)</sup>, "the mystical sense" <sup>(3)</sup>, "the literal-prophetic sense" <sup>(4)</sup>, "the religious sense of history" <sup>(5)</sup>, "the plural sense" <sup>(6)</sup>, "the spiritual and implied sense" <sup>(7)</sup> are a few designations that bear witness to a rich terminology <sup>(8)</sup>. In this respect St. Cyril of Alexandria does not yield a whit to modern writers; in the formulae that serve to introduce his higher explanations he exploits his rich vocabulary to the full. The list that follows contains a selection of the designations employed by him:

- 1) τῶν αἰνιγμάτων τὸ βάθος <sup>(9)</sup>;
- 2) various formulae involving the adverb αἰνιγματωδῶς <sup>(10)</sup>;
- 3) τῆς ἀλληγορίας ὁ λόγος <sup>(11)</sup>; οἱ τῶν ἀλληγορίων... τρόποι <sup>(12)</sup>;

<sup>(1)</sup> F. X. PATRIZI, *Institutio de interpretatione Bibliorum*, Romae, 1876, p. 265.

<sup>(2)</sup> F. FERNÁNDEZ, *Institutiones biblicae scholis accommodatae*, vol. I. ed. 5a., pp. 354f; J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux testaments...*, pp. 11 ff. This author gives a copious bibliography of writers who deal with the problem of the *sensus plenior*, an expression which has no exact equivalent in English.

<sup>(3)</sup> P. CHEMINANT, *Précis d'introduction*, 2, Paris, 1930, p. 227-229.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>(6)</sup> D. BUZY, *Un problème d'herméneutique sacrée* in *L'année théologique*, 3 (1944), pp. 152 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> J. GRIBOMONT, *Le lien des deux testaments, selon la théologie de s. Thomas* in *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 22 (1946), pp. 70-89.

<sup>(8)</sup> The Encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* refers to the higher sense as the *sensus spiritualis*: Hunc igitur spiritualem sensum, a Deo ipso intentum et ordinatum, exegetae catholici ea diligentia patefaciant ac proponant, quam divini verbi dignitas exposcit (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 35 (1943), p. 311).

In the following footnotes letters are written in parentheses after the appropriate references to St. Cyril's writings. In each case they indicate the nuance that St. Cyril ascribes to the formula under examination.

Thus : s = the expression in question envisages a method of interpretation, considered as existing in the thinking subject;

o = an objective mode of Scriptural utterance;

h = we are undecided as to which of the preceding significations St. Cyril has in mind.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 72, 888 A (o).

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 68, 912 D (o); 69, 11 A (o); 237 D (o); 556 D (o); 561 B (o).

<sup>(11)</sup> PG 69, 140 A (s).

<sup>(12)</sup> PG 77, 484 D.

4) expressions employing the term τὰ ἀναγκαῖα such as κε-  
κρυμμένος τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν ὁ νοῦς <sup>(1)</sup>;

5) the term δήλωσις qualified by various adjectival expres-  
sions: ἀναγκαιοτάτη ἡ δήλωσις <sup>(2)</sup>; αἰνιγματώδης καὶ ἀσυμφανὴς τὴν δή-  
λωσιν (accus. of respect) <sup>(3)</sup>;

6) various combinations of the expression διάνοια: πρὸς διά-  
νοιαν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἐπὶ Χριστῷ λόγον <sup>(4)</sup>; πρὸς διάνοιαν δὲ τὴν  
ἔσωτάτω <sup>(5)</sup>; μυστικὴ διάνοια <sup>(6)</sup>;

7) the expression ἔννοια with various qualifying terms:  
λεπταὶ καὶ ἀστερόταται ἔννοιαι <sup>(7)</sup>; ἰσχνότεραι ἔννοιαι <sup>(8)</sup>; κεκρυμμένη  
ἔννοια (sing.) <sup>(9)</sup>; κεκρυμμέναι ἔννοιαι (plur.) <sup>(10)</sup>;

8) the term θεώρημα either alone or in conjunction with  
other qualifying expressions: θεώρημα (sing.) <sup>(11)</sup>; θεωρήματα  
(plur.) <sup>(12)</sup>; τὰ ἔσωτάτω θεωρήματα <sup>(13)</sup>; τὰ πνευματικὰ θεωρήματα <sup>(14)</sup>;

9) formulae involving the use of the expressions μυστικός and  
μυστικῶς: μυστικὴ διάνοια <sup>(15)</sup>; κατὰ λόγον τὸν μυστικὸν <sup>(16)</sup>; μυστικω-  
τέρα... ἢ ἀφήγησις <sup>(17)</sup>; μυστικῶς πολυπραγμονεῖν <sup>(18)</sup>; μυστικώτερον <sup>(19)</sup>;

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 312 B (o).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 641 C (h).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 336 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 36, 7 ff. (s); 96, 16 f (s).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 540 BC (h).

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 561 A (o);

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 584 B (s); See also 556 D (s).

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 70, 460 B (s).

<sup>(9)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 430, 17 ff. (o).

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 70, 9 A (o).

<sup>(11)</sup> PG 69, 344 D (s).

<sup>(12)</sup> PG 68, 596 C (s); 621 D (s); 644 B (o); 69, 16 A (s); 620 B (o);  
*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 482, 1 (= explanations of biblical texts given by  
heretics) (s); *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 733, 12 (o); *Comment. on Zach.*,  
PUSEY II, 303, 3 ff.

<sup>(13)</sup> PG 69, 389 A (o).

<sup>(14)</sup> PG 69, 205 A (o); *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 248, 15 f. (o); 254,  
2 f. (o).

<sup>(15)</sup> See note 6.

<sup>(16)</sup> PG 68, 597 A (o); 633 A (s); 69, 645 D (b).

<sup>(17)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 92, 18 f. (o).

<sup>(18)</sup> PG 68, 596 D (= to compose a mystical interpretation) (s).

<sup>(19)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 143, 19 ff (s).



10) combinations involving the employment of the expressions νοῦς: κεκρυμμένος τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὁ νοῦς; ὁ ἀπόρρητος νοῦς <sup>(1)</sup>;

11) formulae involving the use of νόημα: ἡ τῶν νοήματων ἰσχνότης <sup>(2)</sup>; ἡ τοῦ νοήματος ὑπεροχή <sup>(3)</sup>; τῶν νοήματων τὸ βάθος <sup>(4)</sup>;

12) νοητῶς <sup>(5)</sup> and πνευματικῶς <sup>(6)</sup>;

13) other expression introduced in all probability for the sake of variety such as φέρε δὴ οὖν, εἰς Χριστὸν ἀναφέρωμεν τὰ ὡς ἐν τύπῳ τοῖς πάλαι γεγενημένα <sup>(7)</sup>; εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἔλοιτο, καὶ καθ' ἕτερον νοήσει τρόπον <sup>(8)</sup>; ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος, κἂν εἰ νοοῖτο πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν σταυρωσάντων τὸν Ἑμμανουήλ <sup>(9)</sup> etc.

14) St. Cyril's favourite expression is θεωρία (sing. and plur.) which is employed either by itself <sup>(10)</sup> or in conjunction with other qualifying terms such as ἡ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀκριβῆς θεωρία <sup>(11)</sup>; εἰς ἀκριβῆ θεωρίαν <sup>(12)</sup>; τῆς ἀληθοῦς καὶ πνευματικῆς θεωρίας ὁ τρόπος <sup>(13)</sup>; σοφῆ... καὶ ἀναγκαῖα... ἡ θεωρία <sup>(14)</sup>; θεωρία τῶν ἀφανεστέρων <sup>(15)</sup>; τῆς ἐγκεχωσμένης αὐτῷ (i. e. ἐν τῷ γράμματι) θεωρίας τὸ κάλλος <sup>(16)</sup>; ἡ ἔσω κεκρυμμένη θεωρία <sup>(17)</sup>; θεωρίαι ἰσχναί <sup>(18)</sup>;

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 9, 21f. (o).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 397 D.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 587 B (o); 141 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 104 A (o).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*. PUSEY I, 446, 1 (s), 6 (s); *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 92, 9 (s).

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 68, 189 B (s); 192 A (s); 600 C (s); 69, 96 A (o); 448 B (h); 536 D (s).

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 29, 20f. (s).

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 110, 6ff. (s); 116, 18 (s).

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 154, 21 (h).

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 68, 237 A (o); 713 C (s); 732 D (s); 1036 C (h); 69, 229 A (o); 293 B (s); 385 B (o); 493 C (o); 664 D (o); *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 277, 25ff. (o).

<sup>(11)</sup> PG 69, 168 C (h).

<sup>(12)</sup> PG 72, 893 A (s).

<sup>(13)</sup> PG 69, 609 C (h).

<sup>(14)</sup> PG 69, 560 C (s).

<sup>(15)</sup> PG 68, 151 A (o).

<sup>(16)</sup> PG 69, 565 C (o).

<sup>(17)</sup> PG 69, 60 A (s).

<sup>(18)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 445, 12 (o).

θεωρία λεπτά <sup>(1)</sup>; μυστικώτερα θεωρία <sup>(2)</sup>; θεωρία πνευματική (sing. and plur.) <sup>(3)</sup>.

The expression which Tradition used with greatest frequency to designate the higher sense of Scripture was ἀλληγορία <sup>(4)</sup>. Philo <sup>(5)</sup>, St. Paul <sup>(6)</sup>, Tertullian <sup>(7)</sup>, and Origen <sup>(8)</sup> are names which are associated with this usage in primitive Christian tradition. St. Cyril, however, employs this term very rarely <sup>(9)</sup>.

Some of the other expressions used by him were not unknown to the Alexandrians who preceded him; for instance, Origen was familiar with a "mystical interpretation", meaning thereby one that contains the fulness of doctrine concerning the mystery <sup>(10)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 149 C (h); *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 431, 6 ff. (o).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 953 D (o).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 137 A (s); 197 B (h); 264 C (s); 364 B (s); 529 C (s); 673 B (s); 692 B (s); 804 C (s); 889 D (s); 69, 188 C (s); 257 C (s); 448 B (h); 452 D (s); 609 C (o); 70, 9 A (o); 192 A (h); *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 27, 7 f. (s); *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 305, 14 (s); 435, 17 f. (s).

<sup>(4)</sup> "Et le mot qui reste le plus fréquent, le plus constant, au moins dans la tradition latine est *allegoria*. Il y fait figure de mot technique. Il sert à désigner soit, comme le font les expressions précédentes l'ensemble des manières d'entendre le texte biblique qui débordent l'histoire ou la lettre, soit, plus précisément, le sens proprement typique, par opposition d'une part à l'histoire et d'autre part à ces autres fractions du sens spirituel que sont alors la 'tropologie' et l' 'anagogie' ". (H. DE LUBAC, "*Typologie*" et "*Allégorisme*" in *Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), p. 187.

<sup>(5)</sup> Philo uses the expression ἀλληγορία but less frequently than ὑπόνοια which was the term then commonly given to the method of interpreting the poems of Hesiod and Homer used in pagan circles (DE LUBAC, *art. cit.*, p. 184).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Gal.* 4, 21 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Adv. Iudaeos*, 8, PL 2, 621 B-C; *Adv. Valentinianos*, 1, CSEL, 47, 177; *Adv. Marcionem*, 14, 17 *ibid.*, p. 476.

<sup>(8)</sup> In the expressions used by Origen to denote the higher sense, REDEPENNING includes μεταλαμβάνειν εἰς ἀλληγορίαν (See *Origenes, eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre*, I, p. 304).

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 69, 140 A; 77, 484 D. These are the only examples of this expression known to us.

<sup>(10)</sup> Here are some examples of this usage: Μυστικώτον καὶ ἀπόρρητον; τι τὸ βούλημα τοῦ τόπου τὸ μυστικόν; spiritualis intelligentiae mysticus et allegoricus sensus (REDEPENNING, *Origenes...*, p. 305).

The expressions νοῦς and νόημα were also used by Origen <sup>(1)</sup>. With the expression διάνοια Didymus too was familiar <sup>(2)</sup>.

St. Cyril's favourite expression θεωρία seems to have been derived from the Platonic tradition <sup>(3)</sup>. Clement of Alexandria attached to it a meaning not very different from its original signification <sup>(4)</sup>. The unknown author of the sermons falsely ascribed to St. John Chrysostom <sup>(5)</sup> as well as Origen <sup>(6)</sup>, Eusebius <sup>(7)</sup>, and Didymus <sup>(8)</sup> employed it. So too did St. Gregory of Nyssa <sup>(9)</sup>, St. Jerome <sup>(10)</sup>,

<sup>(1)</sup> Περὶ ἀρχῶν (GCS, 22, p. 310). H. DE LUBAC remarks that νόησις is the technical expression used in the doctrinal parts of Περὶ ἀρχῶν to denote the interpretation of the Scriptures. To the νόησις in the subject there corresponds νόημα in the object (*Typologie...*, p. 206). We are referred to Koetschau's edition: τὰ τῶν ἁγίων γραμμάτων νοήματα (GCS, 22, p. 312).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 39, 1160 A; 1572 B.

<sup>(3)</sup> "In the Alexandrian tradition θεωρία is practically synonymous with ἀλληγορία, as that word is with διάνοια, or formerly ὑπόνοια. The antecedents of the word are, I believe, Platonic". (H. N. BATE, *Some Technical Terms of Greek Exegesis*, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 24 (1922-23), p. 61).

<sup>(4)</sup> "Et il semble bien, si l'on tient compte de toute la doctrine de Clément sur la gnose, que ce charisme comporte un pouvoir de vision supérieure, une certaine contemplation (θεωρία) des vérités, une connaissance intellectuelle mais savoureuse de son objet, et en ce sens mystique" (C. MONDÉSERT, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'Écriture*, p. 111, note 4).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 59, 723 and 728.

<sup>(6)</sup> Hi vero qui secundum apostolorum sensum theoriam scripturarum recipiunt (Περὶ ἀρχῶν, 2, 11, 3, GCS, 22, p. 184); παιδευόμεθα τῇ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν μυστικῇ θεωρίᾳ (*Contra Celsum*, 2, 6, GCS, 2, 132); θεωρῆσαι, *In psalmum* 119, 89 (R. CADIOU, *Commentaires inédits des psaumes. Étude sur les textes d'Origène, contenus dans la manuscrit Vindibonensis* 8, Paris, 1936, p. 113); *In Genesim hom.* 8, 10: Omnia enim quæ gesta sunt ad visionem perveniunt (GCS, 29, 85). Apropos of these expressions DE LUBAC remarks: "Peut-être, comme certaines traductions plus récentes sembleraient nous y inviter, faut-il aussi restituer θεωρία sous diverses formules de Rufin, telles que 'spiritualis intelligentia' ou 'mysticus intellectus'" (*art. cit.*, p. 206).

<sup>(7)</sup> *Praep. evang.*, 8, 8 (PG 21, 640 C).

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 39, 1144 C; 1208 B.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 44, 337 C; 340 B; 340 CD; 356 B.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Spiritualis theoria* (*Epist.* 120, 12, CSEL, 55, 514, 6).

Isidore of Pelusium <sup>(1)</sup>, Hesychius of Jerusalem <sup>(2)</sup> and Olympiodorus of Alexandria <sup>(3)</sup>. As one may see, the usage of θεωρία was widespread. St. Cyril's extensive use of this expression as a designation of the higher sense does not prove that he was a pioneer. We shall try to explain later on why it became his favourite expression. Critics old and new reproach the Alexandrians for their allegorical treatment of Scripture. In Antiquity the Antiochians claimed that the followers of Origen denied the reality of the facts of the Bible and that their interpretations differed in no wise from the speculations concerning pagan myths in which pagans indulged <sup>(4)</sup>. This criticism was unfounded; Père de Lubac, who is one of Origen's most recent apologists, shows that the great Alexandrian did not eliminate the literal sense of Scripture <sup>(5)</sup>; he regrets that writers can be found nowadays who are willing to revive this criticism <sup>(6)</sup>. Since Origen and the Alexandrians fully respected the principle of the historicity of Scripture, they differed considerably from the pagan allegorists, who ascribed no historical signification whatsoever to allegory. However, they rejoined the allegorists to a certain extent, as is proved by the fact that they were constantly in quest of meanings that outstripped the literal signification. In the case of the Alexandrians we can define θεωρία as a method of reaching meanings which are beyond the range of

(1) PG 78, 745 AB; 1192 B; 1292 A; especially 789 BC: Εἶχον μὲν καὶ τὰς θεωρίας αὐτῶν μηνῦσαι. Ἔχουσι γὰρ ἀρίστως ἀλληγορίας ὠφελεῖσθαι δυναμένους, τοὺς μὴ ἀγύμναστον ἔχοντες πρὸς θεωρίαν τὸν νοῦν.

(2) PG 93, 789 A, C; 969 B; 1023 C; 1034 A; 1047 A; 1122 C; 1181 A.

(3) PG 93, 17 BC; 61 B; 73 A; 412 D; 484 B etc.

(4) H. DE LUBAC, "Typologie"..., p. 200 f.

(5) H. DE LUBAC in the introduction written by him for *Origène. Homélie sur la Genèse*..., pp. 5 f.

(6) "Il n'y a donc pas plus à chicaner les Antiochiens sur leurs préférences verbales qu'à retenir du point de vue de l'histoire, l'opposition qu'ils ont forgée. On est cependant en droit de regretter que leur critique malveillante et quelquefois inexacte de l'*allegoria* alexandrine se soit si souvent imposée par la suite, au détriment des faits les plus certains. C'est ainsi qu'un des auteurs qui, de nos jours, ont étudié du plus près cette question de la 'théorie' et de 'l'allégorie' au temps des Pères adopte entièrement le point de vue polémique d'Antioche, ne citant ni Tertullien ni Origène, et chose plus étrange encore, omettant pour ainsi dire toute référence à saint Paul en parlant de l'allégorie" (H. DE LUBAC, "Typologie" p. 208) Père de Lubac alludes to the article of H. N. Bate quoted by us on p. 116, note 3.

the literal. But, of course, we must be careful not to discredit their good intentions of not undermining the historicity of Scripture.

In the light of their biased criticisms of the Alexandrian method of exegesis the Antiochians gave, as they thought, a different connotation to the expression θεωρία. Diodorus of Tarsus, for instance, opposes it to ἀλληγορία<sup>(1)</sup>; while contrasting it with ιστορία<sup>(2)</sup>, he takes pains to show that θεωρία is a *via media* which at one and the same time respects ιστορία and yet refrains from introducing comments that are foreign to the context; to assimilate Cain and Abel to the Synagogue and the Church respectively and to recognize Christ in the lamb without stain are examples of θεωρία which Diodorus expressly endorses<sup>(3)</sup>.

The Antiochians, however, used the expression θεωρία with special predilection to designate the form of vision accompanying prophecies which are indirectly Messianic, namely, those in which the seer's words manifestly go beyond the events that are directly predicted by him. For the most part these oracles are couched in hyperbolical expressions dealing with realities that affected the Jews, but stimulating them to expect something more than the mediocre realisations of their own times<sup>(4)</sup>. All the exponents of the school of Antioch studied these hyperbole with diligence and regarded them as a key which opened for them the door to spiritual interpretations<sup>(5)</sup>. In a passage of his commentary on *Ps.* 118 Diodorus of Tarsus seems to enunciate a general principle which claims that a prophecy is frequently less interested in particular events than in a series of facts orientated in the same direction; the prophecy is accomplished according as these facts are verified; however, these oblige one to ascribe a more profound signification to the oracle itself and to expect eventually a more spiritual fulfilment of it<sup>(6)</sup>.

(1) L. MARIÈS, *Extraits de commentaire de Diodore de Tarse sur les Psaumes* in *Recherches de science religieuse*, 9 (1919), p. 80. See also p. 53, note 3.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Ταῦτα γὰρ οὐδὲ τὴν ιστορίαν ἀτεθεῖ, οὐδὲ τὴν θεωρίαν ἐκβάλλει, ἀλλ' ἡ μεσότης αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία ἥ κατὰ τὴν ιστορίαν καὶ θεωρίαν (*ibid.*, p. 88, 22 f.).

(4) J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche, conflit ou malentendu* in *Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), p. 280.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) J. GUILLET refers us to L. MARIÈS, *Extraits...*, pp. 97 ff. Guillet writes apropos of this passage of Diodorus: "...La prophétie vise souvent moins

Indirect prophecy, accordingly, gives rise to multiple prophetic perspectives. Some of the Antiochians tried to discover them in the psychology of the hagiographer himself; the expression θεωρία designates the psychological states which he experiences in these circumstances. Of this θεωρία Padre Vaccari gives a very exact idea <sup>(1)</sup>. He first quotes the definition of it that is given by Julian of Eclanum: "Theoria est in brevibus plerumque aut formis aut causis earum rerum quae potiores sunt considerata perceptio" <sup>(2)</sup>. Since it is likely that Julian borrowed this definition from an Antiochian Greek source, Padre Vaccari reconstructs the original Greek definition as follows: Θεωρία ἐστὶν ἐν εὐτελέσι μάλιστα ἢ σχήμασιν ἢ πράγμασι τῶν κρείττονων διανοουμένη κατάληψις; this we render into English as follows: "Θεωρία is the intellectual apprehension of superior objects through the medium of objects that are frequently less important, namely, either literary forms or things" <sup>(3)</sup>. Thus understood, θεωρία has four properties: 1) it always presupposes the literal or historical sense; 2) in addition to the object presented by the literal or historical sense a second object is present to the mind; 3) the first object stands in the same relation to the second as an image does to the person that it represents or a rough sketch to a finished painting; 4) both objects are attained at the same time though diversely: the less is the means by which the greater is known <sup>(4)</sup>. Hence, in keeping with its etymological meaning θεωρία is primarily a psychological process, namely, a vision going on in the mind of the prophet. However, the Antiochians made it a rule of hermeneutics. This enabled them to ascribe to the Messiah the predictions applied to him from the

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un événement singulier que toute une ligne de faits orientés dans une même direction. A mesure qu'ils se produisent, ils accomplissent la prophétie, mais en même temps, toujours précaires, ils obligent à lui donner un sens plus profond et à attendre un accomplissement plus spirituel. C'a été la conduite même de Dieu sur Israël" (*Les exégèses...*, p. 281).

(1) A. VACCARI, *La ΘΕΩΡΙΑ nella scuola esegetica di Antiochia*, in *Biblica*, I (1920) pp. 3-36.

(2) PL 21, 971 B.

(3) A. VACCARI, art. cit., p. 14, note 1. See his article *La "Theoria" esegetica antiochena* (*Biblica*, 15 (1934), pp. 94-101).

(4) A. VACCARI, *La "ΘΕΩΡΙΑ" nella scuola esegetica di Antiochia...*, p. 15f.

beginning by Catholic tradition, without either abandoning the positive terrain of history or breaking in upon the context with sudden interruptions <sup>(1)</sup>.

J. Guillet has claimed recently that St. Jerome interprets prophecy in similar fashion, that is to say, he endeavours at one and the same time to insert an oracle in to its historical context and to do full justice to its spiritual transcendence <sup>(2)</sup>. As an illustration of St. Jerome's method this writer quotes the remarks made by him apropos of *Mal.* 1, 10. Jerome first applies the oracle to the situation in which the Jewish people then found itself but states that a prediction concerning Christ is indissolubly connected with it: "Sic enim futurorum textit vaticinium ut praesens tempus non deserat". St. Jerome regards this interpretation as the direct opposite to allegory. Before expounding it he enunciates the rule that is so strikingly reminiscent of the tenets of the school of Antioch: "Regula Scripturarum est: ubi manifestissima prophetia de futuris textitur, per incerta allegoriae non extenuare quae scripta sunt" <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28 and pp. 24 ff. J. GUILLET notes: "Le R. P. Vaccari ne dissimule pas qu'il prolonge en partie des indications demeurées fragmentaires même chez Julien d'Éclane. Il est visiblement attiré par cette explication du fait prophétique qui, sans méconnaître ses éléments humains et historiques, cherchent au contraire à le replacer profondément dans son contexte historique, fait toutefois pleine justice à transcendance surnaturelle" (*Les exégèses...*, p. 283). See also J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux testaments...*, pp. 51 f.).

<sup>(2)</sup> J. GUILLET, *art. cit.*, p. 283. This point has been further developed and confirmed by A. PENNA (*Principi e carattere...*, pp. 164-167), who quotes in *extenso* from Jerome's commentary on *Jeremias*.

<sup>(3)</sup> Here is the relevant passage in *extenso*: Regula Scripturarum est: ubi manifestissima prophetia de futuris textitur, per incerta allegoriae non extenuare quae scripta sunt. Ergo proprie nunc ad sacerdotes Iudaeorum sermo fit Domini, qui offerunt caecum et claudum, et languidum ad immolandum; ut scient carnalibus victimis spirituales victimas succurras. Et nequaquam taurorum hircorumque sanguinem; sed thymiana, hoc est, sanctorum orationes Domino offerendas, et non in una orbis provincia Iudaea, nec in una Iudaeae urbe Ierusalem; sed in omni loco offerri oblationem, nequaquam immundam, ut a populo Israel; sed mundam, ut in caeremoniis Christianorum, Ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum magnum est nomen Domini in gentibus, dicente Salvatore: *Pater, manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus* (Io. 17, 6). Cumque, inquit, nomen meum magnum in gentibus

For these theories of prophetic perspective Theodore of Mopsuestia shows little sympathy. When explaining *Zach.* 9 he criticizes those who claim that the prophet envisaged Zorobabel and Christ at one the same time. Such an opinion, he argues, lacks logical coherence, since it drags the texts in different directions; in addition, it runs the risk of confusing the plane of human history with the sphere that, properly speaking, belongs to God <sup>(1)</sup>. The Bishop of Mopsuestia proposes another solution which states emphatically that the prophets neither left their own world nor their peculiar religious interests. Withal, they had a presentiment of the Messianic future. J. Guillet claims that Theodore's explanation is approximately the one proposed by Julian, save that it is formulated more naturally and seems to be more in keeping with psychology. In Theodore's system Julian's mysterious perspectives towards a brighter future become but vague hopes, which, however, really have Christ as their object <sup>(2)</sup>.

These remarks concerning the θεωρία of the Antiochians indicate the lines on which we must conduct our study of St. Cyril's use of this expression. The problems raised in this chapter must first be examined patiently before we may venture to point out how his θεωρία differs from, or resembles that of the Antiochians and why he prefers this expression as a designation of the spiritual sense of Scripture.

For the present, suffice it to say that the nuances, which St. Cyril attaches to θεωρία, can be conveniently classified under the

sit futurum, O vos principes Iudaeorum polluitis illud atque polluitis. Sic enim futurorum texit vaticinium, ut praesens tempus non deserat. (PL 25, 1551 AB.).

(1) PG 66, 556 CD ff., especially 557 D ff. See also L. PIROT, *L'œuvre exégétique de Théodore de Mopsueste...*, p. 264.

(2) "C'est en comme l'explication de Julien d'Éclane, mais plus terrestre, plus défiante des constructions brillantes, plus naturelle et plus psychologique. Ces brusques échappées sur un horizon plus lointain, ces perspectives mystérieusement ouvertes sur un avenir plus profond et plus beau, Théodore semble les réduire à des espérances plus vagues. Mais ces espérances ont réellement le Christ pour objet". (J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses...*, p. 285). Apropos of *Zach.* 9, 10-12 THEODORE states: 'Ο δὲ προφήτης περὶ τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ λέγων, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τὰ νῦν προφητεύων, εἰ καὶ τινα φαντασίαν ὡς προφήτης καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἶχεν, ἐπάγει... (PG 66, 560 D ff.).



three connotations which this expression has in patristic usage: *a)* the etymological sense meaning vision; *b)* the philosophical sense meaning speculation or illative knowledge in general; *c)* the exegetical sense signifying a hidden meaning that is discovered by speculation <sup>(1)</sup>. However, since in St. Cyril's system the θεωρία that leads to the discovery of the hidden sense is not an ordinary speculation but one that is conducted with the aid of supernatural illumination <sup>(2)</sup>, we prefer to regard examples that could be classified plausibly under the philosophical sense as instances of the exegetical sense (coloured by nuances to be explained presently).

We are under the impression that the Patriarch of Alexandria attaches two connotations to the word θεωρία: an etymological signification, employed by him in the technical sense to designate prophetic vision <sup>(3)</sup>; the exegetical sense, subdivided so as to include a subjective and an objective nuance: *a)* the former nuance directly conjures up the method used by the interpreter to reach the hidden signification of Scripture; this is a process that unfolds itself in the interpreter's mind and is accompanied by the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit; *b)* the objective nuance, namely, the signification discovered by the mental process just mentioned; frequently the signification has been hidden in the text itself by God; in such cases as these the role of the interpreter consists in little more than removing the wrappings that hide the higher sense <sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> A. VACCARI, *La ΘΕΩΡΙΑ nella scuola esegetica di Antiochia...*, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 187 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> Ἔθος τοῖς ἁγίοις προφήταις καὶ ἐν θεωρίαις αὐταῖς γίνεσθαι πολλάκις τῶν ὡς ἔσονται κατὰ καιρὸς προαπηγγεμένων, μονονουχὶ δὲ παρόντα τε καὶ ἐνεργούμενα βλέπειν τὰ καὶ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐκβησόμενα χρόνους... (*Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 642, 9 ff.); "The prophets, when they desire to learn things from God, and to acquire knowledge of future events, are wont to banish from the mind all distractions, cares and worldly sollicitudes while he is whispering into the mind and heart. Keeping their minds easy and still, they betake themselves, as it were, to a hill or a place commanding a wide view, such as a rock, in order to have a vision (θεωρία) of the things which the God of knowledge may choose to communicate to them" (*Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 91, 14 ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> In our opinion the following passages are instances of the subjective use of θεωρία: PG 68, 137 A; 264 C; 364 B; 529 C; 673 B; 692 D; 804 C; 889 D; PG 69, 188 C; 257 C; 445 B etc. The objective nuance of θεωρία

## Art. 2. — THE OBJECTS OF THE SPIRITUAL SENSE

§ 1. — *Generic formulae dealing with the objects of the spiritual sense*

Hitherto we have assumed rather than fully proved that in St. Cyril's system the distinction between the literal and the higher sense resides chiefly on the different natures of the objects involved. It is wise to test this assumption before undertaking a description of the objects of the spiritual sense. Seeing that on this as well as on other matters our author does not express his thought in clear-cut definitions, we must needs scrutinize the numerous formulae employed by him either when he introduces an interpretation or refers to one previously given. The following examples show that expressions referring directly to the literal and spiritual sense (reviewed already in the preceding pages) are frequently replaced by expressions which directly connote *objects*:

1) Ἀλλὰ φέρε τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ χθαμαλὸν ὑποτρέχοντες, ἀναβαίνωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ πνευματικά (¹);

2) Φέρε οὖν καταδρῆσωμεν τὴν αἰτίαν. Κατ' εὐθὺ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν τῶν πνευματικῶν οἰκίησεται (²);

3) Ἐκβεβηκότες δὴ οὖν εἰς πέρας τοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγου, μετοιχίησεται πάλιν ὁ νοῦς τῶν ἐσωτάτω πρὸς ἔρευναν. Καὶ οἶά τισι σκιαῖς τοῖς αἰσθητῶς γεγονόσιν ἐπιχρωματίζων τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐπρεπὲς ὥς ἐνὶ τὸ τῆς θεωρίας ἀπεργάζεται κάλλος (³);

4) Ἰτέον δὴ οὖν εἰς ἔρευναν τῶν πνευματικῶν (⁴);

5) Ἀποφέρει καὶ νῦν ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς, ἐκ παραδειγμάτων ἐμφανῶν, εἰς τὰ ὑπὲρ αἰσθησίν τε καὶ νοητά (⁵);

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appears in the following texts: PG 68, 237 A; PG 69, 229 A; 385 B; 493 C; 565 C; 664 D; PG 70, 9 A; 516 D; 953 D; *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 446, 12; *Comment. on Aggeus*, PUSEY II, 277, 25 ff.; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 431, 6 ff.

(¹) PG 69, 237 D.

(²) PG 69, 268 D.

(³) PG 69, 293 B.

(⁴) PG 69, 652 B.

(⁵) PG 70, 272 B.

6) Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἱστορικῶς συμβαινόντων ἔσθ' ὅτε, φέρε, διαπλάττωμεν τὰ πνευματικά <sup>(1)</sup>;

7) Ἀπὸ δὴ τῆς ἱστορίας, φέρε δὴ τι λέγωμεν τῶν πνευματικῶν <sup>(2)</sup>;

8) Ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ μὲν ἱστορικῶς· ἀπὸ δέ γε τῶν σωματικῶν, ὡς ἐξ εἰκόνοσ ἐναργεστάτης ἀναφοιτᾶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ τὰ πνευματικά <sup>(3)</sup>;

9) Ἀπὸ δὴ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ ὡς ἐν αἰσθήσει κειμένων ἀναθρόσκοντες σοφῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πνευματικά καὶ τὴν ἔσω τε καὶ κεκρυμμένην θεωρίαν ἐννοῶμεν... <sup>(4)</sup>;

10) Ἀλλ' ὧδε μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔχέτω λόγος, ἴωμεν δὲ ἥδη πρὸς διασάφησιν τῆς ἐννοίας τῶν ἐγκειμένων <sup>(5)</sup>.

The fact that expressions denoting *objects* are interchangeable with those denoting the senses of Scripture is a proof that in St. Cyril's system the latter are chiefly defined and differentiated by the natures of the objects to which they refer; if the objects envisaged are τὰ αἰσθητά, the sense is literal; if, however, the objects belong to the category connoted by τὸ ἀληθές <sup>(6)</sup> ἢ ἀλήθεια <sup>(7)</sup>, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα <sup>(8)</sup>, τὰ ἐσωτάτω <sup>(9)</sup>, τὰ κεκρυμμένα <sup>(10)</sup>, τὰ νοητά <sup>(11)</sup>, τὰ πνευματικά <sup>(12)</sup>, the sense is spiritual.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 1145 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 1160 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 78, 13 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 733, 9 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 57, 22 f. See also PG 70, 305 B; 436 B; 681 D; 1072 C; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 571, 22 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 172 A; 597 B; 665 A.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 101 D; 104 A; 149 B; 295 B; 308 D; 452 D; 460 A; 460 D; 556 C; 609 B; 616 A; 664 D; 665 A.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 68, 609 D; 613 D; 617 D; 644 C; 69, 89 B; 101 C; 312 B; 388 A; 444 D; 556 B.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 69, 196 A; 249, A; 295 B; 665 A; 70, 540 BC; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 96, 16 ff.; *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 541, 12 ff.; *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 235, 8 f.; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 555, 9 f.

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 68, 648 A; 69, 196 A; 560 D; 665 A; 70, 656 A; *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 732, 10.

<sup>(11)</sup> PG 68, 149 C; 69, 424 D; 448 D; 664 C; 70, 171 B; 272 B; 329 D; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 525, 25 ff.

<sup>(12)</sup> PG 69, 124 D; 140 A; 168 B; 652 B; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 78, 13 f.; *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 353, 3; *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 733, 20 etc.

The expressions connoting the objects of the spiritual sense, to which we have just alluded, were employed also by the Alexandrians who preceded St. Cyril<sup>(1)</sup>. Most probably they were originally borrowed from the philosophical and religious trends of thought then current at Alexandria. In Greek philosophy the expression ἀλήθεια denoted real being contrasted with the phenomena of the world. Plato used it to designate authentic reality which is removed from change and destruction, namely, the world of ideas that is closed to the senses and can be grasped only by thought. The everlasting and divine being alone deserves the name ἀληθής. In Plato's system ἀλήθεια chiefly denoted immutability and incorruption; later, in the Hellenistic period this expression stressed the nuances "eternal" and "divine". At this time too writers began to use the term πνεῦμα with reference to the Godhead; accordingly, expressions such as ἀληθινός and πνευματικός gradually came to have the same meaning. Again, since there are analogies between the concepts νοῦς and πνεῦμα, the expression ἀληθινός became synonymous with νοητός and νοερός. Lastly, ἀληθινός and ἀληθής acquired the same meaning as οὐσιώδης, ἀόρατος, ἀσώματος, ἀγέννητος, ἀφθαρτος, words which describe the divine aspects of Plato's dual world — the intelligible supersensual world of ideas, which alone merits the name of reality, and the sensible material world, which is only the image and appearance of the former<sup>(2)</sup>. Greek philosophy, on the whole, looked for a rational explanation of the world. However, a certain current of thought had always asserted that nature was impenetrable to reason; influences from the East gradually strengthened this current and sharpened the sense of what is hidden, awakening at the same time a longing for revelation<sup>(3)</sup>. Secret knowledge denoted by the expression κρύπτω and its derivatives, was the chief characteristic of Gnosticism<sup>(4)</sup>. These expressions are found in both the Old and New

(1)\*See the index of C. MONDÉSERT, *Clément d'Alexandrie...*, p. 272; REDEPENNING, *Origenes, eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre*, I, pp. 304 ff.; J. LEIPOLDT, *Didymus der Blinde von Alexandria*, T. U., zweite Reihe, 14, 3, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 57 ff.

(2) *Timaeus* 28 and 29. See BULTMANN's articles in KITTEL's *Theologisches Wörterbuch...*, III, p. 871 and especially I, 240 f.

(3) OEPKE in KITTEL's *Theologisches Wörterbuch...*, III, p. 988, 27 ff.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 965.

Testaments where they are employed to mark the essential differences that separate the Creator from his creatures; God is hidden but he reveals himself to all his creatures<sup>(1)</sup>. Saint Cyril's exegetical terminology reflects to a certain extent all these doctrinal and religious leanings.

## § 2. - *The role devolving on the objects of the literal sense*

Despite the statements in which he vaunts his esteem for the literal sense, our author, as we have seen<sup>(2)</sup>, describes the objects of the literal sense in language that shows unmistakably that he considers them to be of secondary importance. They acquire a greater dignity and value, however, once they assume the role of αἰνίγματα<sup>(3)</sup>, εἰδωλα<sup>(4)</sup>, εἰκόνες<sup>(5)</sup>, ὁμοιώσεις<sup>(6)</sup>, παραδείγματα<sup>(7)</sup>, σκιαί<sup>(8)</sup>, τύποι<sup>(9)</sup>, and ὑποτυπώσεις<sup>(10)</sup> of spiritual things.

Of these expressions σκιά and τύπος have had currency in Christian exegetical terminology since the time of St. Paul<sup>(11)</sup>.

(1) OEPKE in KITTEL'S *Theologisches Wörterbuch*..., III, p. 978, 20 ff.

(2) See pp. 44 ff.

(3) PG 68, 597 B; 613 B; 616 C; 632 B; 633 C; 640 C; 641 C; 661 B; 69, 88 A; 101 D; 452 D; 70, 641 A.

(4) PG 69, 85 C.

(5) PG 68, 151 B; 644 D; 69, 49 C; 60 A; 96 A; 96 C; 104 B; 104 C; 316 C; 360 C; 391 B; 424 D; 664 C; 70, 329 D; 345 B.

(6) PG 69, 101 B; 101 C; 109 C.

(7) PG 68, 596 C; 69, 88 A; 97 A; 361 B; 364 C; *Comment. on Aggeus*, PUSEY II, 271, 21.

(8) PG 68, 596 B; 596 C; 600 C; 616 C; 616 D; 624 A; 661 B; 69, 37 C; 101 D; 104 A; 109 A; 293 B; 295 B; 388 A; 445 B; 460 A; 464 A; 466 C; 557 B; 652 B; 665 A; 668 B; 72, 561 A.

(9) PG 68, 164 A; 164 B; 189 B; 592 D; 593 A; 597 C; 616 C; 661 C; 69, 16 A; 89 B; 96 C; 104 A; 104 B; 108 C; 109 A; 132 C; 149 B; 168 C; 360 C; 364 C; 389 B; 440 C; 445 B; 460 D; 557 A; 593 D; 598 B; 601 C; 609 C; 609 D; 616 A; 624 A; 640 AB; 72, 564 A.

(10) PG 68, 644 D; 69, 105 D; 391 B; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 318, 2 ff. Other expressions used by St. Cyril are: εἶδος (PG 69, 97 B; 72, 571 D); σύμβολον (PG 69, 88 C; 105 A etc.); σωματικά (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 78).

(11) E. AMANN, *Type* (*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 15, 1935). K. J. WOOLLCOMBE claims that the meaning ascribed by the Fathers to the expression τύπος admits of no less than eight divisions all of which originate

In St. Cyril's writings all the terms just mentioned are practically synonymous <sup>(1)</sup>; they connote the "likeness of impress and accurate impression of form" <sup>(2)</sup>, which sensible things bear to spiritual things – in virtue of which they evoke the latter in much the same way that a statue reminds one of the person that it represents <sup>(3)</sup>. While the expressions αἰνίγματα, εἰδῶλα etc. draw attention to the similarity existing between things sensible and things spiritual, they stress with greater emphasis that the resemblance in question is at most but external and imperfect <sup>(4)</sup>; things sensible stand

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from the basic idea of impress (*Le sens de « type » chez les Pères (La vie spirituelle. Supplément, no. 16, 15 février 1951, pp. 84-100)*).

(1) a) αἰνίγματα = σκιαί (PG 68, 661 B; 69, 101 D etc.);

b) εἰκόνες = τύποι (PG 68, 141 C; 69, 664 C etc.);

c) εἰκόνες = σκιαί (PG 69, 37 C; 424 D etc.);

d) τύπος = σκιά (PG 68, 137 A; 69, 189 B; etc.).

(2) Our argument is based on a definition that Cyril gives of εἰκών; it applies to the synonyms of εἰκών as well. An image is that which realizes any of the following conditions: a) sameness of properties which are exactly alike; b) likeness of impress and accurate impression of form; c) resemblance in habits, manners, conversation and inclination to either good or evil; d) likeness of dignity, honour, glory and excellence; e) likeness in respect of any quality or quantity of a thing, and its outline and proportion (PG 73, 375 CD). Of these the second describes best the nature of the objects denoted by εἰκών when it is taken as a technical term in exegesis.

(3) "The purpose of the inspired Scripture is to signify Christ's mystery by means of countless objects. One may liken it to a magnificent city which possesses not one but several images of its king, all of which are exhibited publicly everywhere" (PG 69, 308 C). With regard to the usage of St. Cyril, K. J. WOOLLCOMBE remarks: "Done, quand saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie nous dit: τύπος μὲν οὖν ἡ κόμη τοῦ βιοῦ τοῦ πάγοντος (*Hom. div.* 13, 5<sup>2</sup> (= 77, 394 A)) je pense qu'il illustre par un exemple le commencement d'une époque où l'extravagance en exégèse allait devenir normale. La typologie n'était plus désormais ancrée dans l'emploi de τύπος au sens de modèle, d'image, ou d'impression, ni dans une exégèse conforme aux bonnes règles de la linguistique ou de l'interprétation historique" (*Le sens de « type » chez les Pères...*, p. 94).

(4) PG 73, 376 A: ...ἐπὶ τὸν δεῦτερον τῆς εἰκόνος βαδιοῦνται τρόπον, ὃς ἐν μόνῃ νοεῖται μορφῇ, καὶ χαρακτῆρι καὶ σχήματι. This text alludes to the second mode of being an image to which we have referred in note 2. Here the adjective μόνος shows clearly that Cyril is thinking of mere external appearances, which conjure up real beings but are not themselves real. Concerning this last point the following text leaves no room for doubt:

in the same relation to things spiritual as the outline of a painting (marked with shadows and lacking definitive form) does to the finished product <sup>(1)</sup>. The enigmas, images, shadows and types hint at spiritual things only indirectly <sup>(2)</sup>. They stand in need of a radical transformation before they yield a spiritual meaning. In this respect Christ, who himself has accomplished a μεταπλάσμος... καὶ μεταχάραξις ἐπὶ τὸ ἀληθές <sup>(3)</sup>, gives a lead which individual exegetes must follow. To describe this process of transformation St. Cyril uses various verbs: ἀρμόζω <sup>(4)</sup>, διαπλάττω <sup>(5)</sup>, ἐπιχρωματίζω <sup>(6)</sup>, ἀφαρ-

“Just as those, who look into a mirror, behold an image and type of a real thing but not the reality itself, so too, I think, those, who are desirous of seeing the beauty of Christian conduct, can do so in the best way possible, if they use the Mosaic law as a mirror” (PG 68, 141 C).

With regard to the expression μορφή used by St. Cyril in the first text (PG 73, 376 A) of this note it is well to note a remark made by BEHM: the basic meaning of εἶδος, μορφή and χῆμα is the same; μορφή has a rich variety of nuances but it most frequently denotes something within the range of the senses that offers itself to perception; however the expression itself prescind from the problem as to whether the object in question belongs to the order of real being or that of appearances (KITTEL's *Theologisches Wörterbuch*..., IV, p. 751 and 753).

*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 483, 27 furnishes us with another relevant text: ὁ δὲ τύπος οὐκ ἀλήθεια, μόρφωσιν δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσφέρει. The type merely introduces a likeness perceptible to the senses which is inferior to the reality that it represents. The expression μόρφωσις has practically the same meaning as μορφή (BEHM in KITTEL's, *Theologisches Wörterbuch*..., IV, 762). See also PG 68, 137 A: τύπος γὰρ ὁ νόμος καὶ σκιά, καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡ πόρφωσις ὡς ἐν ὁδίσιν... The law is a type and a shadow, a form of religion whose degree of perfection does not exceed that of an infant about to be born.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 140 B-141 A: Cyril proves the basic identity existing between the Mosaic law and the gospel by showing that the institutions of the former attained their perfection in the latter in the manner that a painter's rough design is improved and not destroyed by the successive touches that he gives it.

<sup>(2)</sup> The adverb that Cyril uses with greatest frequency is πλαγίως PG 68 636 C: 641 A; PG 69, 456 C; 612 C; *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 14, 20 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 140 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 105 A; 172 B; 669 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 60 A; 344 D.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 293 B.

μόζω <sup>(1)</sup>, μεθίστημι <sup>(2)</sup>, μεταπλάττω <sup>(3)</sup>, μεταχαράττω <sup>(4)</sup>, μεταχρωματίζω <sup>(5)</sup>, παραφέρω <sup>(6)</sup> and so forth. Suffice it to quote one or two examples of these formulae: "Having duly expounded the literal sense, the mind returns to explore the inner meanings; filling in the shadows (*i. e.* the events which happened in the realm of things accessible to the senses) with the vivid colours of truth, it elaborates the extraordinary beauty of the θεωρία" <sup>(7)</sup>; "Accordingly, let us hasten to reveal the beauty of the θεωρία contained in it, by examining each single element in subtle fashion and by refining the crudity of the letter" <sup>(8)</sup>. Briefly, the coarse materials furnished by the literal sense must be sifted and kneaded anew.

§ 3. — *The objects of the spiritual sense considered more specifically*

The formulae examined so far treat only generically of the objects of the spiritual sense; we learn that they are realities resembling those that make up Plato's intelligible world. With this generic description St. Cyril is not satisfied. The passages, that we now quote, describe with greater accuracy the objects of the higher sense:

1) Καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ὥς ἐν πάχει πραγμάτων καὶ ἱστορικῶς εἰρησθῶ τέως. Μεταχρωννύντες δὲ ὥσπερ τῆς εἰκόνος τὴν γραφὴν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ γράμματι σκιὰν μεταχαράττοντες εἰς ἀλήθειαν, φέρε δὴ, φέρε, καὶ λίαν ἰσχνῶς ἕκαστα βασανίζοντες, ἐκεῖνο λέγωμεν, ὅτι τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον καταθρῆσαι τις ἂν προανατυπούμενον ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὥς ἐν σκιᾷ τῷ συμβεβηκότι <sup>(9)</sup>;

2) Ἀφιγμένου δὲ ἤδη πρὸς τοῦτο ἡμῖν τοῦ λόγου, ὥς ἐν ἀφηγήσει λοιπὸν τῇ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα καὶ ἱστορικῶς, ἐνδεῖ ὥς γε οἶμαι,

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 168 C 369 C; 396 C; 420 D f; 70, 305 B; 377 B; 405 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 188 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 585 C; 69, 16 A; 257 C; 337 A; 493 A; 492 D f.; 556 A; 564 A; 584 B; 70, 76 A; 368 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 315 BC.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 37 C.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 392 B.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 293 B.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 69, 565 C. See also 69, 196 A.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 69, 37 C. Here the object of the spiritual sense is said to be Christ's mystery.



παντελῶς οὐδέν. Φέρε δὴ οὖν κατ' ἴχνος τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν ἔσω κεκρυμμένην διακομίζοντες θεωρίαν, τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον διαπλάττωμεν, καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας εἰκόνα δεικνύωμεν Νῶε τε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ κιβωτῷ σοφὴν καὶ ἀπόδρητον οἰκονομίαν <sup>(1)</sup>;

3) Ἄλλ' οἶμαι δὴ δεῖν εἰς θεωρίαν πνευματικὴν ἡμῖν μεταπλάττεσθαι τὸ διήγημα. Καὶ φέρε δὴ λέγωμεν ἀνόπιν ἰόντες, καὶ εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀνατρέχοντες τοῦ παντὸς λόγου. Σαφὲς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τοῖς χρηστομαθεῖν ἡρμημένοις τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον <sup>(2)</sup>;

4) Πανταχῇ τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας παραθλίβοντες λόγον, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ἀναθέοντες τὸν σκοπὸν. Ἀνακομίζει γὰρ αὐθις εἰς τοῦτο ὁ λόγος <sup>(3)</sup>;

5) Θεωρίας δὲ τῆς ἐσωτάτω συνθήσει πάλιν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ἀπονέμοντες τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ πρέπον αὐτῇ· τὸ δὲ ὅσον ἂν φαίνοιτο ταῖς πνευματικαῖς ἀφηγήσεσιν ὑπηρετεῖν εὖ μάλα δυνάμενον, τοῦτο περιτρέπων εἰς οἰκονομίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Χριστόν <sup>(4)</sup>;

6) Οὐ γὰρ ἀρκέσει τὸ γράμμα τοῖς νουνεχεστέροις, ἐγκέχωσται δὲ ὥσπερ τοῖς τύποις τὰ μυστήρια. Οὐκοῦν φέρε λέγωμεν, ὥς ἐκ τύπου πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ καθόλου καὶ γενικώτερον, καὶ ὅπερ ἔστιν ἀληθὲς μεταπλάττοντες τὸ διήγημα <sup>(5)</sup>;

7) Εἰ δὲ δὴ νοοῖτο μυστικώτερον, ὥς ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ, τὸ χρησιμώδημα, πάλιν ἐκεῖνο ἐροῦμεν, ἐμφανῇ τῶν λεγομένων καθιστάντες τὸν νοῦν <sup>(6)</sup>;

8) Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοῖς προκειμένοις προβαλοῦμεν ἱστορικῶς νοοῖντο δ' ἂν καὶ ἐτέρως, μετενηνεγμένων τῶν θεωρημάτων εἰς τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον <sup>(7)</sup>;

9) Διαρχῇ δὲ οἶμαι τῆς ἱστορίας ἐχούσης ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ τὴν ἀφήγησιν, φέρε τοῖς πνευματικοῖς θεωρήμασιν ἐνιέντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐκεῖνο καταθρήσωμεν, ὅτι τῆς καθόλου καὶ γενικωτάτης οἰκονομίας τῆς διὰ Χριστοῦ γεγενημένης τύπος ἂν εἴεν, καὶ μάλα σαφής, τὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμβεβηκότα <sup>(8)</sup>;

(1) PG 69, 60 A.

(2) PG 69, 257 C.

(3) PG 69, 304 B.

(4) PG 69, 400 C.

(5) PG 69, 640 A.

(6) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 143, 19 ff.

(7) *Comment. on Sophonias*, PUSEY II, 226, 9 ff.

(8) *Comment. on Aggeus*, PUSEY II, 249, 15 ff.

10) Καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ἡμῖν, ὡς πρὸς γε τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας εἰρησθῶ πάλιν. μεταφοιτᾷ δὲ ὁ λόγος εἰς θεωρίαν τὴν πνευματικὴν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἤδη πῶς εἰσκρίνεται πρόσωπον, καὶ ἀλγυνομένου τρόπον τινὰ, μόνον δὲ οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιδακρύνοντος τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς, διάτοι τὸ πάντας τὴν τοῦ τυραννήσαντος σατανᾶ λατρείαν ὑποδραμεῖν, καὶ δουλείαν ἀνατλήναι τὴν οὕτω σκληράν, ὡς τοῖς ἐκείνου θελήμασιν ὁρᾶσθαι κατηχθισμένους (1).

These quotations show that for St. Cyril the objects of the spiritual sense are identical with the various realities that belong to "Christ's mystery". That is the realm of being with which our author identifies Plato's intelligible world. In the pages that follow we shall see how he manages to include the various facets of this mystery in the spiritual sense of Scripture. Let us bring this introductory section to a close with a succinct quotation: "all θεωρία πνευματικὴ looks towards Christ's mystery" (2). We do not travesty St. Cyril's thought by claiming that a signification of Scripture which does not deal in some way or other with Christ's mystery, is not a spiritual sense.

### Art. 3. - THE HARMONY OF BOTH TESTAMENTS

St. Cyril's views on the spiritual sense of Scripture are frequently echoes of a venerable tradition which had been fostered with particular enthusiasm at Alexandria (3). During the preceding centuries the teaching of the Gnostics concerning the antagonism that exists between the law and the gospel called forth a vigorous reaction on the part of ecclesiastical writers, all of whom emphatically stressed the fundamental unity of both phases of revelation (4). Clement of Alexandria expresses his views on this point

(1) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 305, 14 ff.

(2) Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πᾶσα θεωρία πνευματικὴ πρὸς τὸ Χριστοῦ βλέπει μυστήριον. (*Frag.* 2, 2 *Cor.* 3, 12, *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 336, 25).

(3) H. DE LUBAC, *Origène. Homélie sur l'Exode...*, p. 17; D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Les normes de l'enseignement chrétien dans la littérature patristique des trois premiers siècles*, Gembloux-Paris, 1933, pp. 109 ff. To the latter work we are indebted for many references to both Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

(4) D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

in no uncertain terms: the two Testaments form but one single saving Testament, given by one God by means of one Lord and which, in spite of the diversity of ages and generations, extends from the constitution of the world unto us <sup>(1)</sup>. Origen inculcates the unity of authorship of both revelations <sup>(2)</sup>. One is not surprised to learn that St. Cyril subscribes to similar tenets <sup>(3)</sup>.

The immediate consequence of the common origin of both Testaments is the doctrine that the teaching of the law and the prophets is in perfect agreement with that of Christ and the apostles. Writers describe it in terms of a comparison borrowed from music. Obeying this usage, Clement of Alexandria speaks of the ecclesiastical symphony of the two choirs of the Old and New Testament and of the choristers of which they are formed <sup>(4)</sup>. Origen opposes to heresy "the sublimity of the gospel-preaching, filled with the symphony of the doctrines common to the Testaments that are styled Old and New" <sup>(5)</sup>. He is aware that "the whole of Scripture is but one single instrument of God, perfect and harmonious, which renders one consonance that is formed of different sounds" <sup>(6)</sup>. This metaphor certainly is not lacking in charm; St. Cyril, to our knowledge, does not exploit it.

The ancient Fathers stress the harmony of both Testaments to the extent of claiming that they are identical. No writer of the early period claims that the apostles' knowledge was superior to that of the prophets <sup>(7)</sup>. Clement of Alexandria describes the charism of the apostles by analogy with that of the prophets: the apostles, he argues, were προφήται and δίκαιοι at one and the same time <sup>(8)</sup> who "shared the fragrant anointing of the Holy Spirit by means of prophecy" <sup>(9)</sup>; nobody will ever equal the pro-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Strom.*, 7, 17, 107, GCS, 17, 76; *Strom.*, 6, 13, 106, GCS, 15, 485.

<sup>(2)</sup> Περὶ ἀρχῶν, *praef.*, 4, GCS, 22, pp. 9-10.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 565 A: "The whole of Scripture forms but one single book, because it was spoken by the one Holy Spirit".

<sup>(4)</sup> *Strom.*, 6, 11, 88, GCS, 15, 476.

<sup>(5)</sup> *In Ioh. comm.*, 5, 8, GCS, 21, 105.

<sup>(6)</sup> *In Matth. comm.*, 2, PG 13, 832 C.

<sup>(7)</sup> D. VAN DE EYNDE, *Les normes...*, p. 115.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Strom.*, 5, 6, 38, GCS, 15, 352.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Paed.*, 2, 8, 61, GCS, 12, 194.

phets and the disciples of the Spirit <sup>(1)</sup>. Origen is much more explicit; he teaches *ex professo* that the knowledge possessed by the perfect (οἱ τετελειωμένοι) in the times preceding Christ's advent was not less than that of the apostles who were instructed by Christ <sup>(2)</sup>. Here are his arguments: according to St. Paul, the revelation of mysteries was made to the apostles by means of the prophetic writings: now the prophets, thanks to their wisdom, must certainly have understood their own statements; hence, they grasped what was manifested to the apostles. It is true that the mode of knowledge was different, since the prophets contemplated mysteries before they [were realized, whereas the apostles beheld them as already accomplished. However, this difference is only accidental; Christians, who will witness Christ's second coming will know nothing more than the apostles who foretold this event; in like manner the wisdom of the apostles could not have outstripped that of the patriarchs, Moses and the prophets <sup>(3)</sup>. On these last points St. Cyril is far less definite than his Alexandrian predecessors. Though he speaks in glowing terms about the prophets <sup>(4)</sup> and the excellence of their knowledge <sup>(5)</sup>, he very rarely institutes a comparison between them and the apostles. On one occasion, however, he confesses that he feels "inclined to crown Isaias not only with the grace of prophecy but also with the prerogatives of the apostles. He is at once a prophet and an apo-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Strom.*, I, 9, 45, GCS, 15, 30.

<sup>(2)</sup> *In Ioh. comm.*, 6, 4, 24, GCS, 21, 111.

<sup>(3)</sup> *In Ioh. comm.*, 6, 3-6, GCS, 21, 108-115. See also *In Cant. comm.*, 2, GCS 33, 162-164.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 409 C is an apposite example: Οἱ μακάριοι προφήται περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐ μετρίως πεφροντικότες, ἅτε δὴ πνευματοφόροι καὶ ἀκριβῆ τῶν πραγμάτων ποιοῦμενοι τὴν κατάσχεψιν... Γεγόνασιν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀρίστων εἰσηγηταί, καὶ τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας παραδεικνύντες ὁδὸν σοφοὶ καὶ ἀγγέλιοι.

<sup>(5)</sup> For example, *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 236, 16 ff.: "Accurate knowledge of future events strikes the minds of the prophets, because the Holy Spirit flashes the matter on them"; *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 357, 3 ff.: ἔθος τοῖς ἁγίοις προφήταις τὰ ἐσόμενα προαπαγγέλειν, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἰσθ' ὅτε γίνεσθαι ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων φαντασίαις, ὥστε καὶ ὁρᾶν ἤδη δοκεῖν τὰ δρώμενα καὶ ἀκροῦσθαι φωνῶν; *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 368, 15 ff.; *Comm. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 424, 16 ff.; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 70, 12 ff.; *Comment. on Sach.*, PUSEY II, 291, 5 ff.; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 548, 7ff.

stle; and his prophetic writings share the lustre of the evangelical *κηρύγματα* " (1). St. Cyril bestows no such praise on any other prophet. Again, from the manner in which this encomium is worded, we infer that the Patriarch, far from putting the prophets on a par with the apostles as Clement and Origen do, is of opinion that the knowledge of the apostles far surpassed that of the prophets. The views to which the older Alexandrians had committed themselves practically deny all real development of the faith; the patriarchs, prophets and apostles were all endowed with equal knowledge and their predictions already contained the whole of Christ's doctrine (2). St. Cyril, on the other hand, shows leanings which can be interpreted as somewhat favouring the idea of a real development; we shall see presently that he rallies to the idea that a gradual spiritualization of religion took place during the prophetic period (3). Statements made by him with reference to the superiority of the gospel to the old dispensation (4) show that he was conscious of the fact that a further development took place in New Testament times. Withal, St. Cyril still clings to the doctrine favouring the identity of both Testaments. In his very first exegetical work he writes: " the New Testament is sister to and closely related to the Mosaic oracles; indeed it is composed of the selfsame elements. We can show that the " life in Christ " is not remote from conduct in accordance with the law, provided that the ancient ordinances are given a spiritual interpretation " (5). According to this text the problem of the identity of Old and New Testaments is intimately connected with that of the spiritual sense. It is wise to draw at-

(1) PG 70, 13 B.

(2) D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Les normes...*, p. 116.

(3) See pp. 171.

(4) " The law was an exercise leading to righteousness; it was [a vestibule to the manner of life prescribed by the gospel... It constitutes us in justice. But the evangelical teaching leads to something that is beyond this... " (PG 68, 521 A ff.); " We shall see accordingly by means of these things that the manner of living according to the law is unquestionably inferior to that of the gospel; it is not free from the accusation of fleshly desires nor has it been liberated from earthly concupiscence; but the divine and evangelical manner of living is spiritual and faultless and possesses incomparable beauty " (PG 69, 452 D).

(5) PG 68, 137 A.

tention to the fact that St. Cyril's thought introduces us to a topic which, as Père Daniélou avows, is destined to play a capital role in the theology of our times (1).

#### Art. 4. — ST. CYRIL'S JUSTIFICATION OF THE SPIRITUAL SENSE

Much agreement reigns among the older Alexandrians in regard to the *raison d'être* of the spiritual sense. Clement, who was primarily a moralist and an educator, is inclined to emphasize its pedagogical value: the symbols which intimate it pique curiosity and stimulate the mind to discover the words of salvation (2). Both he and Origen allude to a reason that is invoked by profane exegetes in justification of the allegorical interpretation of the Homeric poems: the purpose of the higher sense is to explain and transmit Scripture in a manner that is worthy of God (3). Origen dwells at length on a third reason: the spiritual sense is justifiable on the grounds that the institutions of the Old Testament prefigured Christ. "In what is written in the law", he writes, "every-

(1) " Cette question de l'exégèse figurative, qui est une des plus vitales de la théologie actuelle, sera sans doute l'occasion, durant les années qui viendront, de confrontations courtoises et fécondes entre exégètes scientifiques et exégètes théologiens dont l'apport est également nécessaire. C'est de ces confrontations qu'il faut attendre l'élaboration d'une nouvelle théologie de la prophétie, c'est-à-dire, de la relation de l'Ancien au Nouveau Testament, notion qui est appelée à jouer un rôle capital dans la théologie de demain » (J. DANIELOU, *Les orientations présentes de la pensée religieuse* in *Études*, vol. 249 (1949) p. 9). In a more recent publication the same writer reaffirms: " Le problème des relations entre l'Ancien Testament et le Nouveau est plus que jamais à l'ordre du jour (*Dieu Vivant*, 16, p. 149).

(2) TH. CAMELOT, *Foi et gnose. Introduction à l'étude de la connaissance mystique chez Clément d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1945, p. 78.

(3) TH. CAMELOT (*ibid.*, p. 78) refers us to *Strom.* 6, 15, 124, GCS, 15, 494, ad *Strom.* 7, 16, 96, GCS, 17, 68. Origen too is firmly convinced that Bible-reading should be a source of edification. Among the reasons advanced by the great Alexandrian in justification of the higher sense H. DE LUBAC mentions the following " S'il n'y avait pas sous la lettre une intention cachée de l'Esprit qui va au delà de ce qu'elle dit, cette lettre même serait souvent incroyable, soit à cause de ce qu'elle offre quelquefois de choquant, soit à cause de ses apparentes contradictions, de ses illogismes, soit enfin à cause de sa banalité même. Nous n'aurions alors affaire qu'à une fable, à un raconter " (*Origène. Homélies sur la Genèse...*, p. 48).

thing is either a figure or an enigma of Christ" <sup>(1)</sup>. The spiritual sense, accordingly, is the expression of the relationship of the Old Testament to the New; it aims at discovering the connections that exist between them <sup>(2)</sup>. This principle is known to Clement but he invokes it rarely <sup>(3)</sup>. As we shall see presently it is a cardinal principle of St. Cyril's exegetical method.

We have already noted that St. Cyril regards the spiritual sense as a hinge on which his theory of the identity of both Testaments hangs <sup>(4)</sup>. He expresses his views on this point for the first time during a discussion in which he endeavours to harmonize the implications of texts like *Mt.* 5, 17 f. and *Phil.* 3, 7-9 (which imply that the Mosaic law is still in force) with those of *Jn.* 4, 21-24, *Gal.* 5, 4 f., *Heb.* 7, 18 f., 8, 7-10 and 13 (which imply that the law is abolished) <sup>(5)</sup>. Our author rounds off his conclusions in three propositions, which, though formulated negatively, are quite positive in their contents: 1) it is a mistake to hold that the law has been abolished to the extent that none of its prescriptions have any force; 2) it is likewise a mistake to think that it is altogether useless; τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, if they are explained, are still useful; 3) finally, it is erroneous to claim that the law cannot be used as a proof of the truth <sup>(6)</sup>. Three reasons are adduced in support of these conclusions: 1) "the law was a type, shadow, the form of religion that brings forth in childbirth, as it were, the beauty of the truth which is hidden inside" <sup>(7)</sup>; 2) "the law is a teacher that leads beautifully to the mystery concerning Christ" <sup>(8)</sup>; 3) "the law contains the first elements of God's words" <sup>(9)</sup>. The impression created by a careful perusal of the first pages of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* is that St. Cyril is anxious to build his ar-

<sup>(1)</sup> *In Ioh. comm.*, 13, 26, GCS, 27, 251, 6. See J. DANIELLOU, *L'unité des deux Testaments dans l'œuvre d'Origène* in *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 22 (1948), p. 45.

<sup>(2)</sup> J. DANIELLOU, *L'unité des deux Testaments...*, p. 45.

<sup>(3)</sup> TH. CAMELOT, *Foi et gnose...*, p. 83.

<sup>(4)</sup> See pp. 134 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 68, 137 A. See p. 141.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 68, 133 B ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 140 A.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 137 B.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 140 A.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 140 A.

gumentation on a Scriptural basis as far as that is possible. Thus the third reason invoked by him is really a quotation from the *Epistle to the Hebrews* <sup>(1)</sup>. *Heb.* 8, 5 could be quoted quite appositely in support of the first reason; in point of fact St. Cyril does not cite this text in *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*. The second reason is clearly a literary reminiscence of *Gal.* 3, 24 <sup>(2)</sup>. St. Cyril couples the meaning that he ascribes to it with *Rom.* 10, 4 and *Jn.* 5, 46 ff. The text of St. Paul affirms that "*the goal of the law is Christ*"; from it Cyril infers that Moses and the prophets hinted at Christ's mystery in all their discourses <sup>(3)</sup>. In the pas-

<sup>(1)</sup> *For when by this time you ought to be teachers you have need of some one to teach you the first elements of the revelations of God (Heb. 5, 12).*

<sup>(2)</sup> *Thus the law has been our pedagogue to lead us to Christ, in order that we might be justified by faith (Gal. 3, 24).* St. Paul by using the expression παιδαγωγός really intended to depict the inferiority of the law: the Mosaic system was a kind of tutelage which ceased only at the moment of emancipation. St. Cyril regards this remark of St. Paul as a proof that the law is still in force provided that it be given a spiritual interpretation. Perhaps the Alexandrian is more directly influenced by the meaning that παιδαγωγία currently had, namely, a progressive teaching that leads gradually to truths that are higher and higher and develops moral effort more and more (See M. J. LAGRANGE, *Saint Paul. Épître aux Galates*, Paris, 1926, p. 90). With this signification Clement of Alexandria, who was primarily a παιδαγωγός, certainly was familiar.

<sup>(3)</sup> "But if we reject the παιδαγωγός who will lead us to the mystery of Christ? And if we refuse to learn about τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ how and whence shall we come to the end? For according to the Scriptures is not Christ the fulness of the law and the prophets? PALLADIUS: Yes. CYRIL: Thus is it written. But he is the fulness of the law and the prophets, I think, since every prophetic and legal oracle looks towards him and is turned towards him. Accordingly, rebuking the Jews for their incredulity he said: *Do not imagine that I will accuse you to the Father; there is one who accuses you — Moses, on whom you have set your hope. For, if you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me. But if you do not believe his writings, how are you to believe my statements?* (*Jn.* 5, 45 ff.). Accordingly if he says he has come not to [destroy the law, but rather to perfect it, do not think that a complete overthrow of the ancient oracles has been accomplished but rather a transformation or, if I may say so, a moulding of what were types into the truth." (PG 68, 140 B-C). Actually the statement "Christ is the fulness of the law and the prophets", is not found in Scripture. However, it represents the meaning that Cyril ascribes to the affirmation that St. Paul makes in *Rom.* 10, 4 "*Christ is the τέλος of the law*" (See PG 69, 241 B).



sage of *St. John* our author discovers a proof that the law "sows in us the seeds of knowledge of Christ's mystery by means of enigmas and shadows" (1). *St. Cyril* seems to attach importance to these texts, seeing that he cites them not infrequently elsewhere in his writings (2).

On these biblical foundations the Patriarch of Alexandria builds his theory of the higher sense of Scripture. We must not lose sight of the fact that this higher sense is primarily a mode of utterance existing in the Scriptures themselves. A few quotations will illustrate this point. "The law brings forth spiritual things in its depths, as it were, and contains the meaning of more subtle ideas in delicate shadows" (3). With regard to the prophecy of *Aggeus* Cyril writes: "His discourse is mixed. And the mystical θεωρία befitting spiritual things is buried in the deeds and utterances of history" (4). "Great spiritual wealth", our author remarks elsewhere, "was pounded into the Mosaic oracles" (5).

Of course, in order that these riches be unearthed the literal sense must necessarily be superseded. On this subject *St. Cyril*,

(1) PG 68, 140 B. In his commentary on *St. John* our author, when explaining this passage, remarks that "Moses predicted Christ's mystery by means of many σχήματα". In the next breath he says that these "figures" constitute an "innumerable horde" (ἄμετρος ὄχλος). Lest his readers be overwhelmed by a discussion of all of them, Cyril decides to illustrate the truth of Christ's statement (*i. e.* Moses wrote of me) by explaining rather fully one text, namely, *Dt.* 18, 15-19 (PG 73, 428 A ff.).

(2) *St. Cyril* invokes *Rom.* 10, 4 in the following passages: PG 69, 241 B (Σύμψας γὰρ ὥσπερ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν ὁ λόγος, καὶ μὲν τοι Μωσέως διανέενυκεν ἐπὶ τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον. Τοιγάτοι καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ἔφη Παῦλος ὅτι "Τέλος νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ὁ Χριστός"); *ibid.*, 448 B; 73, 433 A; in *Contra Iulianum* Cyril quotes an objection in which Julian invokes *Rom.* 10, 4 as a proof that the Mosaic law was abrogated on the advent of Christ. Cyril retorts that the law still retains its force, if it is interpreted spiritually. He implies that *St. Paul's* statement must be interpreted as indicating that the law was given to the ancients in order to teach them Christ's mystery and to show them the truth by means of figures. Because, Cyril adds, Christ was the fulness of the law and of the prophets (PG 76, 992 A-B). See also PG 69, 16 A; 70, 220 C.

Our author quotes *Jn.* 5, 45 ff. in the following passages: PG 68, 220 D; 260 A; 69, 436 A; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 626, 8 ff.

(3) PG 68, 540 B.

(4) *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 243, 18 ff.

(5) *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 385, 4 f.

apparently, can never say too much. "The law is perfect and imperfect at one and the same time. It is perfect, if it is understood spiritually (since it speaks to us of Christ's mystery). But it is imperfect, if the mind of those who are being instructed does not go beyond the letter. The crudity of the letter is only half-knowledge" (1). In another place the Patriarch states that the law, considered precisely as a system of types and shadows, did not constitute food which could be eaten; to become food, it needed to be transformed into an evangelical *θεωρία* and then deflected towards Christ's mystery (2). Quoting *Lev. 19, 23 f* (3) he endeavours to give a somewhat more artistic finish to these ideas: "... The writings of Moses, since they yield a variegated growth of oracles and are adorned with trees (namely laws concerning each single thing) seem to us to be like most fertile gardens. But you must purify the impurity of each tree, that is to say, you must cut off the worthlessness of history and remove the woodiness of the letter. Then you may reach the heart of the plant, you may investigate the interior fruit of the oracle and make food of it" (4). Ideas like these St. Cyril rehearses again and again (5). The saying of St. Paul "*the letter kills but the spirit vivifies*" (6) is frequently invoked and made a universal norm. Just one quotation more: "For the letter kills, that is to say, the letter of the law, as the wise Paul says. Of itself the shadow is useless. But in regard to us, who understand, the shadow has become most useful, since it enables us to grasp the things of Christ. It has become, as it were, a kind of spiritual rain which irrigates the earth in a

(1) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 85, 25 ff.

(2) PG 68, 585 C.

(3) *And whenever you shall enter into the land which the Lord your God gives you and shall plant any fruit-tree, then shall you purge away its uncleanness; its fruits shall be three years uncleansed to you, it shall not be eaten. And in the fourth year all its fruit shall be holy, a subject of praise to the Lord.*

(4) PG 68, 585 D.

(5) PG 70, 1429 A; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 161, 2 ff.; *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 412, 23 ff.; *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 267, 8 ff.; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 576, 19 ff.

(6) 2 Cor. 3, 6. According to E. B. ALLO in this text St. Paul opposes the literal meaning of the Mosaic law to its interior profound meaning (*Saint Paul. Second épître aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1937, p. 84 f.).

certain fashion. If it is true that the ancient law was bitter and unbearable for the ancients, it has become for us a παιδαγωγός to Christ's mystery, so that we can bring forth fruit in him, by peeling off the thickness of the shadow" (1).

The arguments just expounded by us bear witness to St. Cyril's endeavours to put the *raison-d'être* of the spiritual sense on a Scriptural foundation. In *Contra Iulianum* he shows that he is influenced by an idea that was characteristic of the culture of his period. Impelled by a desire to prove that the religion of the Jews was not inferior to that of the Greeks, Cyril feels authorized to say that God wished the Jews to deduce the beauty of the truth from types and shadows for the reason that the ancients contemned systems in which types were lacking (2). Profane exegesis would have invoked a similar reason in favour of the allegorical interpretation of Homer (3).

#### Art. 5. — THE TWOFOLD ΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΙΣ

##### § 1. — Κήρυγμα and παιδευσις

Origen occasionally alludes to a doctrinal norm which he variously styles τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικόν (4), τὸ κήρυγμα Χριστιανῶν (5), τὸ κήρυγμα (6). He implies that it is more authoritative than Scripture (7) but remarks that it consists of simple doctrines

(1) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 535, 19 ff. See also *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 416, 6 ff. and PG 69, 669 C.

(2) PG 76, 993 D.

(3) See the chapter entitled "Greek and Christian Exegesis" in E. HATCH, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*. The Hibbert Lectures 1888, edited by A. M. Fairbairn, London, 3rd. edition, 1891, pp. 50-85.

(4) Περὶ ἀρχῶν 3, 1, GCS, 77, 195.

(5) *Contra Celsum* 1, 7, GCS, 2, 60.

(6) Περὶ ἀρχῶν I, *praef.* 10, GCS, 22, 16.

(7) "Origène propose donc comme première autorité doctrinale, non pas l'Écriture, mais la doctrine qui se transmet à partir des apôtres par une succession ininterrompue. La prédication ecclésiastique 'le consentement unanime des églises' est la norme doctrinale suprême" (D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Les normes...*, p. 230).

destined for beginners which must be distinguished from the more advanced doctrines intended for the perfect <sup>(1)</sup>.

Echoes of these views are found to a certain extent in the writings of St. Cyril. He tells us that the Church of his day cultivated a twofold κήρυγμα: one form of it aimed at leading believers to orthodox doctrine and condemned the aberrations of heretics; the other form was concerned with the amendment of morals and the ideals of conduct proposed to Christians <sup>(2)</sup>. He notes that the κήρυγμα varies according to circumstances; while there is no gain-saying that everybody stands in need of exhortation and admonishment, the more perfect require less of them than the crowd <sup>(3)</sup>. In practically the same breath St. Cyril indulges in a digression which shows that the κήρυγμα admits of a fourfold differentiation. The first is addressed to idolators who are thus invited "to knowledge of the truth and the reception of the divine light" <sup>(4)</sup>. The three remaining divisions are concerned with believers; Cyril thinks that Christ referred to these divisions, when he spoke about the seed that was cast on good soil and yielded fruit, the one a hundredfold, the other sixty, another thirty (*Mt.* 13, 23). In the opinion of our author the last three varieties of the κήρυγμα are intended for married persons, ascetics and priests respectively; care

<sup>(1)</sup> "A l'endroit de la gnose chrétienne, au contraire, Origène partage l'enthousiasme de Clément d'Alexandrie. Comme lui, il distingue deux modes de connaissance: la foi et la gnose, la foi pure et simple et la foi par excellence. Il oppose ce qu'il appelle 'la prédication' à 'la doctrine', les enseignements simples à ceux qui sont plus difficiles et plus élevés, l'instruction des commençants aux belles doctrines, profondes divines et augustes, destinées aux parfaits" (D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Les normes...*, p. 151). We are indebted to this work for references to Origen.

<sup>(2)</sup> Λύο μὲν οὖν αἱ σάλλιγγες διπλοῦν γὰρ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις τὸ τῆς παρακλήσεως κήρυγμα· ἐν μὲν γὰρ εἰς ὁρθότητα τὴν δογματικὴν ἀποφέρει τοὺς πεπιστευκότας, καὶ τὸν τῶν διεστραμμένων κατακιβδηλεύει λόγον... "Ἐτερον δὲ πρὸς ἡθικὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐναγεί, καὶ τῆς Χριστῷ πολιτείας καταλευκαίνει τὴν ὁδόν. (PG 68, 397 C-D).

Cyril expounds these views apropos of *Num.* 10, 1-8. As examples of the errors reprobated by the doctrinal κήρυγμα he gives: doctrines prohibiting marriage and proclaiming the need of abstaining from foods; the fallacies of the Jewish doctors who rejected God's ordinances and exacted obedience to precepts emanating from mere men; the sophistries of those who claimed that circumcision was of obligation for Christians (*ibid.*).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 400 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 68, 400 B-C.

must be taken not to address the selfsame words to each of them indiscriminately <sup>(1)</sup>. St. Cyril implies that the κήρυγμα is intimately connected with Scripture: the doctrinal and ethical knowledge imparted by it is really derived from the Four Gospels <sup>(2)</sup>. In this respect he differs from Origen as he differs from him by claiming that the κήρυγμα is intended for the τέλει as well as ordinary folk.

One is tempted to think that Cyril's views on the twofold κήρυγμα are correlated with remarks about ἡ παιδείσις jotted down during the course of a spiritual explanation of *Mich.* 7, 14 f. He holds that the dense thicket alluded to by the prophet represents the dual παιδείσις, namely, the ethical and the dogmatic. "The mountain denotes the sublimity of the παιδείσις itself, because the matters on which we speculate (which, incidentally, are esteemed by the Church) have nothing in common with earth. The coarse comparisons found in the text signify that the pastures themselves are fattening. Those who are being instructed by Christ are said to be grazing in Basan and Galaad — lands which were very famous for their grazing qualities. Leaping from corporeal things to spiritual things, we come to understand the θεωρία which is hidden inside. For the mind of the saints plumes itself in revelling in the utterances of inspired Scripture; it becomes fat, as it were, and acquires practical and theoretical virtue, not for a short time, but for the days of eternity, namely, for endless ages. The things that bring joy to the flesh fall away with the flesh. They fade and are quickly dissipated like shadows. Participation in the heavenly and spiritual goods endures for ever since possession of them cannot be lost" <sup>(3)</sup>. This passage, it is true, tells us little

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 400 C-D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Num.* 10, 1-8 mentions four different signals to be given before dismantling and moving the camp. Cyril gives alternative explanations of these signals. In the first of these he claims: οἶμαι οὖν τὰς τέσσαρας ἡμῖν τῶν Εὐαγγελίων συγγραφὰς διὰ τούτου σημαίνεσθαι, δι' ὧν ὁ σύμπας παιδαγωγεῖται κόσμος εἰς δογματικὴν τε αἶψα καὶ ἡθικὴν ἐπιστήμην. (PG 68, 400 B). It is interesting to note that the errors of doctrine reprobated by the κήρυγμα are all condemned by Scripture (see 1 *Tim.* 4, 3). St. Cyril again refers to the twofold κήρυγμα in his first Easter homily (PG 77, 409 BC). Certain remarks made by him show that in this sermon his words are intended chiefly for pagans.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 26 ff.

about the twofold παιδεύσις save that it exists and that it consists of spiritual interpretations of Scripture. St. Cyril's views are ascertained by way of inference. Thus from remarks made by him in the commentary on *Aggeus*, we infer that the παιδεύσις δογματική contains spiritual explanations intended to prove "that our conception of the divine glory is firm and unassailable and to show how really well founded the Incarnation is" <sup>(1)</sup>. We infer too that the explanations in *Glaphyra* dealing with the mystery of Redemption belong to the παιδεύσις δογματική. On the other hand, the explanations of the chapters of *Exodus* contained in *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* all belong to the ἡθικὴ παραίεσις <sup>(2)</sup>, which may be defined, at least tentatively, as "an exposition of practical and theoretical virtue" <sup>(3)</sup>. An examination of the relevant texts leaves us under the impression that St. Cyril regards the παιδεύσις as supplementary to and superior to the κήρυγμα <sup>(4)</sup>. This impression is corroborated by the fact that his spiritual explanations of Scripture, generally speaking, are destined for the "more educated", who are expected to treat them as stepping-stones to "superior γνώσις" <sup>(5)</sup>. To our know-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 253, 23 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 383 B. Cyril in this text draws a line of demarcation between the explanations of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, (which belong to what he styles the ἡθικὴ παραίεσις) and the interpretations found in *Glaphyra*. The latter therefore belong to the παιδεύσις δογματική.

<sup>(3)</sup> See *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 732, 27 ff. Another definition of this παιδεύσις may be worded: "accurate knowledge of the spiritual art of living and of virtue which expresses itself in conduct and morals" (*Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 254, 6 ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> The κήρυγμα seems to make use of only the *literal sense* of Scripture. At any rate the examples adduced by Cyril to illustrate how the κήρυγμα becomes differentiated (when it is addressed to the different categories of persons mentioned by him) are all texts of Scripture which he quotes according to their literal meaning. Thus he applies 1 *Cor.* 7. 27 to married persons; to ascetics he applies *Col.* 3, 5; to priests he applies *Mal.* 2, 7 and the prescriptions that St. Paul addresses to Timothy (PG 368, 400 D ff.). On the other hand Cyril implies that the παιδεύσις consists of spiritual explanations (*Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 732, 27 ff.; *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 254, 6 ff.).

Put succinctly our argument comes to this: the παιδεύσις differs from and excels the κήρυγμα in the proportion that the spiritual sense of Scripture differs from and excels the literal sense.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 16 A; 388 A.

ledge, Cyril nowhere says explicitly that the *παίδευσις* admits of differences as does the *κήρυγμα*. A passage of *Contra Iulianum* sketches a programme that resembles a kind of *παίδευσις* specially devoted to the education of cultured pagans. Contrasting Scripture with Greek literature, Cyril shows that the incontestable superiority of the former is derived from the true *θεοπρία* contained in it: this is a doctrine that enables one to recognize that the divine nature transcends all creation both visible and invisible; that it has power to rule all things as well as to create and to call what does not exist into existence; that these powers, in fine, are attributes which belong exclusively to the one true God<sup>(1)</sup>. Scripture has yet another quality that makes it superior to Greek literature: "it explains to us the manners of correct conduct and guides aright to righteousness by means of divine and sacred laws and appoints the clear way of all virtues"<sup>(2)</sup>. We are in possession of the elements required by our hypothesis: the twofold process of education, doctrinal and moral, and the specialized category which such a process is destined to benefit; in the present instance the latter are the infidels or apostate Christians to whom Cyril addresses the treatise *Contra Iulianum*. Other researches made by us in the commentaries on the *Minor Prophets* convince us that our author dedicates some of his spiritual inter-

(1) PG 76, 852 D f. In this context *θεοπρία* connotes accurate knowledge of the attributes of the true God. In other texts St. Cyril rounds off his concepts more sharply. *Θεοπρία* is knowledge of God not only as he is one but as triune also (PG 76, 529 CD). In contradistinction to the *ὁπτασία* vouchsafed to Moses on Sinai (which were but shadows) the true *θεοπρία* manifests the Father to us in the person of Christ himself (PG 68, 596 B). It is the *γνώσις* that Christ promised to the apostles (PG 68, 349 C). Cyril speaks of it as a light that is conferred on minds that are capable of and well exercised in sharp thinking (PG 76, 529 D). However the human mind of its own unaided powers cannot rise to *θεοπρία*. It must be informed previously by faith, which is the stable foundation and the basis of all doctrines concerning God (*ibid.*). This knowledge is formulated in concepts (*ἔννοιαι*) which do not adequately represent God as he is in himself (PG 73, 717 D). St. Cyril implies the presence of qualities other than mental alertness; *θεοπρία* is conferred on "the clean of heart", namely, those who are holier than their fellow-beings (PG 68, 349 C). Those on whom it is conferred, participate in happiness that is beyond description (PG 76, 628 A f.).

(2) PG 76, 853 A.

pretations of Scripture exclusively to priests (<sup>1</sup>). Thus we discover in the παιδευσίς something which corresponds to the first and fourth grades of the κήρυγμα. Perhaps St. Cyril may have admitted differentiations corresponding to the other grades catered for in the κήρυγμα, namely, Christians living in wedlock and ascetics.

Very probably Cyril inherited his attachment to the expression παιδευσίς and the ideas associated with it from Clement, who was venerated at Alexandria as an incomparable educator. The latter planned a mighty educational trilogy, the plan and motives of which he describes as follows: "the Logos desirous of completing our salvation step by step follows an excellent method (παιδευσίς); he first of all exhorts to conversion (προτρέπων); then he imposes a discipline (ἐπειτα παιδαγωγῶν) and finally he instructs (ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκδιδάσκων) (<sup>2</sup>). Accordingly, the purpose of the first work (entitled Προτρεπτικός) was to detach its readers from paganism and to lead them to Christianity. The second (styled Παιδαγωγός) aimed at teaching the newly-baptized to rid himself of vices and passions that are unbecoming to Christians; it was to be a practical exposition of ethics. The third, which according to the plan enunciated in this text should bear the title Διδάσκαλος, was destined to be a speculative and doctrinal treatise and intended to complete the instruction of Christians (<sup>3</sup>).

The following differences between the ideas of Cyril and those of Clement on the function of Scripture are highly significant. According to the older Alexandrian, Scripture is addressed to the

(<sup>1</sup>) Here are some examples: *Os.* 3, 4 f. (PUSEY, I, 88, 28 ff.); *Os.* 4, 8 f. (*ibid.*, 101, 15 ff.); *Joel*, 2, 28 f. (*ibid.*, 335, 12 ff.); *Soph.* 3, 4 (PUSEY II, 217, 23 ff.); *Mal.* 2, 5 b (*ibid.*, 576, 10 ff.); *Mal.* 2, 6 b (*ibid.*, 578, 4 ff.); *Mal.* 2, 8 (*ibid.*, 579, 26 ff.); *Mal.* 2, 13 (*ibid.*, 587, 27 ff.); *Mal.* 3, 2 f. (*ibid.*, 600, 17 ff.) *Mal.* 3, 3 f. (*ibid.*, 602, 9 ff.).

(<sup>2</sup>) Σπεύδων δὲ ἄρα τελειῶσαι σωτηρίῳ ἡμᾶς βαθμῶ, καταλλήλῳ εἰς παιδευσιν ἐνεργῇ τῇ καλῇ συγχρηταίᾳ οἰκονομίᾳ ὅ πάντα φιλόανθρωπος λόγος, προτρέπων ἄνωθεν ἐπειτα παιδαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκδιδάσκων (*Paed.* I, 7, 3, 3, GCS, 12, 91, 17 ff.). See also *Paed.* I, 7, 53, 3 (παιδευσίς εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας (*ibid.*, 122, 4, 5) and *Strom.* 4, 6, 36, 1 (πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν παιδευσιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνάγειν (GCS, 15, 264, 7 ff.).

(<sup>3</sup>) F. CAYRÉ, *Précis de patrologie et d'histoire de la théologie*, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, Paris, 1931, vol. 1, 174. Opinion is divided as to whether the *Stromata* represents the third work or not (See C. MONDÉSERT, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Protrepétique*, Paris, 1942, p. 14).



men of all times. It transmits God's message to the whole of humanity, which, in Clement's opinion, can be divided into three categories according to the attitude taken with regard to the divine word: infidels, simple believers and gnostics<sup>(1)</sup>. For infidels the role of Scripture consists in exhorting<sup>(2)</sup>; as far as the simple faithful are concerned, it aims at educating<sup>(3)</sup>; lastly, it reveals mysteries to the gnostics<sup>(4)</sup>. At this juncture we are introduced to an idea that is peculiar to Clement: Scripture fulfils the role appropriate to each category by means of both the literal sense and the spiritual. Thus in the case of infidels the literal sense of Scripture points out the truth of the Christian faith; its higher sense keeps hidden from them those mysteries which constitute the soul of that faith<sup>(5)</sup>. To the ordinary faithful the literal sense teaches the practices of the Christian life; the higher sense stimulates them to penetrate their profound meaning; in their regard Scripture already imprints on the soul a "tendency of the truth towards contemplation"<sup>(6)</sup>. Finally, to the gnostics Scripture

(1) "Nous avons déjà vu que la parabole étant le style de l'Écriture, s'adresse comme l'Écriture elle-même, à tous les hommes de tous les temps. Elle transmet le message de Dieu à l'humanité toute entière. Et d'après l'attitude que prend l'humanité à l'égard de la parole divine, elle se divise, d'après Clément, en trois catégories: les infidèles, les simples croyants et les gnostiques" (M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique, enquête exégétique et critique*, Bruges-Paris-Louvain, 1947, p. 433). M. Hermaniuk refers us to *Strom.* 7, 16, 95, 9; 7, 2, 6, 1; 5, 10, 61, 3.

(2) *Paed.* I, 1, 1, 1, GCS, 12, 89, 25 ff..

(3) *Paed.* 1, 5, 15, 2, GCS, 12, 99, 2 ff.; *ibid.* 16, 3 (99, 29 ff.); *ibid.* 1, 1, 1 f. (89, 25 ff.); *ibid.* 1, 7, 54, 1 (122, 6 ff.).

(4) *Paed.* 1, 6, 126, 2 (118, 10 ff.). These references are supplied by M. HERMANIUK (*La parabole évangélique...*, p. 434).

(5) "...Ainsi nous voyons que la parabole a un double but à l'égard des infidèles, ou plutôt un seul but sous une double forme: par son sens littéral, elle doit leur montrer la vérité de la foi chrétienne et, en même temps, par son sens figuré, elle doit leur cacher les mystères qui constituent l'âme de cette même foi. Mieux encore, le but de la parabole à l'égard des infidèles est l'appel de ces âmes à la foi chrétienne, appel proportionnée à leurs premiers besoins spirituels et à leur dispositions intérieures. Elle est pour eux le premier degré d'initiation aux mystères chrétiens". (M. HERMANIUK, *op. cit.*, p. 435).

(6) "Tout en apprenant par son sens littéral la pratique de la vie chrétienne, la parabole, par son obscurité sollicite déjà les simples fidèles à ne pas se contenter de la simple observance des préceptes, mais à tâcher de pé-

reveals mysteries; it fulfils this function by means of the higher sense <sup>(1)</sup>; however, it accomplishes yet another role by means of both the literal and the higher sense, namely, that of teaching the gnostics how to adapt their doctrine to different categories of persons <sup>(2)</sup>.

Briefly, St. Cyril's ideas seem to be a curious amalgamation and adaptation of views expounded diversely by Clement and Origen. From the latter he takes over the concept of κήρυγμα; however, he outstrips him by applying it to the τέλει as well as to the ordinary faithful. In Cyril's system the κήρυγμα admits of differentiations addressed to practically the same categories which Clement caters for so carefully in his παιδείσις <sup>(3)</sup>. To the κήρυγμα too

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nétrer leur signification, de saisir leur sens profond. La parole imprime déjà dans leurs âmes une 'tendance de la vérité vers la contemplation'. Cette préparation des simples fidèles à la gnose, à la contemplation est le but secondaire de la parabole chez les simples fidèles. Elle le remplit par l'obscurité de son sens figuré... En d'autres mots, la parabole est pour les simples fidèles le deuxième degré d'initiation aux mystères chrétiens" (M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique...*, pp. 437 f.).

(<sup>1</sup>) "...Par son sens figuré, la parabole révèle donc au gnostique, les mystères, objet propre de sa contemplation... A la lumière de cette révélation le gnostique comprend le vrai sens de la parabole; il comprend les mystères et même il saisit 'ce qui paraît incompréhensible aux autres'. Dès lors, strictement parlant, il n'y a plus pour lui de paraboles; c'est-à-dire, il ne connaît plus de vérités cachées sous un voile obscur. Tout lui est dévoilé, il voit tout". (M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique...*, p. 438).

(<sup>2</sup>) "Apprendre donc au gnostique à exhorter l'incroyant, à instruire dans la pratique de la vie chrétienne le simple fidèle, à diriger vers la gnose l'âme désireuse de la perfection, tel est le but secondaire de la parabole" (M. HERMANIUK, *op. cit.* p. 440)... "C'est donc par son sens littéral et son sens figuré à la fois qu'elle apprend au gnostique comment adapter son enseignement aux différentes catégories de personnes. De cette façon, la parabole est pour le gnostique le troisième et dernier degré d'initiation aux mystères chrétiens" (*ibid.*, p. 443). With this role of teaching others, that Clement confides to his gnostics, can be compared the right and duty of preaching the κήρυγμα in both its forms which St. Cyril reserves exclusively to the priests, who, in his system form, the third category. See PG 68, 401 A.

(<sup>3</sup>) For both writers there are two fundamental categories, namely, infidels and believing Christians. Cyril's further subdivision of the latter into three other categories is inspired chiefly by Mt. 13, 23 (PG 68, 400 C-D). To all intents and purposes ascetics and priests form a single group that may be suitably compared with Clement's gnostics.

Cyril relegates the functions that devolve on the literal sense of Scripture in Clement's system <sup>(1)</sup>. Finally, Cyril narrows down the functions of his παιδευσίς so that it treats exclusively of the spiritual sense.

## § 2. — *The doctrinal παιδευσίς*

In St. Cyril's system the doctrinal παιδευσίς is strongly Christocentric. He tells us: "The inspired Scripture '*by many degrees and in many ways*' (Heb., 1, 1) described in advance the types of salvation, thereby conferring considerable benefit on its readers" <sup>(2)</sup>. In another passage we are told: "The purpose of the inspired Scripture is to signify Christ's mystery by means of countless objects. One may liken it to a magnificent city which possesses not one but several images of its king, all of which are exhibited publicly everywhere. Behold how Scripture disregards no narrative contributing to this scope... If the literal sense contains anything ugly, nothing prevents Scripture from using it in an elegant manner. Its purpose is not to expound the lives of the patriarchs. Far from it, — its aim rather is to impart the knowledge of his saving mystery, by means of which the word concerning him becomes clear and true" <sup>(3)</sup>. Again: "every prophetic and legal oracle looks towards Christ and is turned towards him" <sup>(4)</sup>. Our author's Christocentric leanings could hardly be expressed more emphatically.

Not even a cursory reader of St. Cyril's works can fail to notice the frequency with which the term μυστήριον occurs in his spiritual explanations of sacred Scripture <sup>(5)</sup>. This word is used with much

<sup>(1)</sup> See p. 143, note 4.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 225 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 308 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 68, 140 B. At Alexandria these ideas were anything but new. In his time Origen had sponsored them enthusiastically: "Mais par ailleurs le Christ est aussi l'objet de cette intelligence spirituelle, car il n'est question que de lui dans l'Écriture: 'Dans ce qui est écrit dans la Loi, tout se rapporte en figure et en énigme au Christ (Com. Io. 13, 26: 251, 6)' ..." (J. DANÉLOU, *L'unité des deux testaments...*, p. 45).

<sup>(5)</sup> We completely prescind from the liturgical and sacramental acceptance of μυστήριον. Examples of this usage are found in *Adv. Nestorium*,

predilection by great exponents of Alexandrian theology. In the opinion of Clement the *μυστήρια* are deeper meanings of Scripture, nay, spiritual experiences which are concealed from unworthy seekers but which can be discovered by those who are wise enough to understand <sup>(1)</sup>. According to Origen the Scriptures were bestowed precisely with a view to announcing mysteries, — or, what is practically the same thing, their primary sense is the spiritual one; the “letter” is intended to hide these mysteries from the uninitiated and to be their transparent symbol for those who have only simple faith <sup>(2)</sup>. For St. Athanasius *μυστήριον* denotes either the mystery of Redemption (either as a whole or in part) or the mysterious facts of salvation belonging to the Christian religion especially inasmuch as they are objects of preaching <sup>(3)</sup>.

St. Cyril seems to combine the tendencies of Clement and St. Athanasius: the *μυστήρια* are truths <sup>(4)</sup> hidden from the profane by means of shadows and enigmas <sup>(5)</sup> whose secrets are made known only to those who are capable of understanding them correctly <sup>(6)</sup>. Withal, he constantly expounds these *μυστήρια* in his sermons <sup>(7)</sup>; evidently he presumes that his audience offers the gua-

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4, 5 (θεῖον ... τὸ μυστήριον) and 4, 6 (τὸ θεῖον ... μυστήριον); in each instance Cyril explicitly refers to 1 Cor. 11, 22 ff. (PG 76, 196 B; 200 C).

<sup>(1)</sup> H. G. MARSH, *The Use of Μυστήριον in the Writings of Clement of Alexandria with special reference to his Sacramental Doctrine in The Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1936), pp. 65 ff. See the reservations formulated by C. MONDESERT (*Clément d'Alexandrie...*, p. 61, note 2).

<sup>(2)</sup> H. VON BALTHASAR, *Le mystère d'Origène in Recherches de science religieuse*, 26 (1936), pp. 532 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> K. PRUEMM, “*Mysterion*” und Verwandtes bei Athanasius, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 63 (1939), p. 357.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 68, 605 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 9 A: αἱ χειρομμένα ἔννοιαι = μυστήρια τὰ θεῖα. See the innumerable instances in which *μυστήριον* is closely associated with expressions like αἰνίγμα, σκιά, τύπος etc.: PG 68, 260 A; 280 A; 288 C; 69, 60 A; 149 B; 192 B; 640 AB.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 68, 617 B. Knowledge of the mystery presupposes that the hearts of listeners are endowed with a divine light (69, 536 D); the mystery is known only to those who are able to understand correctly (69, 645 D); the mystery is inaccessible to those who have not faith (69, 621 D).

<sup>(7)</sup> *Hom. pasch.*, 5, 2 (PG 77, 477 D); *Hom. pasch.*, 8, 1 (PG 77, 580 B); *Hom.* 12, 4 (PG 77, 688 A); *Hom. pasch.*, 16, 3 (PG 77, 753 B); *Hom. pasch.*, 17, 3 (PG 77, 777 C); *Hom. pasch.* 30, 3 (PG 77, 973 D) etc.

rantees necessary to safeguard the esoteric character of these truths. The texts in which the word *μυστήριον* occurs throw more light on the *objects* envisaged than on the manner in which they are concealed. In some passages *μυστήριον* connotes the whole body of truths concerning Christ <sup>(1)</sup>. Other texts single out one or other partial aspect of the "economy" <sup>(2)</sup> such as: 1) the Redemption affected the whole human race, including Adam, its head <sup>(3)</sup>; 2) Christ's death (to which a special ablution is attached consisting of the blood and water that flowed from his side) is a sign for those who live in the last period <sup>(4)</sup>; 3) the reconciliation of the Jews with those who are not subject to the law which was brought about in a manner so as to form one new man <sup>(5)</sup>; 4) Christ's incorruptible body which was enriched by the possession of the divine nature within it <sup>(6)</sup>; 5) Christ's fragrant activities in the Church as teacher and catechist <sup>(7)</sup>; 6) Christ the cause of life, blessing, justification and of marriage with the Church — depicted, however, in inverse fashion by the typology that is peculiar to Adam <sup>(8)</sup>; 7) those who enter the Church, which Christ built in imitation of the ark of Noe, escape the destruction which hangs over the world <sup>(9)</sup>; 8) the Jews remained in the spirit of servitude because they spurned the revelation of Christ which had been offered them on behalf of God the Father <sup>(10)</sup>; 9) Christ, though born of an earthly mother, has no Father as we have <sup>(11)</sup>; 10) God's love for us was so great that he hesitated not to deliver his only Son for our sakes <sup>(12)</sup>; 11) we escape death's

(1) PG 68, 140 A; 145 A; 286 B (plural): 69, 16 A; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 122, 25 etc.

(2) Τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῖν οἰκονομίας ὁ τρόπος (PG 68, 288 C). The expression denotes everything connected with the Incarnation and Redemption.

(3) PG 68, 245 BC (The rod of Moses that had been turned into a serpent).

(4) *Ibid.*, 248 D ff. (*Ex.* 4, 8).

(5) *Ibid.*, 280 A (*Ex.* 18, 1-22).

(6) *Ibid.*, 617 B (*Ex.* 30, 7-10).

(7) *Ibid.*, 621 D.

(8) *Ibid.*, 69, 30 C.

(9) *Ibid.*, 65 B.

(10) *Ibid.*, 76 C (*Gen.* 9, 18, 27).

(11) *Ibid.*, 92 C (Cyrus who was born of Mandane etc.).

(12) *Ibid.*, 140 A (Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac).

imperious sway only by means of Christ's death <sup>(1)</sup>; 12) the call of the Gentiles to knowledge of the truth <sup>(2)</sup>; 13) on the cessation of the Mosaic system of worship, the people thirsted and were given Christ's παιδαγωγία in spirit and truth <sup>(3)</sup>; 14) Christ entered into the holy of holies, having accomplished eternal redemption <sup>(4)</sup>; 15) Christ was blamed by the Synagogue for joining to himself the church of the Gentiles <sup>(5)</sup>; 16) Christ, the vivifying bread of life descended from heaven, is the first-fruits of the leaven, namely, those who are restored to newness, of life in him <sup>(6)</sup>; 17) Christ contains all believers in himself by means of a spiritual union <sup>(7)</sup>; 18) this union will consist of righteousness, judgement, mercy and tender compassion <sup>(8)</sup>. These examples, quoted from passages in which express mention is made of μυστήριον, sufficiently illustrate the themes developed by our author in his doctrinal explanations. Even in instances where the expression itself is missing, for example, in the commentaries on *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets* <sup>(9)</sup>, Cyril develops similar topics on identical lines.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 417 B (*Ex.* 5, 1-4).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 466 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 492 D f. (the death of Mary, Moses' sister in the first month etc.).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 584 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 593 D (Moses being blamed by Aaron and Mary for having married the Ethiopian woman).

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 620 B (*Num.* 15, 16-22; *Lev.* 23, 9-14).

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 624 A.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 75, 22 ff. (*Os.* 2, 20).

<sup>(9)</sup> Examples: PG 70, 72 A f. (*Is.* 2, 2 f.); 133 AB (*Is.* 4, 5 f.); 224 B (*Is.* 8, 4); 227 A f. (*Is.* 8, 5 f.); 232 D ff. (*Is.* 8, 14); 305 B ff. (*Is.* 10, 33 f.); 328A ff. (*Is.* 11, 10); 329 A ff. (*Is.* 11, 11); 332 B ff. (*Is.* 11, 12) etc. etc. *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 7, 18 f. (*Nahum* 1, 2); 9, 21 (*Nahum* 1, 3); 28, 20 f. (*Nahum*, 1, 14); 47, 25 ff. (*Nahum*, 2, 11 f.); *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 70, 4 ff.; 85, 15 ff. (*Hab.* 1, 13); 88, 17 ff. (*Hab.* 1, 13 f.); 94, 10 ff. (*Hab.* 2, 4); 103, 13 ff. (*Hab.* 2, 9 f.); 106, 3 ff. (*Hab.* 2, 13); 109, 11 ff. (*Hab.* 2, 15); 117, 7 ff. (*Hab.* 2, 20); 121, 4 ff. (*Hab.* 3, 2); *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 202, 24 ff.; 204, 8 ff. (*Soph.* 2, 11); 205, 19 ff. (*Soph.* 2, 12); 224, 17 ff. (*Soph.* 3, 7); 226, 10 ff. (*Soph.* 3, 8); 230, 10 ff. (*Soph.* 3, 11); 235, 8 ff. (*Soph.* 3, 14 f.); *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 249, 15 ff. (*Agg.* 1, 5 f.); 277, 14 ff. (*Agg.* 2, 20-22); *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 284, 7 ff.; 285, 19 ff. (*Zach.* 1, 2); 303, 25 ff. (*Zach.* 2, 2-5); 305 15 ff. (*Zach.* 2, 6 f.); 306, 25 ff. (*Zach.* 2, 8); 317, 24 ff. (*Zach.* 3, 6 f.); 328, 24 ff. (*Zach.* 4, 8 f.); 381, 18 ff. (*Zach.* 8, 3); 383, 19 ff. (*Zach.* 8, 4 f.); 410, 8 ff. (*Zach.* 9, 5 f.); 433, 24 ff. (*Zach.* 10, 4 f.); etc.

§ 3. — *The ethical παιδευσίς*

With regard to the literal sense of the moral precepts of the Mosaic law St. Cyril of Alexandria commits himself to views which alternate between feelings of respect and curious diffidence. He informs us in one text that "the law is an exercise leading to righteousness" <sup>(1)</sup>. It introduced the ancients to the concept of moral goodness <sup>(2)</sup>. Moreover, its utility was fully demonstrated by the fact that it was given as a help (*Heb.* 5, 1), and that it imparted knowledge of sin and the elements of God's revelations <sup>(3)</sup>. "The beginnings of knowledge always lack perfect erudition. Little by little, however, they lead to what is perfect, and adding little to little, they urge and stimulate vigorously the mind to more excellent things by slow stages" <sup>(4)</sup>. The following text strikes a less enthusiastic note: "the law is obscure and not clear. The thick shadow arising from the letter is capable of darkening the eye of the mind" <sup>(5)</sup>. However, statements like this should not be regarded as expressions of St. Cyril's disesteem for the intrinsic value of the "letter" of the Mosaic ordinances but rather as evidences of the high opinion in which he holds the "life in Christ". To the transcendent superiority of the latter he cannot too often bear witness. Mark how he expresses himself in the following quotation: "Faith in Christ and justification according to him is a straight road that leads one quickly to sanctification. But God did not allow the ancients to walk on so near and so short a road. He thought out a kind of circuit that was not straight, namely, the law (consisting of the 'twistings' of prescriptions and enigmas) which necessarily constitutes a longer and more exacting παιδαγωγία <sup>(6)</sup>. Cyril seems to label Mosaism as a litany of prohibitions: "Accordingly the law points out sins but does not dispose of the glories connected with virtue. For example, the law says 'Do not fornicate', 'Do not commit adultery' 'do not steal', 'do not take false oaths'. If it prescribes nothing more than

(1) PG 68, 521 A.

(2) *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 385, 1 ff.

(3) PG 68, 216 B.

(4) PG 76, 696 A.

(5) PG 68, 489 A.

(6) PG 68, 265 A.

these, its function consists in pointing out the species of wickedness and in determining impurities but not in introducing one to knowledge of virtue or in imparting to listeners the clear knowledge of an irreproachable life. Because I think that it is stupid to regard the mere fact of not doing shameful things as illustrious behaviour. I think (and not absurdly) that we crown all those earthly and praiseworthy things, if, as well as avoiding evil and overcoming wickedness..., we leap to the very glories of virtue" (1). Even in the positive precepts of the law Cyril discovers imperfections. Citing *Dt.* 25, 13-16 and *Lev.* 19, 35 as relevant instances, our author claims that the law imposes a form of justice catering for exact equality between persons by the scrupulous application of weights and measures. He regards these examples as typical of Mosaism, the obligations of which were cut and dry and admitted no works of supererogation. On the contrary, "the deeds to be achieved in Christ are nobler and go far beyond the letter. Because 'the good', namely, the glory of conduct in Christ, excels that which merely conforms to strict justice" (2).

Yet, in spite of its imperfections, the law (apart from its sacrificial prescriptions, as we shall see presently (3)), is eternal. "For it did not at all cease, since it is still fulfilled by us after the fashion of *spiritual* worship. For Christ came not to destroy the law or the prophets but rather to perfect them, as he himself says (*Mt.* 5, 17)" (4). Curiously enough Cyril develops this thesis in *Contra Iulianum* apropos of a ceremonial precept which enacts: "*And that day shall be to you for a memorial. And you shall celebrate it as a festival to the Lord throughout all your generations. As an everlasting ordinance you shall celebrate it. Seven days you shall eat unlea-*

(1) PG 68, 216 C-D; See also PG 70, 1228 B: "Accordingly the Old law, which acted as pedagogue to Christ, did not introduce its subjects to the fulfilment of good. It taught them rather to abstain from evil. For it has precepts such as 'do not kill', 'do not commit adultery', 'do not take false oaths', which are absolutely obligatory. But the perfect things (*i. e.*, the fulfilment of all good) was reserved for the oracles to be given by Christ. By these we learned to fulfil the works of charity towards God and the brethren".

(2) PG 68, 521 C-D.

(3) See pp. 169.

(4) PG 76, 993 BC.



vened bread (*Ex.* 12, 14 f.)". Our author avows that the literal observance of this enactment conferred little benefit on the Jews. If, indeed, the leaven stained those who ate it, it would have been imperative to abstain from it not only for seven days but always (1). Besides, God himself by the mouth of *Isaias* commands "Your new moons and sabbaths and great days I cannot endure; your fasting and cessation from labour; and your new moons and your festivals my soul hates. You have become loathsome to me" (*Is.* 1, 13 f.). Accordingly, Cyril argues, since both texts emanate from God (who cannot be represented as contradicting himself), Moses envisaged "festivals that were types" (2), that is to say, "in this prescription as well as in others, the meaning of the spiritual thing is 'enigmatically' proposed to those who are able to contemplate such utterances with a sharp and purified mind" (3). Cyril continues: "the ordinance concerning the unleavened bread is fulfilled in a special way by those of us who have been justified in faith and sanctified in spirit and who observe the spiritual worship in consequence. The inspired Scripture [is] wont to regard the ferment as a type of wickedness. Accordingly, it commands the observance of feasts that consist in being cleansed and purified and in remaining aloof from all wickedness — in other words, it prescribes abstinence from the leaven of fleshly impurity and from preoccupation with stupid things... Hence the law is eternal. Of old it was observed by the Jews 'enigmatically'. It is observed by us now 'intellectually', 'spiritually' and 'in truth'..." (4).

Other prescriptions are similarly interpreted by Cyril and declared to be obligatory for Christians. Expert theologian that he is, Cyril knows full well that all creatures are good in virtue of their nature and origin (5). Hence the distinction between the pure and impure animals in *Lev.* 11, 1-8, 13-19 (together with the permission to eat the flesh of one kind and the prohibition to eat that of the other) is construed by him as "an instruction that points out with whom precisely we may associate and whom we

(1) PG 76, 996 A.

(2) PG 76, 993 D.

(3) *Ibid.*, 996 AB.

(4) *Ibid.*, 996 C.

(5) PG 76, 992 AB.

should avoid; each animal named is a παράδειγμα of persons, who, as far as moral qualities are concerned, bear some resemblance to the animal in question" (1).

Of greater interest are the moral explanations that St. Cyril attaches to historical texts of the Old Testament. In the first book of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* he develops the truths concerning man's fall, his subsequent slavery to the devil and the way in which evil is to be avoided and the yoke of slavery to be cast aside (2) "not by means of cold reasonings but in the light of what happened to the ancients" (3). A few examples of this kind of exegesis are given below in the left-hand column; in the right-hand column is a summary of Philo's commentary of the same passages of Scripture:

#### 1. *Abraham's sojourn in Egypt as an alien* (Gen. 12, 10)

The mind of those who lack the heavenly food, which sustains them in the practice of virtue, necessarily becomes a wanderer and a fugitive. Since it is exiled from its native land of virtue, it descends out of sheer necessity to other habits (those, namely, that are subject to the sway of the devil). Pharaoh can be regarded as the image and type of the latter, namely, "the parent and king of sin" (4).

Philo mentions the opinion of certain φυσικοὶ ἄνδρες, who claim that Abraham represents the wise mind, while Sara, his wife, symbolizes virtue, since nothing conduces to good government better than virtue. Marriage, that is accompanied by lust, caters only for the physical union of bodies. On the other hand, the union of minds that is founded on wisdom aims at purity and the acquisition of perfect virtues (5).

(1) *Ibid.*, 988 B. See the sequel of this interpretation in 988 C.-989 C. Cyril concludes: "But the law is spiritual and is not satisfied with defining what is obvious". See also PG 68, 916 A-936 C.

(2) PG 68, 145 B.

(3) *Ibid.*, 149 C.

(4) *Ibid.*, 152 A-B.

(5) *De Abrahamo* 99 f. *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt, editio maior*, COHN, 4, 23, 11 ff.

2. *The sufferings endured by Abraham on account of the fact that he allowed his wife to live with Pharaoh (Gen. 12, 14 f.)*

At times the evil spirits cast spells on the mind, held captive by them, so that it does not look for freedom nor tries to escape from them. They provide earthly pleasures for it as well as worthless diversions, just as the Egyptians did for Abraham <sup>(1)</sup>.

On these texts of *Genesis* Philo speculates as follows: everybody – even the most wicked person – honours virtue with his mouth at least, for the sake of appearances. Only the really wise follow the behests of virtue. Hence the King of Egypt, who symbolizes the spirit that loves bodies, pretending that he esteems continence and other cognate virtues, calls virtue to himself in the hope of acquiring a good reputation among the crowd <sup>(2)</sup>.

3. *When Abraham was in despair, God intervened and freed his wife from the Egyptians (Gen. 12, 17)*

God's grace does not permit the sick mind to remain subject to the devil, but protects and liberates it <sup>(3)</sup>.

Expounding this text, Philo notes that God, who sees everything and penetrates the soul, utterly despises a hypocritical character and chastises him with trials <sup>(4)</sup>.

4. *Haranguing the populace of Jerusalem, Rabsaces, among other things, alludes to voluptuousness and mirth under the figure of a vine and a fig-tree. He mentions also that they will drink water from their own cistern (4 K. 14, 31 f.; Is. 16, 16 f.)*

We develop the power of evil within us in a twofold manner, by indulging either in pleasures outside of us, or in those arising from internal natural causes.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 151 B-D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *De Abrahamo*, ed. cit., p. 24, 7 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 153 B-C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *De Abrahamo*, 104, ed. cit., p. 24, 14 ff.

The vine and the fig represent voluptuousness introduced from without. They portray the temporary nature of things in the world as well as the sweetness that usually accompanies darkness; worldly enjoyments cause momentary sweetness but they darken and inebriate those who experience them.

The cistern is an image of the pleasures arising from internal natural causes.

Accordingly, the evil spirits promise us full enjoyment of these natural and imported pleasures, if we desert the Holy City and hand over control of it to the King of Babylon who is the type of Satan.

However the citizens, who thought along right lines, were not persuaded by Rabsaces. Because attachment to worldly things necessarily leads to slavery and captivity <sup>(1)</sup>.

5. *Abraham is invited by God to leave not only his native land but his near relations also and to proceed to a land which God will show him (Gen. 12, 1-3)*

If God invites us to follow him "spiritually", we should fully realize that this call is the best thing conceivable. We should despise our native country, race, father's house and possessions as if they were nothing <sup>(2)</sup>.

Apropos of *Gen. 12, 1-3*, Philo writes: God wishes to purify the soul of man. But he ordains that salvation can be accomplished only by a threefold separation: from the body, sense-perception, and speech. The land is the symbol of the body; Abraham's blood-relations symbolize sense-perception; and his father's house is the symbol of speech <sup>(3)</sup>.

(1) PG 68, 161 C-164 C. Cyril weaves 1 *Jn.* 2, 16 and *Rom.* 7, 23 into his explanation.

(2) PG 68, 165 C-165 D. Cyril illustrates this doctrine by means of *Mt.* 10, 37 f. and *Mt.* 19, 29. Fortitude in following Christ is a thing of inestimable value.

(3) *De migratione Abraham*, 2, ed. maior, COHN, 2, 268, 6 ff.

6. *On being liberated by the angels, Lot refuses to climb the high mountain but betakes himself instead to the small town of Segor (Gen. 19, 15-23)*

Those who are intent upon correcting their morals, should not immediately aspire to the most sublime form of conduct. They should rather acquire habits in keeping with the state of a beginner, proceeding, as it were, to a small town near the high mountain, namely, to a form of conduct that is inferior to the illustrious and sublime manner of living <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 177 B-180 A. At this juncture Cyril expressly applies his speculations to the Christian system: "Do we not find frequently the same *οὐκ οὐνοειδὴς* applied in the preaching of the gospel... You see how [St. Paul] shows the supreme degree of continence to be a mountain, when he says: 'It is good for man not to touch a woman' (1 Cor. 7, 2). However he permitted him to dwell in Segor, that is to say, in a form of conduct inferior to the perfect form, namely, monogamous marriage. The Saviour said that the best soil produced fruit — a hundredfold, sixtyfold, thirtyfold (Mt. 13, 23). He distributed the talents not in the same measure; to one he gave five, to another two, to yet another one (Mt. 25, 15). I think that he shows by these means of these examples the unequal strength of the moral habits, since he gives to each according to his convenience and opinion..." (*ibid.*, 180 A). *Gen. 19, 15-23* is not explained by Philo. ORIGEN, however, has ideas which could easily have supplied St. Cyril with material for his own speculation. *Erat quidem hospitalis Lot, qui etiam, sicut Scriptura testimonium tulit, interitu latuit, angelis hospitio receptis. Sed non erat ita perfectus, ut scilicet de Sodomis exiens montem posset adscendere; perfectorum namque est dicere: "levavi oculos meos in montes unde veniet auxilium mihi (Ps. 121 [121] 1)". Iste ergo neque talis erat, ut inter Sodomitas perire deberet, neque tantus erat, qui cum Abraham in excelsioribus posset habitare. Si enim fulset talis numquam ad eum diceret Abraham: "si tu ad dextram, ego ad sinistram, aut si tu ad sinistram, ego ad dextram (Gen. 13, 9) " nec habitaculum ei Sodomitica placuisset", Erat autem medius quidam inter perfectos et perfectos. Et sciens non convenire viribus suis ut adscenderet montem, religiose et humiliter excusat dicens: "non possum in montem salvus fieri sed ecce haec civitas pusilla est, hic salvabor, et non est pusilla (Gen. 19, 19-20)". Ingressus vero Segor civitatem pusillam in ea salvatur. Et post haec cum filiabus adscendit in montem (in Genes. Hom. 5, 1, GCS, 29, p. 58, 13 ff.).*

7. *Abraham departs from Egypt with all his belongings and returns to the wilderness, "to the place of the altar, which he built there first", and there called on the name of the Lord* (Gen. 13, 1-3)

Every effort must be made to depart into the desert with the whole household *i. e.*, we should endeavour to acquire that pure state of mind which human nature possessed in the beginning before it departed towards evil. On our return we reach the place where the altar was in the beginning, namely, the ancient sanctity which was natural to us and we call upon God's name <sup>(1)</sup>.

8. *Moses informs Pharaoh that he must free the Israelites so that they may be able to sacrifice in the desert, celebrate a holy feast in God's honour, and avoid the sight of death by departing from Egypt* (Ex. 5, 1-3)

To the God who rules everything we should offer sacrifice in a pure manner, namely, with a leisurely mind (which has ceased to obscure things in a worldly way) and with an eye that is far removed from everything that savours of death and corruption. Because dead works are those of the flesh. What is worldly is darkness. And the confusion arising from evil and vain distractions contaminates the pure and limpid clime of the mind <sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 185 A-B. Philo does not explain Gen. 13, 1-3.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 192 A-B. See however *ibid.*, 188 D-192 A. Philo explains only the clause "*I do not know him*". ORIGEN has some ideas that resemble those of Cyril: Non vult Moyses, ut populus in Aegypto positus serviat Domino, sed ut exeat in desertum et ibi serviat Domino. Hoc est sine dubio quod ostendit quia donec quis in tenebrosis saeculi actibus manet et in negotiorum obscuritate versatur, non potest "servire Domino"; non enim potest "duobus Dominis servire" (Lc. 16, 13), "non potest Domino servire et mammonae". Exeundum igitur est de Aegypto; relinquendus est mundus, si volumus "Domino servire". Relinquendus autem, dico, non loco, sed animo, non itinere proficiscendo, sed fide proficiendo (*In Exodum Hom.* 3, 3, GCS, 29, 165, 15 ff.).

9. *Ex.* 8, 26

If we kill that which the demons esteem highly, namely, our evil passions, we shall perform something that will please God exceedingly <sup>(1)</sup>.

Cyril offers an alternative explanation in which he identifies the βδέλυγμα τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων with everything that the Egyptians hate and abominate, namely, faith, meekness, continence, temperance, mutual love etc. <sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril may have borrowed some of the elements of his alternative explanation from Philo, but he gives them a distinctively Christian colouring.

In two different places Philo explains *Ex.* 8, 26 as follows:

- 1) "Just as children are shy of their teachers and of every word of reproof, so Moses says: '*They will sacrifice to God the abomination of Egypt*', that is to say, [they will offer] the virtues, the thing that is unblemished and acceptable, which only unreasonable men abhor" <sup>(3)</sup>;
- 2) "For the virtues as well as actions in keeping with them are perfect and unblemished sacrifices, things which the passionate Egyptian body abhors" <sup>(4)</sup>.

10. *Those who sacrifice in the land of evil and those who offer sacrifice outside of it*

Some, who have been called from idolatry to knowledge of the true God, have not completely abandoned the remnants of their former errors. Endowed with the liberty of Christ, they sacrifice to God, although they still live a life that gives pleasure to Satan.

Others, however, have left Egypt completely, inasmuch as they have definitively turned their backs on their former manner of living. These sacrifice in the desert, and live a life worthy of all praise <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 197 A-C. The quotation of *Rom.* 12, 1 and the implicit reference to *Col.* 3, 5 show that Cyril's thought moves along a Christian plane.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 197 CD.

<sup>(3)</sup> *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, 51, ed. maior, COHN, I, 22, 13 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *De fuga et inventione*, 18, ed. maior, COHN, 3, 114, 1 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 68, 197 D-200 C. Cyril expressly alludes to Christ.

11. *Pharaoh agrees to let a part of the people go. Moses insists that all must leave, taking their belongings with them as well (Ex. 10, 8 ff.)*

Those who are anxious to acquire true liberty, must avoid all vice and tread the path of virtue. Nothing of their past life may be retained, whereby they could succumb to the tyranny of devil. The divine law calls youths, virgins, old men, in a word, every age, to this liberty <sup>(1)</sup>.

The fact of taking the sheep and oxen with them implies that they must not leave with Satan those movements of the body that are not directly subject to reason <sup>(2)</sup>.

12. *Pharaoh expressly permits those who have reached puberty as well as adults to depart.*

Satan finds that persons of solid virtue are troublesome. He invariably gets rid of those who resist him.

The unmanly, those who are womanish, and the very young he tries to retain tenaciously <sup>(3)</sup>.

13. *The gold and silver vessels which God commanded the Israelites to take from the Egyptians (Ex. 11, 2).*

Qualities such as fortitude and prudence, which the world rightly esteems, should be consecrated to God's service <sup>(4)</sup>.

14. *Ex. 12, 33 f.*

Those who desire to live With regard to *Ex. 12, 39*  
on terms of friendship with Philo remarks: "Hence I believe  
God, should not take with them that they act rightly who allow

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 201 A-D. Cyril quotes 1 *Jn.* 2, 14 f and *Mt.* 10, 16. Of *Ex.* 10, 8 ff. Philo expounds only the literal sense (*De vita Mosis*, ed. maior, COHN, 4, 148, 7 ff.; 149, 5 ff.).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 201 D f. St. Cyril, cites *Rom* 6, 19.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 204 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 68, 205 A-D. St. Cyril quotes 1 *Cor.* 2, 12 and *James* 1, 17.



the remnants of worldliness; they should prepare themselves for the journey by eating spiritual, not strange and profane, foods. They should love "to be unleavened bread" and await him who vivifies the world. In fine, they should join themselves to those who celebrate feasts in a pure manner and offer worship to God and remain perpetually under his sway <sup>(1)</sup>.

themselves to be initiated in the small mysteries before being initiated in the great. Because *'they baked their dough which they brought with them from Egypt into unleavened cakes (hidden under the ashes)'*; in other words, they used the 'cooking' reason to work on the unruly and crude passion, as if this were food. Moreover, they did not blab about the results achieved by this 'cooking', namely, the improvement which arose as a result of a kind of divine inspiration. They kept it secret like a treasure and did not become proud or arrogant on account of the initiation, but submitted themselves without boasting and humbled themselves. Let us gird ourselves therefore and hasten to give thanks to the Almighty; due honour must be rendered him without delay. A command is issued also to celebrate the Pasch (the transition from passion to the practice of virtue) in readiness of service with loins girded and sandals fastened (I think that the latter prescription means the burden of the flesh) and standing straight and upright *'on one's feet'* and having the instruction in the hand as *'a staff'* to

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 208 AB.

direct life's business without error. Lastly, they are commanded to eat in haste, because there is question, not of an earthly transition, since it is styled the Pasch of the Eternal and the Incorruptible. This appellation is quite exact because there is nothing good that is not divine and belonging to God <sup>(1)</sup>.

Besides illustrating rather fully the quality of St. Cyril's ethical interpretations, the above list of examples forms a natural and convenient introduction to the following remarks of Palladius, who throughout the dialogue does little more than say "Yes" to the views voiced by Cyril: "Accordingly, it behoves good and god-loving persons to betake themselves to the holy and sacred land, namely, the life that is under Christ's influence and free from tyranny. They must not sacrifice in the territory of the enemy, that is to say, they should desire to be virtuous and to have morals that are removed from the tyrannical sway of the devil" <sup>(2)</sup>. This text sums up the purpose intended by Cyril throughout the whole of the first book of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*. Apart from the parallels with the New Testament, which St. Cyril frequently incorporates into his explanations, so explicit a statement as that last quoted makes it impossible to question the "Christward" tendencies of the ethical exegesis just reviewed <sup>(3)</sup>. Indeed, in some places Cyril implies

<sup>(1)</sup> *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, 62 f., ed. maior, COHN, I, 227, 9 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 208 B. In the dialogue Cyril himself formally commends Palladius for having made this statement.

<sup>(3)</sup> Other instances of the "Christward" leanings of St. Cyril's moralizing interpretations are found in the third book of *De adoratione*. Our author here develops the theme that the tyranny of the devil can be got rid of only by means of sanctification in Christ. SEE J. DANÉLOU, *Traversée de la mer rouge et baptême aux premiers siècles* (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 33 (1946), pp. 415 ff.).

that every ethical explanation should refer to Christ<sup>(1)</sup>. It is chiefly in this respect that his interpretations differ from the speculations of Philo, to whom the moralizing tendencies of the Alexandrian School are generally attributed. It is plain that Philo's ultimate purpose is to describe the vicissitudes of the soul in terms of virtue and vice in general<sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril, however, depicts these moral vacillations of the soul in terms of the Redemption accomplished by Christ. Both exegetes, it is true, share the same liking for moralizing explanations and make use of similar exegetical methods. But a whole world of supernatural realities separates the Christian exegete from the Jewish.

Our author [shows his fondness for moralizing explanations even in his later commentaries on the Old Testament<sup>(3)</sup>. At times these seem to contain ideas that are not specifically Christian<sup>(4)</sup>. However, they acquire a Christian colouring when seen against the background of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* and *Glaphyra*.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cyril expressly says that every ἠθικὴ παραίσεις is destined to illustrate what he styles ὁ τῆς ἐν πνεύματι τε καὶ ἀληθείᾳ προσκυνήσεως τρόπος (PG 69, 385 Bf.). The trend of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* proves conclusively that by this expression Cyril intends the *whole body of truths* of the Christian life.

<sup>(2)</sup> "Philon considère comme un des buts principaux de l'allégorie de transformer les personnes des récits bibliques en "manières d'être" bonnes ou mauvaises de l'âme. Des récits inexplicables au sens littéral trouvent leur sens dès qu'on en fait la narration intérieure des états de l'âme". (E. BRÉHIER, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1925, pp. 42 f.). See also H. DE LUBAC, *Origène. Homélies sur l'Exode...*, pp. 15 ff. and the article by the same writer "Typologie" et "Allégorisme" (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), p. 199).

<sup>(3)</sup> It is but rarely that an appropriate technical formula warns us that Cyril is about to expound the ethical signification: Εἰ δὲ δὴ τις βούλοιο καὶ ἠθικωτέραν ἐν τούτοις διήγησιν ἀναγράφεσθαι (*Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 293, 10 f.); Εἰ δὲ δὴ τις οἶτο καὶ εἰς ἐξήγησιν ἠθικὴν ταυτὶ δὴ χρῆναι μετακομίζεσθαι... (*ibid.*, 305, 1 f.); Εἰ δὴ τις ἔλοιτο μεταπλάττειν ἀστεώς εἰς ἡθὴ καὶ τρόπους... (*Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 172, 22 f.). Most frequently the moralizing explanation is preceded by no introductory formula at all.

<sup>(4)</sup> The ethical signification of the following passages contains nothing specifically Christian:

*Os.* 10, 3 f (PUSEY I, 206, 17 ff.); *Os.* 10, 11 (*ibid.*, 217, 16 ff.); *Os.* 11, 2 ff. (*ibid.*, 230, 7 ff.); *Joel*, 1, 4 (*ibid.*, 293, 10 ff.); *Amos* 1, 12 (*ibid.*, 395, 1 ff.); *Mich.* 1, 5 (*ibid.*, 610, 4 ff.); *Mich.* 1, 8 f. (*ibid.*, 614, 26 ff.); *Ag.* 1, 1 f. (PUSEY II, 245, 27 ff.); *Ag.* 1, 3 f. (*ibid.*, 247, 10 ff.); *Ag.* 1, 12 f. (*ibid.*,

*Concluding remarks*

We conclude this section with an appraisal of St Cyril's spiritual interpretations in terms of the varieties of the spiritual sense that Père Daniélou discovers in primitive Christian tradition <sup>(1)</sup>:

1. The Patriarch of Alexandria shows scant interest in the eschatological type of exegesis <sup>(2)</sup>.

2. The type designated by the name of "interior sense" is well represented: they belong to the ethical παιδείας.

3. Cyril cultivates the "ecclesiological" type of exegesis with much enthusiasm <sup>(3)</sup>. His preferences, however, are given to interpretations that describe Christ in his several mysteries <sup>(4)</sup>.

4. He occasionally expounds the historical type of exegesis. For example, he holds that the oracles of *Is.* 53, 3 and 7 f. describe

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257, 21 ff.); *Ag.* 2, 14 (*ibid.*, 274, 13 ff.); *Zach.* 1, 3 f. (*ibid.*, 287, 14 ff.); *Zach.* 1, 13 ff. (*ibid.*, 296, 28 ff.); *Zach.* 7, 11 ff. (*ibid.*, 379 8 ff.).

On the other hand the following moralizing explanations have a pronounced Christian flavour:

*Os.* 11, 5 f (PUSEY, I, 232, 14 ff.); *Amos* 1, 11 (*ibid.*, 392, 4 ff.); *Amos* 2, 6 (*ibid.*, 400, 16 ff.); *Mich.* 1, 5 (*ibid.*, 611, 13 ff.); *Ag.* 1, 7 ff. (PUSEY, II, 253, 23 ff.); *Ag.* 1, 14 (*ibid.*, 259 8 ff.); *Ag.* 2, 4 f. (*ibid.*, 263, 8 ff.); *Ag.* 2, 15 ff. (*ibid.*, 275, 19 ff.); *Ag.* 2, 18 (*ibid.*, 276, 20 ff.); *Zach.* 1, 16 ff. (*ibid.*, 298, 5 ff.); *Zach.* 1, 17 (*ibid.*, 299, 10 ff.); *Zach.* 2, 9 (*ibid.*, 309, 5 ff.); *Zach.* 9, 3 f. (*ibid.*, 408, 22 ff.).

<sup>(1)</sup> J. DANIELOU, *Les divers sens de l'Écriture dans la tradition chrétienne primitive* (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 24 (1948), pp. 119-126). See pp. 26 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> We have been able to discover only a few examples of this type, namely, PG 69, 430 D (the feet of the Paschal Lamb signify that Christ will come as Judge with a view to winding up the present οἰκονομία at the end of time); PG 70, 685 C; *Zach.*, 14, 5-7 (PUSEY II, 518, 9 ff.); *Zach.* 14, 8 f (*ibid.*, 524, 16 ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> The ninth book of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* abounds in examples. These are discussed by us on pp. 389 ff. See the indices of MIGNE's edition of *Glaphyra* and PUSEY's edition of the *Minor Prophets* (s. v. *Ecclesia*).

<sup>(4)</sup> See the prominence given to such explanations in the indices of Migne's edition of *Glaphyra* and PUSEY's edition of the *Minor Prophets* (s. v. *Christus*).

the interviews which Christ had with Herod, Caiphas and Pilate <sup>(1)</sup>. Again, in many prophetic texts he discovers allusions to different phases of Christ's conflict with the Scribes and Pharisees <sup>(2)</sup> and to the punishment meted out to the Jews for the crimes they committed against Christ <sup>(3)</sup>. Generally speaking, St. Cyril, when providing examples of this exegesis, stresses aspects which bear upon Christ's mystery rather than those belonging strictly speaking to the domain of history <sup>(4)</sup>. Perhaps our author was somewhat influenced in this respect by Origen, who commits himself to the following phrase in his commentary on *St. John*: Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἱστορικά ἱστορικῶν εἶναι τύπους καὶ τὰ σωματικά σωματικῶν, ἀλλὰ σωματικά πνευματικῶν, καὶ τὰ ἱστορικά νοητῶν <sup>(5)</sup>. This statement bears a striking resemblance to a principle stressed on different occasions by Philo <sup>(6)</sup>.

Viewed in the light of Philo's exegesis <sup>(7)</sup>, this principle might plausibly be urged as proof that neither Origen nor Cyril regarded the Old Testament as a figure of the historical events connected with Christ's life and mission. In Origen's instance Père Daniélou

(1) PG 70, 1175 A and 1178 A ff.

(2) *Dt.* 16, 18 f. and 17, 5 (PG 68, 576 B); *Num.* 16, 1 ff. (*ibid.*, 613 D ff.); *Num.* 5, 2 (*ibid.*, 1081 C ff.); *Gen.* 4, 1 ff (PG 69, 45 C ff.); *Gen.* 21, 10 (*ibid.*, 156 AB) etc.

(3) *Os.* 1, 8 f. (PUSEY I, 35, 28 ff.); *Joel* 1, 15 f. (*ibid.*, 310, 13 ff.); *Joel* 1, 19 f. (*ibid.*, 311, 18 ff.); *Amos* 8, 13 f. (*ibid.*, 525, 4 ff.); *Amos* 9, 1-4 (*ibid.*, 528, 8 ff.); *Mich.* 1, 16 (*ibid.*, 624, 20 ff.) etc.

(4) Δέχεται γὰρ αἰὲ πῶς ἡ θεόπτευστος Γραφή τὰ ἐμφανῆ τῶν παραδειγμάτων εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῶν ἀφανεστέρων καὶ νοητῶν πραγμάτων (PG 70, 144 B).

(5) *In Ioh. com.* 10, 18, 110, GCS, 10, 189, 27 ff. Compare this statement with that of Cyril quoted in the preceding note. Origen enunciates the principle both negatively and positively; Cyril gives only a positive rendering.

(6) Ἦδη μὲν αἰτία ἡ παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰσθε λέγεσθαι· ἑτέραν δὲ ἡκουσα θεσπίων ἀνδρῶν τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐν νόμοις ὑπολαμβανόντων εἶναι σύμβολα φανερά ἀφανῶν καὶ ῥητὰ ἀρρήτων (*De special. legibus*, 3, 178 (COHN, *ed. maior*, 5, 199, 17 ff.). Ostensibly PHILO expounds the exegetical principles of the Therapeutes; in reality he outlines his own. See also *De praemiis et poenis* 11, 61 (*ibid.*, 349, 17 f.) and *De vita contemplativa* 3, 28 (COHN, *ed. maior*, 6, 53, 11 ff.).

(7) See the explanation given by PHILO apropos of the brazen serpent: from the text he infers only abstract considerations concerning the virtue of temperance (*Alleg.*, 2, 81, COHN, *ed. maior*, I, 106, 15 ff.).

refutes this objection on the ground that the Alexandrian exegete was averse to explanations that exploit the "anecdotic" aspects of Christ's earthly life such as those proposed by Pseudo-Chrysostom apropos of the Paschal lamb<sup>(1)</sup>; Origen was more interested in the theological than the historical aspects of events (in the sense in which the adjective "historical" was employed by the ancients); but that does not imply that he did not regard these theological aspects as historical in the sense in which this word is used nowadays<sup>(2)</sup>.

The following comparison between the above-mentioned explanations of Pseudo-Chrysostom and those of St. Cyril will show that the latter's exegesis admits of a similar interpretation:

St. Cyril interprets the prescriptions of *Ex.* 12, 1 ff. in the light of St. Matthew's parable (20, 1-7). On that account he requires five days instead of four; these he manages to find by beginning with the number ten and by continuing the count until the number fourteen. Our exegete then explains the details of *Exodus* as follows:

a) The period elapsing between the first of the month and the tenth day represents the long period that preceded "our times".

b) The period immediately following represents "our age". It is subdivided as follows:

1) The first subdivision corresponds to that period during which Adam was still in Paradise.

2) The second (corresponding to the third hour of the parable) represents the times of Noe and his contemporaries.

3) The third (corresponding to the sixth hour of St. Matthew) signifies the period during which Abraham was called to the truth.

4) The fourth subdivision is that of Moses and the prophets.

(1) The homily in question is found amongst the *spuria* of St. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (PG 59, 735 ff.). C. MARTIN holds that it was written by Hippolytus (Un *Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα* de Hippolyte retrouvé? (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 16 (1926), pp. 148-165). This claim is contested by R. H. CONNOLLY (*New Attributions to Hippolytus in The Journal of Theological Studies*, 46, (1945), pp. 192-200).

(2) J. DANIELOU, *L'unité des deux testaments dans l'œuvre d'Origène* (*Revue des sciences religieuses*, 22 (1948), pp. 47 f.).

5) The fifth (the eleventh hour, when the day was drawing towards its close) represents the period in which Christ "hired" the Gentiles, who in the past had not been called to the truth.

The circumstance that the lamb was taken on the tenth day but was killed only the evening of the fourteenth signifies that:

1) Christ's mystery is not something recent, but was kept in the foreknowledge of the Father from the creation of the world. The number ten is a type of the beginning of time.

2) Christ died towards the end of the "present age" when God's spiritual light had not yet begun to shine, and while the earth was still enveloped with the darkness of ignorance <sup>(1)</sup>.

Pseudo-Chrysostom proposes the following exegesis of the prescription concerning the five days that should elapse between the setting apart of the lamb and its slaughter: they signify the time during which Christ was guarded at Pilate's order before being led to Calvary. The circumstance that the lamb was sacrificed in the evening alludes to the hour at which the Passion took place <sup>(2)</sup>.

The preceding comparison brings out the theological flavour of St. Cyril's exegesis in full relief.

#### Art. 6. — THE ATTITUDE OF THE JEWS TOWARDS THE SPIRITUAL SENSE

Of importance for a correct understanding of the spiritual sense are the comments that St. Cyril makes at times upon the attitude of the Jews towards the Scriptures: "The law, destined to be given to Israel by the ministry of angels,... was able to enlighten if it were understood spiritually... But it proved to be unprofitable to those to whom it had been given, not through any fault of its own, but because they failed to receive the light into their minds and hearts enriching themselves instead with the letter, namely, the

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 421 C-424 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 59, 735 ff. It is interesting to remark that the theme of the five ages of the world recurs in the five homilies that precede the one which ('. MARTIN ascribes to Hippolytus (PG 59, 723-734). R. H. CONNOLLY invokes this reason as a proof that all six homilies were not written by Hippolytus (*New attributions to Hippolytus...*, p. 195).

external appearance of illumination, which they thought they possessed but did not in reality" (1). Consequently, "in their regard the meaning of the law became dead and lifeless" (2).

At all times — even in the very beginning — God preferred the religion of the spirit to that consisting of shadows (3). In fact he frankly disapproved of the latter (4). However, at the time that they were released from their Egyptian captivity, the Israelites were unable to attain to moral perfection, mainly because they had seriously compromised themselves by succumbing to the errors and vices of their overlords (5). On that account, they were given a written law (which, however, had the form of truth) specially adapted to their dullwittedness, foolishness and propensities to evil (6). As an eloquent instance of the condescension shown the Israelites by God, St. Cyril singles out the permission contained in the law which authorized them to offer temporarily thanksgivings and sacrifices in the manner prescribed by the customs of antiquity (7). Another instance of this graciousness to them is the fact that in deference to their weak sight God toned down the dazzling brilliance of the law. St. Cyril develops the latter point in the remarks suggested to him by *Dt.* 31, 27-35: "The God of all writes the law on tables of stone. When Moses's face... was resplendent with the application of the divine light, the best of Israel, particularly Aaron, wondered at the sight. Moses called them back, while they were withdrawing and already taking to flight. He spoke to them after putting a veil on his face, thus ensuring that the rays of divine light coming through the shadows would be bearable to the crowds. '*But whenever he used go into God, he removed the veil*'. Do you understand why the light of the law could not be sustained by the minds of the Jews?"

(1) PG 68, 232 CD.

(2) *Ibid.*, 233 A.

(3) *Ibid.*, 224 A-225 A. St. Cyril invokes *Amos* 5, 21 f., *Mich.*, 6, 6 ff., *Is.* 1, 10 f. and *Mal.* 1, 11 f. in defence of this point of view.

(4) PG 68, 225 B.

(5) PG 76, 693 D.

(6) PG 68, 225 C; 141 D; PG 76, 996 D f.

(7) PG 76, 693 D f. See H. PINARD, *Les infiltrations païennes dans l'ancienne loi d'après les Pères de l'Église (Recherches de science religieuse, (1919), p. 207.*



If, however, the things written in it were understood spiritually, nothing would shine forth and send out the divine and brilliant light into the hearts of hearers save Christ's mystery. But the Israelites could not listen to such august words nor could they easily understand the depth of the mystery... Accordingly, the very light of the law was not received by the Jews — neither by the infirm and lowly crowds nor by the leaders and the priests. You have heard that Aaron together with the elders feared the glory of Moses. Accordingly, Moses very wisely veiled his face. For the law had a shadow, namely, the thickness of the letter and the not too brilliant clarity of history. But when he went into the presence of God, Moses was wont to take off the veil" <sup>(1)</sup>.

St. Cyril sums up religious history of the Jews in terms of their attitude to the Scriptures. Commenting upon *Lev. 19, 23 f.*, which prescribes: "*And whenever you shall enter into the land that the Lord your God gives you and shall plant any fruit-tree, then you shall purge away its uncleanness; its fruits shall be three years uncleansed to you; it shall not be eaten. And in the fourth year all its fruits shall be holy, a subject of praise to the Lord. And in the fifth year you shall eat the fruit, its produce is an increase to you*", our author says: "Moses reckons a year as a period of time." For there were three periods in the beginning during which the law was impure, loaded with the coarseness of history and having the dark shadow around it as worthless refuse. I say that these three periods were those of Moses, Josue and the judges. There was a fourth period after these during which the splendid choir of prophets grew up. Then the fruit of the law became holy and praiseworthy, because the legal enactments were set aside by some of the holy prophets. The shadows were not named, but the truth was proclaimed and the mystery of Christ's advent was commended. Immediately after them came the precursor, who cried aloud saying: '*Do penance because the kingdom of God has come (Mt. 4, 17)*'. Accordingly, in the fourth period the legal prescriptions were being subjected to the early stages of purification and the fruit was already holy. But it became eatable in the fifth period during which Christ's

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 536 C-537 A.

advent was witnessed to by both the law and the prophets. Hence he says: '*its produce is an increase to you*'" (1).

In the prophetic period a gradual spiritualization of religion took place, vestiges of which are found in the oracles that proclaim God's displeasure with the institutions of the law and his favourable dispositions towards the future ordinances of Christ. The following are the references to the texts of the Old Testament that St. Cyril quotes in favour of his thesis together with his comment on each text:

*Os.* 6, 6 f. — Charity towards the brethren (which is the fulfilment of the law) and the excellence of the knowledge of Christ (through whom the Father is made known to us) are far more pleasing to God than killing an ox or butchering sheep (2).

*Os.* 3, 4 f. — The Jews will be converted to Christ (who is here styled David) after the Gentiles. It will be through his intervention, that they will recover their ancient privileges (3).

*Joel* 1, 13, 19 — Joel proclaims the cessation of the Mosaic sacrifices (4).

(1) PG 68, 588 A. In this passage, in deference to the text which he is explaining, St. Cyril divides the religious history of the Jews into five periods. Elsewhere he speaks of three periods: that of Moses, Josue and the judges; the period of the prophets and the Baptist; lastly, the time of Christ's presence (PG 68, 249 C; 69, 504 Cf.).

(2) PG 68, 225 CD. See the fuller explanation of this oracle that is given by St. Cyril in his commentary on *Osee* (PUSEY I, 141, 3 ff.). Modern exegesis is less inclined to see allusions to Christian institutions in this text; LIPPL holds that the prophet here describes the characteristics of authentic Yahwism: "Das sittliche Leben nach diesen Forderungen, das von der aus der rechten Erkenntnis Jahves fließenden Gesinnung getragen wird, ist das Wesen oder die Hauptsache der Religion" (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten übersetzt und erklärt*, Bonn, 1937, p. 51).

(3) PG 68, 228 A. Cyril develops these considerations in his commentary on *Osee* (PUSEY I, pp. 87-89, especially 89, 8 ff.). Modern exegesis is likely to dissent from the interpretation proposed by our author. The prophet predicts that Israel for a long period will be without organized social and religious life. The clause alluding to David is generally regarded as a gloss (J. LIPPL, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 36).

(4) PG 68, 228 B. See Cyril's fuller treatment of this text in the relevant passages of his commentary on *Joel*. (PUSEY I, 301, 4 ff.; 305,

*Jer.* 3, 16. — Even the tabernacle will be removed and will be replaced by the Church. Its removal follows logically from the cessation of the sacrifices (<sup>1</sup>).

*Mal.* 3, 3b-4. — The sacrificial and priestly institutions will be changed for the better (<sup>2</sup>).

*Mal.* 3, 1b-3a. — God the Father solemnly affirms that the Logos become man will accomplish on a spiritual plane the reforms alluded to in the text (<sup>3</sup>).

*Ez.* 44, 15b-16. — These utterances envisage the priests of the Christian religion. The fat, blood and the ministry of the table are allusions to the Eucharist (<sup>4</sup>).

*Ez.* 43, 27. — The prophet indicates that the change of priesthood and sacrifice will take place on the eighth day, that is to say, the time of the Resurrection, when the perfect consecration

19 ff.). Once again modern exegesis is likely to disagree with St. Cyril. The prophet alludes to a temporary shortage of victims needed for sacrificial purposes, which was caused by the locust-plague (J. THEIS, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 94).

(<sup>1</sup>) PG 68, 228 BC. Modern exegesis prefers to interpret this text as a prediction concerning the changed religious outlook that will obtain after the exile; worship of Yahweh will then be so concentrated on the interior life that even the ark of the covenant will have disappeared. Allusion is made to the decadence of Judaism as well as to the advent of a universalistic religion (L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, vol. 7, p. 252).

(<sup>2</sup>) PG 68, 228 CD. See the fuller explanation given by St. Cyril in his commentary on *Malachy* (PUSEY II, 590, 10 ff.). Once again Cyril differs from modern exegetes some of whom take this passage as referring to the priesthood and sacrifices in eschatological times (H. JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 217).

(<sup>3</sup>) PG 68, 228 D ff. See also *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 594, 25 ff. Some modern commentators hold that this passage alludes to an eschatological judgement of God, which will be accompanied by a theophany (H. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 215).

(<sup>4</sup>) PG 68, 229 A. Compare this interpretation with that of a modern exegete: Ezechiel praises the descendants of Sadoc for persevering in pure religion during the universal apostasy (L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, vol. 7, p. 614).

of believers will be offered to God as a spiritual sacrifice most pleasing to him <sup>(1)</sup>.

Our author holds too that the Jews could have discovered the portrait of Christ the Redeemer in the prophetic oracles, had they made an effort to understand them. Among the passages that could have enlightened them on this point St. Cyril includes:

*Is.* 41, 1. — Emmanuel himself describes the illustrious events that will accompany his advent <sup>(2)</sup>.

*Os.* 1, 11. — "In the course of time the Jews will have many teachers, who will persuade them to honour the God of all with their lips only. They will teach them a doctrine consisting solely of the ordinances of mere men. But Christ has been appointed ruler over all and '*we ascended from the earth*', that is to say, we were taught to think on heavenly things. For truly '*great is the day of Jezrahel*', namely, that of God's offspring..." <sup>(3)</sup>.

*Jer.* 23, 5. — "For Christ the just king reigned over us. He exercised justice and judgement, since he freed from their sins those who had been deceived and condemned Satan, the enemy who exercised tyranny over them" <sup>(4)</sup>.

*Is.* 56, 1. — This oracle refers to Christ, who became justice and mercy to us from God <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 229 BC. According to L. DENNEFELD Ezechiel in this text describes the ceremonies to be performed at the altar on the eighth day of the festival that will usher in the new system of worship (*La sainte Bible...*, vol. 7, p. 611).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 264 D. See the more developed explanation expounded in the commentary on *Isaias* (PG 70, 825 C ff.). Modern exegetes prefer to think that Isaias here describes the victorious advance of an unnamed conqueror, who, in this instance, is Cyrus (L. DENNEFELD, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 264 Df. See the spiritual interpretation of this oracle given by St. Cyril in the commentary on *Osee* (PUSEY I, 41, 6 ff.). According to J. LIPPL the prophet proclaims that God will make a fertile garden out of the formerly unproductive soil. In it he will place a productive and united people (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 27).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 265 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 265 BC. St. Cyril develops this explanation in his commentary on *Isaias* (PG 70, 1240 BC.). Modern exegesis regards the text

1 *Sam.* 12, 2f. — According to St. Cyril the expression “*anointed one*” alludes to Christ <sup>(1)</sup>.

*Ps.* 2, 1 f. — Our author remarks: “Even more clearly did the blessed David denounce the contumacy of the Jews and their unbridled daring against Christ, their vain designs and their silly reasonings...” <sup>(2)</sup>.

*Is.* 49, 9. — According to St. Cyril this oracle contains the message that Christ addressed to the spirits detained in Hades <sup>(3)</sup>.

*Lam.* 4, 20. — “The prophet Jeremias wept over Jerusalem because she was impious, the killer of the Lord, and was profane and ungrateful” <sup>(4)</sup>.

*Soph.* 3, 14 f. — The purpose of the *κένωσις* <sup>(5)</sup> is outlined in this oracle <sup>(6)</sup>.

*Is.* 10, 20. — Isaias here refers to the handful of Jews who believed in Christ <sup>(7)</sup>.

as an exhortation to the Israelites to render themselves worthy of the imminent salvation by a more assiduous observance of the law (L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, p. 200).

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 265 C. Modern exegetes claim that the expression “*anointed one*” denotes Saul, whom Samuel had just consecrated king (K. LEIMBACH, *Die Bücher Samuel. Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 3 Band, 1 Abteilung, Bonn, 1936, p. 56).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 265 D.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 265 D. Cyril makes no allusion to this opinion in his commentary on *Isaias* (PG 70, 1056 A ff.). L. DENNEFELD holds that Isaias here describes the final success of the Servant of Yahweh among the Chosen People and the Gentiles (*op. cit.*, p. 179).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 265 D. Modern exegesis interprets Jeremias's statement as a metaphor that describes the political and social importance of the king in the life of the nation: he was as the breath of their nostrils, namely, one on whom the greater part of their life depended (L. DENNEFELD, *op. cit.*, p. 432).

<sup>(5)</sup> St. Cyril uses this expression to bring home the aspects of humiliation implied in the Incarnation.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 268 A. See the spiritual explanation proposed by our author in his commentary on *Sophonias* (PUSEY II, 235, 4 ff.). Some modern exegetes think that this passage refers to God's graciousness to his people in eschatological times (H. JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 87).

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 268 B. Cyril makes no reference to this interpretation in his commentary on *Isaias* (PG 70, 292 d ff.). Modern exegetes hold that

The contumacy, that always characterized the relations of the Jews with God <sup>(1)</sup> reached its peak during the period of Christ's earthly sojourn among them. "He came to them as the '*living bread descended from heaven that gives life to the world* (*Jn. 6, 33*)', the grain of wheat which produced much fruit by falling to earth (*Jn. 12, 24 f.*), the intellectual wine that brings joy to the heart (*Eccli. 11, 20*). But, since they desisted not from insulting him with their unbelief, all these spiritual foods were taken from them" <sup>(2)</sup>. In another place the Patriarch of Alexandria writes: "Christ himself shows that the Mosaic law became unprofitable to the Jews on account of the greatness of their stupidity: '*You search the Scriptures, because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that give evidence about me. Yet you are not willing to come to me that you may have life*' (*Jn. 5, 39 f.*). The Israelites were blinded. Not having the illumination given by the Spirit, they were slow to believe and were brought with difficulty to choose and think over the things useful to salvation. Moreover, they did not go unpunished for slipping into incorrigible unbelief after choosing what was useful. Although they had heavenly light from above, they preferred to walk in both light and darkness. That was what the prophet meant, when he said: '*While they waited for light, darkness came upon them. While they waited for brightness, they walked in perplexity*' (*Is. 59, 9*). They remained hard and inflexible and despised what was useful as well as those things which could have enabled them to avoid wrongdoing. For Christ said: '*I am the light of the world*' (*Jn. 8, 12*) and '*while you have the light, walk in the light, so that the darkness does not overtake you*' (*Jn. 12, 35*). But they were

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the remnant denotes those who survived the Assyrian wars (L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, vol. 7, p. 57).

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 252 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> Comment. on *Joel*, PUSEY I, 309, 15 ff. Compare Cyril's spiritual explanation of *Amos 8, 11 f.* (PUSEY I 523, 4 ff., 525, 4 ff.) with that of St. JEROME: ...Quid de fame dicendum est animarum quae in die resurrectionis Domini oppressit populum Iudaeorum... Ablata est ab eis lex, et prophetae aeterno continuere silentio... In quo loco interrogabimus Iudaeos, quam illam diem significari putent, in qua sustinent famem audiendi verbum Dei: praesertim cum legant Scripturas, et humilitatem sequantur litterae? Quibus ingerimus famem esse praedictam intelligentiae spiritualis in qua Christus cernitur, passio Domini et resurrectio reperitur (PG 25, 1083 C ff.).

like people who had neither their mind nor their thinking faculty. Accordingly they were seized by the darkness and lived as in the night; they were deprived completely of the divine splendour and had not the divine light. For they did not understand the inspired Scripture. And the divine Paul explains the reason why: '*Nay! until now, whenever Moses is read a veil lies upon their heart. But whenever they return to the Lord, the veil shall be removed. The Lord is Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*' (2 Cor. 3, 15 f.)" (1). Actually the Jews believed in neither Moses nor Christ (2), with the result that the whole of Scripture (which is a single book inspired by the same Holy Spirit) was sealed in such a way that its secrets became inaccessible to the Jews, even to those who knew how to read (3).

St. Cyril seems to voice opinions that long were current at Alexandria (4). The commentators of Origen tell us that one of the

(1) PG 69, 533 A-536 A. Cyril's views may be usefully compared with the ideas developed by ORIGEN in his twelfth homily on *Exodus* which explains *Ex.* 34, 30-34 (PG 12, 382 B-387 B). The older Alexandrian treats only of the subjective conditions that Christians need in order to understand the Scriptures. Cyril's thought moves on the historical plane; he points out the causes which impeded the Jews from understanding the Old Testament. In that respect he is closer to St. Paul, who, in the passage of the *Second epistle to the Corinthians* quoted by both Alexandrians, affirms that the fact of conversion to Christ removes the veil which impeded the unbelieving Jew from seeing and understanding. (See H. DE LUBAC, *Origène. Homélies sur l'Exode...*, p. 255 note 1).

(2) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 470, 3 ff.

(3) PG 70, 656 A. St. JEROME offers some interesting points of contact with St. Cyril: Scitote ergo, O Scribae et Pharisei, qui estis principes Iudaeorum, quod reddat vobis Dominus vicissitudinem vestram. Vos enim audientes Dominum Salvatorem, intelligere noluistis, et clausistis oculos vestros, ne eum videretis, et aures aggravastis, ne audiretis. Ideo et ille claudet oculos vestros, qui sunt prophetae, per quos scientiam Dei videbatis... Eritque, ait vobis omnis Scriptura sancta clausa atque signata, ut vos qui legis litteras, et prophetarum vaticinia nosse vos existimatis, et diebus ac noctibus volumina Scripturarum indefesso ore meditamini, non intelligatis quod legitis... Leo autem de tribu Iuda, Dominus Iesus Christus est, qui solvit signacula libri, non proprie unius, ut multi putant, psalmorum David, sed omnium Scripturarum, quae uno scripturae sunt Spiritu sancto; et propterea unus liber appellantur (PG 24, 331 B ff).

(4) It is not unlikely that Cyril depends on St. JEROME in the instances reviewed in note 1 and on p. 175, note 2. But then, the Latin exegete

arguments used by him to justify the spiritual interpretation of Scripture was the assumption that the erroneous explanations advanced by the Jews were due to their literalism<sup>(1)</sup> In applying this principle Cyril seems to have a keener sense of historical development than his predecessor: institutions which in the beginning were grossly materialistic became gradually more and more spiritual, so that the Jews who rejected Christ, namely, the spiritual sense of the Old Testament, were altogether inexcusable; in addition to disbelieving the conclusions to which the evolution of their religion pointed, they abused the supernatural light at their disposal. It is to St. Cyril's credit that he tried to find place in his theory of interpretation for the evidences of history, even though the exegesis that he proposes of several texts is not likely to be endorsed by modern writers. In fine, his treatment of this problem prepares the solution of questions concerning the interpretation of the Scriptures by Christians.

#### Art. 7. — CHRISTIANS AND THE SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

One may readily infer from what has just been said that, with regard to interpreting the Scriptures, Christ's disciples enjoy facilities truly to be envied. Just as their rejection of the Saviour made the Scriptures indecipherable to the Jews, so does faith in him furnish a key to understanding them properly: "In the case of those who believe in Christ, the law is not an accuser and a punisher; it vivifies them, since the literal sense has been changed into a spiritual *θεωρία* and the literal sense thus changed leads to Christ, who is our life and quickener" <sup>(2)</sup>. St. Cyril not infrequently ascribes to Christ the role of interpreter of the ancient writings of Israel. Thus he writes: "In the beginning the law sounded but weakly. But when Emmanuel shone forth and

in his turn probably borrows his opinions either from Origen or from Didymus.

<sup>(1)</sup> H. DE LUBAC, *Origène. Homélies sur la Genèse...* pp. 24 ff; J. DANÉLOU, *L'unité des deux testaments...* (*Revue des sciences religieuses*, 22 (1948), pp. 28 f.).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 448 B.



the word concerning the Gospel discipline reached us, that sound became louder. Because Christ sounded a clear note that has already penetrated the whole world. At that time <sup>(1)</sup> the voice of the law was not heard elsewhere; it did not instruct all the Gentiles, since it resounded only in the land of the Jews and acted as a pedagogue to the Israelites alone. But '*Moses spoke and God replied to him in a voice*' (*Ex.* 19, 9). Moses, as a minister, asked for the law and was the mediator and servant of the divine oracles. But God replied with his own voice, namely, through the Son. For the Son is the voice and word of God the Father. It was from the Son that the law proceeded, even though it was delivered by means of angels. If one so chooses, one can hear him say: '*I myself, the speaker, am present*' (*Is.* 52, 6) and '*I am come not to destroy the law or the prophets but to fulfil them. For I say to you that until heaven and earth pass away, not one iota nor one dot shall pass away from the law until all has been fulfilled*' (*Mt.* 5, 17). For he calls the law his own words, since it was God's voice, that is to say, the Son, who spoke" <sup>(2)</sup>. Commenting on the narrative of *Genesis* that describes how Jacob peeled the rods white, by tearing off the green bark and how the ewes in consequence conceived offspring of various colours, our author writes: "Thus did Christ peel off the shadows of the law and the veil of the prophetic writings, thereby showing to us the whitened and beautiful word contained in them. He brought the enchanting spiritual words, almost persuading us to conceive virtue in various ways and to exercise it in a twofold fashion, namely, in deed and in word" <sup>(3)</sup>. In another place the Patriarch of Alexandria says: "Christ addressed the people and became Moses' mouthpiece, since he interpreted the law for us spiritually... He is a wise teacher. He transferred the prescriptions of the law (which was slow of speech) to clearness and made a deep-resounding explanation of the weak-voiced letter. Because in Christ the law is spiritual" <sup>(4)</sup>. At Alexandria these ideas were neither

<sup>(1)</sup> St. Cyril refers to the time that this theophany was vouchsafed to Moses.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 489 B-C.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 241 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 68, 253 A.

strange nor novel. Origen had initiated his listeners to them years before St. Cyril was born <sup>(1)</sup>.

In another series of texts our author associates Christ's functions as interpreter of the Old Testament with his role as shepherd. In the period preceding the Incarnation the Logos tended Israel with one rod, namely, the *παδεία* of the law. After the Incarnation he uses two rods. He feeds his own adorers with the legal and evangelical oracles. However, he teaches them not to offer bloody sacrifices any longer; that was something which had been conceded to the ancients with a view to aiding their infirmity <sup>(2)</sup>. Instead, they must offer him the unbloody sacrifice of adoration in truth. The shadow of the law has yielded place to the truth, and its types have received the impress of that elegance (*ἀστεϊότης*) characteristic of the gospel way of living <sup>(3)</sup>. Inasmuch as it is a *παίδευσις*, the law continues to be in force, because Christ fulfils it "by teaching what transcends it and by not exempting the *παιδαγούμενοι* from it" <sup>(4)</sup>.

St. Cyril touches on similar ideas in passages that treat of Christ as the Light. "He is by nature light, beaming forth from God the Father, who is by nature light" <sup>(5)</sup>. Christ infused into all nature the spiritual light and "he implants the understanding befitting him in every man who is called into existence" <sup>(6)</sup>. For many years the divine and heavenly light illumined

<sup>(1)</sup> "The light, hidden under the law of Moses and covered by the veil, began to shine at the advent of Jesus, for the veil was lifted and the good things, whose shades were contained in the letter, were suddenly manifested" (*Περὶ ἀρχῶν* 4, 1. GCS, 22, 302, 8 ff.). See J. DANIELOU, *L'unité des deux Testaments dans l'œuvre d'Origène* (*Revue des sciences religieuses*, 22 (1948), pp. 41 f.) and H. DE LUBAC, *Origène, Homélies sur l'Exode...*, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 456, 14-23. Compare with PG 76, 696 B.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 456, 23 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 468, 11 ff. St. Cyril adduces two examples to illustrate how precisely Christ "fulfilled" the law: he ensured the observance of the precept "*do not kill*" by commanding his followers to repress movements to anger, which is the root of murder; and he reinforces the precept "*do not commit adultery*" by commanding them to chastise their lusts and not to entertain impure desires.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 711, 23 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 712, 1 ff.; PG 69, 232 C.

Israel alone. Outside of the latter everything was shrouded with darkness. "Nobody performed good deeds nor knew righteousness or the way leading to salvation. Nobody had the divine light in the mind or was able to see with the eyes of the mind who was the true God, the Creator and Lord. But when the Saviour, who has the light, shone like a lamp, the whole world was illumined and we saw the path of salvation" <sup>(1)</sup>. The old law was an illumination accompanied by darkness <sup>(2)</sup> and therefore contrasted unfavourably with the pure beams unmixed with gloom that were radiated by the Sun of Justice and the spiritual Morning Star <sup>(3)</sup>. Withal, it continues to give light (comparable to that of the moon), even though the gospel shines with noonday splendour <sup>(4)</sup>. That is rendered possible by the fact that Christ reveals in spirit "knowledge of the ancient legal oracles and of the prophetic utterances" <sup>(5)</sup>. To Christ's interpretation of the law St. Cyril gives the name of φωταγωγία <sup>(6)</sup>. He ascribes the failure of the Jews to perceive Christ's mystery in the Scriptures to the fact that they had not in their souls the one "who reveals mysteries and illumines the whole world and shines like a sun in the hearts of them that receive him" <sup>(7)</sup>. The gospel that emanates from Christ the Light is, in its turn, called light and enlightenment <sup>(8)</sup>. Our author implies that this light is needed for the proper understanding of the Old Testament "because the law of Moses was darkened by

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 1368 AB.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 489 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 130, 1 ff.; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 138, 19 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 149, 26 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 138, 19 ff.; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 526, 3 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> Ὁ ... Λόγος ... προϋθνηκεν αὐτοῖς εἰς μυσταγωγίαν καὶ εἰς εἴδῃσιν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν μυστηρίου τὴν τε εὐαγγελικὴν παιδείυσιν καὶ φωταγωγίαν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν νομικὴν... (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 469, 18 f.).

<sup>(7)</sup> Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια, καὶ πάντα καταφωτίζων τὸν κόσμον ἡλίου δικήν, εἰς τὰς τῶν δέχομένων αὐτὸν καταλάμπων καρδίας (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 711, 18 ff.).

<sup>(8)</sup> Τὸ αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα = τὸ φῶς (PG 70, 76 A); τὸ φῶς Κυρίου = τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ διὰ Χριστοῦ = ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ φωτισμός (PG 70, 76 C); ἡ φωτοειδής τε καὶ ἐκλαμπρός τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν θεσπισμάτων μυσταγωγία (*Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 149, 26 ff.).

shadows proceeding from the letter. But in the gospel *κηρύγματα* the beauty of the truth shines forth and brings joy to the minds of the pious, into which it is infused after the manner of [light<sup>(1)</sup>]. Christ's illuminating activity is styled *φωτισμός* (<sup>2</sup>); it is inextinguishable, because it is perpetuated in the Church by the apostles, evangelists, teachers and priests of all times, who, on receiving Christ's illumination in their minds (<sup>3</sup>) thereby become *φωστῆρες* and are able as a result to illumine all who live in darkness (<sup>4</sup>). Certain expressions of this terminology seem to be borrowed from Clement of Alexandria who in several passages compares the instruction imparted by Scripture with the initiation that takes place in the Greek mysteries (<sup>5</sup>). M. Hermaniuk draws attention to Clement's use of *φωταγωγῶν* to denote the role played by Christ, the divine *ἱεροφάντης* (<sup>6</sup>) who, because he is both the Word and the Light,

(<sup>1</sup>) PG 70, 576 A. In a fragment on 2 Cor. 3, 16 St. Cyril writes: "The Lord himself is the light and reveals the 'deep and secret things' (Dan. 2, 22) and shows the true face of the law (the one that has been glorified) to the wise ones who have been sanctified in spirit and have been rendered illustrious by means of the faith in Christ" (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 337, 2 ff.).

(<sup>2</sup>) "Ἔσται γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν οὕτως ἡ σύνεσις ἀγαθή, καὶ περιαστρέψει τὸν νοῦν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ σοφίας ὁ φωτισμός (PG 70, 200 CD). See also PG 70, 76 C; 573 D; 68, 641 C and 644 A; *Comment. on Zach.* PUSEY II, 330, 17 ff.

(<sup>3</sup>) PG 68, 641 D. This text states that the office of preaching is entrusted to the priesthood: "Ἀσβεστος γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ παρὰ Χριστοῦ φωτισμός ἐν ἐκκλησίαις σώζεται ταῖς τῶν ἱεραῶν κεκληρωκότων ἐπιεικείαις, οἱ ταῖς εἰς ὁρθότητα μυσταγωγίαις τὸν πιστευόντων καταλαμπρύνουσι νοῦν. Elsewhere Cyril holds that the duty of perpetuating Christ's *φωτισμός* is incumbent on the ἀπόστολοι, εὐαγγελισταί and the οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διδάσκαλοι; here he makes no reference to the priesthood (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 330, 17 ff.).

(<sup>4</sup>) PG 69, 424 C.

(<sup>5</sup>) A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile (Études bibliques)*, Paris, 1932, p. 133; M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique...*, pp. 441 f.

(<sup>6</sup>) Exhorting pagans to abandon their false mysteries and embrace the true Christian ones, Clement exclaims: "Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων ὡς ἀληθῶς μυστηρίων, ὃ φωτὸς ἀκηράτου δαδουχέσθαι τοὺς οὐρανούς καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐποτεῦσαι. ἅγιος γίνομαι μυστήριος, ἱεροφάνται δὲ ὁ κύριος καὶ τὸν μύστην σφραγίζεται φωταγωγῶν, καὶ παρατίθεται τῷ πατρὶ τὸν πεπιστευκότα αἰῶσι τηρούμενον. (*Protrept.* 12, 120, 1, GCS, 12, 84, 23 ff.). See M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique...*, p. 442.

points out the truth of [his doctrine to pagans, exercises the ordinary faithful in virtue and reveals mysteries to the gnostics (1). In accordance with his tendency to dissociate the episcopal office from gnostic endowments Clement distinguishes between bishops, priests and deacons who owe their appointment to men and the true successors of the apostles who are effectively such precisely because they follow in their steps with a view to living a life of perfection (2). These authentic successors of the apostles are the gnostics; it is to them that Clement entrusts the duty of explaining the Scriptures (3). Only on them does he confer the honourable designation φωτεινός (4). Despite the very striking similarities of terminology and ideas existing between them Cyril differs from the older Alexandrian in one important point at least. Already we have drawn attention to the fact that he ascribes to priests a role which Clement exclusively reserves to gnostics (5). In the case now in point, by giving the designation φωστήρες not only to the apostles, evangelists and διδάσκαλοι but also to priests and by ex-

(1) Ἐθέλω γάρ, ἐθέλω καὶ ταύτης ὑμῖν μεταδοῦναι τῆς χάριτος, δλόκληρον χορηγῶν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, ἀφθαρσίαν· καὶ λόγον χαρίζομαι ὑμῖν, τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τέλειον ἐμαντὸν χαρίζομαι (*Protrept.* 17, 120, 3, GCS 12, 85, 2 ff.). Commenting on this text M. HERMANIUK writes: "Voilà la lumière qui illumine le chrétien initié aux mystères: c'est le Verbe lui-même, qui est la connaissance de Dieu, qui seul peut nous faire connaître Dieu... C'est lui qui montre aux païens la vérité de sa doctrine, qui exerce les simples fidèles dans la vertu, qui révèle les mystères aux gnostiques. Comment le fait-il? Il propose sa doctrine en paraboles et puis il agit dans les consciences. Il dépose cette connaissance de Dieu, qui grandit et se perfectionne chez le simple fidèle, et qui atteint toute sa perfection chez le gnostique. Cette lumière intérieure avec la lumière des connaissances humaines, au fur et à mesure de leur croissance, au fur et à mesure de la perfection, de la spiritualisation du chrétien, lui enlève le voile qui cache le divin, les mystères", (*op. cit.*, p. 443).

(2) *Strom.* 6, 13, 106, GCS 15, 485; *Strom.* 7, 12, 77, GCS 17, 55; D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Les normes...*, pp. 226 f.

(3) *Strom.* I, 1, 14, GCS 15, 11; *Strom.* 5, 9, 56, GCS 15, 364; *Strom.* 7, 16, 100, GCS 17, 70. See D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Les normes...*, pp. 272 f.

(4) Φωτεινός δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος λάμπων κατὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν σπεύδει τῇ γνῶσει τῇ δικαίᾳ δι' ἀγάπης Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν μονὴν καθάπερ οἱ ἀπόστολοι. (*Strom.*, 6, 13, 105, 1, GCS, 15, 485, 1 f.). STAEBLIN'S index contains no reference to the word φωστήρ.

(5) See p. 181.

PLICITLY associating priests with the others in the task of "illuminating" men, St. Cyril deprives the gnostics of the privilege of being the *exclusive* interpreters of Scripture. Abandoning Clement on this point, he tends to rejoin the position of St. Irenaeus who confides the explanation of Holy Writ to priests, "the detainers of the apostolic tradition of the Churches" <sup>(1)</sup>.

Of the various emanations produced by Christ's illumination <sup>(2)</sup> St. Cyril dwells with greatest frequency on γνώσις. Bultmann claims that, as a result of their controversies with the Gnostics and the exponents of Greek philosophy, the Christian Alexandrians were induced to formulate a concept of γνώσις that combined the scientific aspect of knowledge stressed by the latter with the vision of God dear to the former <sup>(3)</sup>. Clement and Origen, to mention merely two representatives of the school, develop the notion of γνώσις <sup>(4)</sup>. St. Cyril repeats much of what is said by both; in this matter it is difficult to determine whose opinions precisely he prefers. To begin with, he clearly places γνώσις outside the pale of unaided human reason: γνώσις is a χάρισμα <sup>(5)</sup>, a revelation <sup>(6)</sup> that enriches the mind <sup>(7)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Les normes...*, pp. 159 ff., 273.

<sup>(2)</sup> Christ's φωτισμός expresses itself in various ways: Cyril instances three of the gifts enumerated by St. Paul in 1 Cor., 12, 8, namely, the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge and discernment of spirits (PG 68, 608 AB). In the following passages γνώσις is intimately related with Christ the Light: PG 68, 644 C (ὁ φωτισμός τῆς γνωσέως τοῦ Χριστοῦ); 69, 504 C ff.; 70, 944 C; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 138, 19 ff.; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 130, 1 ff.; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 620, 20 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> KITTEL'S *Theologisches Wörterbuch...*, I, p. 714.

<sup>(4)</sup> D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *op. cit.*, p. 141 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 68, 608 AB.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 68, 489 D ff.; 69, 504 C f.; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 139, 19 ff.; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 526, 3 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> The faculties affected by Christ's illumination and the gift of γνώσις are the διάνοια, νοῦς and καρδιά, expressions which St. Cyril apparently regards as synonyms (PG 68, 384 CD; 489 A; 489 D; 641 C; 644 A; 70, 133 C; 200 CD; 573 CD; 576 A; 1369 AB (εἰς νοῦν = τοῖς τῆς διάνοιας ὅμμασι); *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II 130, 23 (εἰς νοῦν καὶ καρδίαν); *ibid.*, 150, 4; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 330, 17; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 620, 20 ff. It is likely that the term καρδιά has the connotation that it has in the New Testament, namely, the organ of the spiritual life in which God chiefly reveals himself (BEHM in KITTEL'S *Theologisches Wörterbuch...*, 2, p. 614, 28). Νοῦς seems to indicate the thinking faculty in contradistinction to

with knowledge of the truth <sup>(1)</sup>. This truth is given various designations: "the deep things about God that are enshrined in the Scriptures" <sup>(2)</sup>, "doctrines that are contained in the Scriptures" <sup>(3)</sup>, "Christ's mystery" <sup>(4)</sup> and so forth. Γνωσις brings the vision of God (θεοπρία) <sup>(5)</sup> within the range of the human mind, because God, when he confers this gift on us, stoops down towards us and makes himself accessible to us <sup>(6)</sup>. However, it is granted only to believers <sup>(7)</sup>, who offer Christ ready obedience <sup>(8)</sup> and show their worthiness by exemplary conduct <sup>(9)</sup>. St Cyril notes expressly that γνωσις was not conferred on the unbelieving Jews <sup>(10)</sup>. Apart from its primary effect, namely, knowledge, this gift produces fruits of the moral order such as purity and goodness <sup>(11)</sup>; those endowed with it are placed under God's saving providence in a very special manner <sup>(12)</sup>. St. Cyril thinks very highly of this precious endowment and very frequently asks God to bestow it on his listeners and on himself <sup>(13)</sup>. Despite the praises lavished on it by

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αἰσθησις which denotes the senses (PG 76, 625 D). On the concept of νοῦς in Greek philosophy and religion see BEHM's article in KITTEL's *Theologisches Wörterbuch*..., 4, 952 ff. Cyril's use of the expression διάνοια somewhat resembles that of Philo, who at times employs this term to designate the organ by means of which knowledge of God is acquired (See BEHM, *art. cit.*, 962, 4 ff.).

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 489 D; 644 B; 70, 576 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Frag. on 1 Cor.*, 2, 10 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 257, 11 f.); *Frag. on 2 Cor.* 3, 18 (*ibid.*, 339).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 76, 857 A; PG 77, 425 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 68, 260 A; 69, 504 C; 70, 1368 D; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 620, 23 f.; PG 73, 433 A.

<sup>(5)</sup> See p. 144, note 1.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 68, 489 D f.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cyril employs either the present or perfect participle of πιστεύω: *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 138, 19 f.; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 620, 20 ff. See also PG 68, 608 C; 641 D; 69, 180 B; 70, 133 C; 576 A; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 149, 26 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 68, 384 CD; 492 C; 70, 200 CD.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 68, 608 C. See also 608 AB; 644 B; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 526, 3 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 68, 492 C.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 620, 20 ff.

<sup>(12)</sup> PG 68, 384 CD; 70, 133 C.

<sup>(13)</sup> PG 70, 885 C. See especially the introductions to St. Cyril's *Homilies on Luke* (preserved only in Syriac): *Sermon 38* (PAYNE-SMITH's trans-

him, our author at times confesses that in this life γνῶσις imparts only partial knowledge as "in a mirror and an enigma" (1 Cor 15, 8). In the life to come Christ will illumine us once more and we shall have full knowledge of him; the γνῶσις that we have now will yield place to brighter knowledge, just as the splendour of the stars grows pale when the sun begins to shine in the heavens <sup>(1)</sup>.

Occasionally St. Cyril touches on the relations that exist between πίστις and γνῶσις. The former, he tells us, "is an approach to knowledge, which prepares the mind for the reception of the divine light" <sup>(2)</sup>. Elsewhere πίστις is described as the "stable foundation and basis of all doctrines concerning God" <sup>(3)</sup>; the human mind must first possess this πίστις before it can attain to γνῶσις <sup>(4)</sup>. Our author is less rigorous in his terminology than either Clement <sup>(5)</sup> or Origen <sup>(6)</sup> who draw a line of demarcation between πίστις and γνῶσις. In one passage at least he uses the latter expression to designate the knowledge "consisting of reasonings possessed by simple folk which enables them to know that Christ is God and that he is really and truly God's [Son]" <sup>(7)</sup>. That signification is not far removed from the meaning of πίστις. Cyril, however, assures us that this γνῶσις differs considerably from the illustrious knowledge imparted by the Holy Spirit which enables one to acquire knowledge of "things unspeakable" <sup>(8)</sup>, that is to say, "a higher

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lation p. 143); *Sermon* 45 (*ibid.*, p. 337); *Sermon* 106 (*ibid.*, p. 495); *Sermon* 133 (*ibid.*, p. 618); *Sermon* 137 (*ibid.*, p. 640). Here is a quotation *in extenso*: "Those who love instruction and are fond of hearing receive with joy the profitable word of God and store it up in the treasure-house of their heart as the seed of life. And what is the result of their so doing? The divine light rises upon them, and they gain [a correct and unerring knowledge of the sacred doctrines. And this quickens them unto life... Let us therefore ask for the understanding which cometh from above from God and the illumination of the Holy Ghost, that we may attain to a correct and unerring method, whereby we may be enabled to see the truth contained in the passage before us" (*op. cit.*, p. 354).

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 622, 11 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 623 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 76, 529 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>(5)</sup> See D. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Les normes...*, p. 146.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 494, 9 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*



form of teaching concerning the Trinity and moral doctrines contemplated from a higher point of view" (1). This singular grace is conferred only on those who have reached a corresponding "purity of mind" (2). Such are the τέλειοι (3). Indeed the Patriarch does not hesitate to say that the gift of γνῶσις presupposes a special divine vocation like the one that was given to Moses (4). He implies too that those on whom it is conferred have special intellectual aptitudes (5) which must be diligently employed even at the cost of arduous efforts (6), because the task of explaining the Scriptures is anything but easy (7). It would seem that the better instructed members of the Church of Alexandria, to whom St. Cyril dedicates the treatise *Glaphyra*, were in his opinion destined to receive the gift of γνῶσις (8). Although our author cultivates esoteric leanings in doctrine, it cannot be said that he panders to pure intellectualism; moral qualities are highly rated by him as well. This point is excellently illustrated by the following description of the νουνεχέστεροι (an expression meaning "more sensible" (9) which in St. Cyril's system replaces the term γνωστικός so frequently employed by Clement): "Through the instrumentality of the Holy Spirit [Christ] makes clear the things hidden [in the inspired Scripture] to the νουνεχέστεροι so that they reach 'the perfect man and the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ' (Eph. 4, 13), and have a well nourished mind and feast on spiritual foods. But the elect and chosen ones live by themselves, remain-

(1) *Comment. on. Joel*, PUSEY I, 331, 11 ff.

(2) *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 494, 13 ff.

(3) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 331, 11 ff.

(4) PG 68, 489 D.

(5) βάσιμος δὲ μόνοις τοῖς εἰδόσι διαστείχειν αὐτήν (PG 68, 492 A); *Frag. on 1 Cor. 2*, 15 ff.; the saints distributed an explanation of the more sublime passages of their writings to those capable of understanding and speaking (νοεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν δυνάμενοι) (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 258, 5 ff.).

(6) PG 68, 145 A; 69, 84 D.

(7) *Comment. on St. John*. PUSEY I, 389, 21 ff. (PG 73, 425 D).

(8) PG 69, 16 A.

(9) LIDDEL AND SCOTT give the following meanings of νουνεχής: "with understanding", "sensible", "discreet". SOPHOCLES refers us to a passage in DIDYMUS where νουνεχία together with φρόνησις and λόγων ἀρετή are integral parts of heavenly wisdom (σοφία) (PG 39, 809 A.).

ing completely aloof from those who, being earthly minded, succumb to everything unbecoming since they value the possession of temporary things and indulge in the pleasures of the flesh. We, however, have a quiet mind since we keep it immune from the seductions of the empty profane crowd. We are completely outside of their orbit and live a holy life apart" (1).

#### Art. 8. — THE HOLY SPIRIT AND THE SPIRITUAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

It is no surprise to find that St. Cyril gives much prominence to the role of the Holy Spirit in the interpretation of Scripture, a doctrine that he could not fail to have discovered in the writings of Didymus (2). Already we have encountered texts which state that Christ associates the Holy Ghost with himself in exercising activities connected with the interpretation of the Old Testament and the bestowal of γνῶσις (3). A few more texts will show more clearly the precise part that devolves on the Spirit.

(1) *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 732, 10 ff.

(2) *Adhuc enim typo legis et umbrae et imaginibus servientes, non poterant veritatem (cuius umbram lex portabat) inspicere, unde nec spiritualia sustinere. "Cum autem", ait, "venerit ille", "hoc est "paracletus Spiritus veritatis, diriget vos in omnem veritatem", sua doctrina, et institutione vos transferens a morte litterae ad spiritum vivificantem, in quo solo omnis Scripturae veritas posita est. Ipse ergo Spiritus veritatis, ingrediens puram et simplicem mentem, signabit in vobis scientiam veritatis, et semper nova veteribus adiungens, diriget vos in omnem veritatem. (Liber de Spiritu Sancto (ST. JEROME'S translation, n. 33) PG 39, 1063 BC).* J. DANÉLOU summarizes Origen's views as follows: "L'intelligence des Écritures est une grâce du Christ. Seul celui qui a l'Esprit de Jésus peut les comprendre spirituellement. Origène est ici l'héritier de toute la tradition. La gnose, qui est la science spirituelle des Écritures est un charisme. L'exégète doit être un spirituel. Telle est la doctrine de saint Paul, du Pseudo-Barnabé, de Clément Romain" (*L'unité des deux Testaments dans l'œuvre d'Origène in Revue des sciences religieuses*, 22 (1948), p. 42).

(3) "Those who have received Christ's φωτισμός into their minds are fed by the ministrations of the Holy Ghost" *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY, II, 330, 17 f.; "Christ reveals 'in spirit' the γνῶσις to the worthy" *ibid.*, 526, 3 ff.). The following passage tells us how we should understand the expression ἐν πνεύματι whenever St. Cyril uses it (without the article) of Christ: "God wrote the law for the ancients on tables of stone. This was a type of the things which happened to us in Christ. God wrote the knowledge of his

St. Cyril regards the promise contained in *Jn.* 14, 25 f. as a reference to a future revelation of Christ's mystery to be made by the Holy Spirit who, like Christ, will be present within us with a view to teaching us everything that the Saviour taught his followers. The Spirit is eminently capable of performing this task, because "he is Christ's own Spirit and mind" <sup>(1)</sup>. Although he subsists in himself, he is identical in nature with Christ and he knows all the things that are in Christ. St. Cyril takes pains to stress that the Holy Spirit has knowledge of these things "inasmuch as one untaught" <sup>(2)</sup>. When he announces them to us, he does not play the part of a minister who repeats the utterances of another; he acts as Christ's own Spirit and reveals the divine mysteries to the saints much after the fashion that a man's mind (which knows all things within him) manifests his soul's will to outsiders by means of an uttered word. This word, our author notes, is commonly thought to be distinct from the soul; in reality, it exists in the soul as a complementary part and should be regarded as its outgrowth <sup>(3)</sup>. Invoking *Eph.* 1, 15-21, the Patriarch says that it is in virtue of the revelation given to us by the Holy Spirit that we are able to contemplate the hidden meaning of the mystery of the Incarnation <sup>(4)</sup>. Another text from the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, namely, 3, 13-19 is cited by him to prove that the Spirit, by dwelling in the saints and by teaching them all the things spoken by Christ, supplies for the latter's presence and power <sup>(5)</sup>. Lastly, when Christ said that all things would be

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will in us, using the Son ἐν πνεύματι as a pen. The Son (who is the Father's pen) engraved on the hearts of all the knowledge of good, employing God's finger, namely, his own Spirit. Thus are we rightly styled an ἐπιστολή πνευματική (2 *Cor.* 3, 2 f.)" (PG 68, 144 C.). See also p. 186.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 506, 14 ff. Compare with *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 493 22 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 506, 28. Compare with PG 73, 193 B.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 506, 30 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 507, 13 ff. Strictly speaking the text of *Eph.* 1, 15-21 contains no reference to the Holy Ghost himself; πνεῦμα has not the article and denotes a spiritual gift rather than the third person of the Trinity.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 508, 1 ff. In *Eph.* 3, 13-19 St. Paul seems to ask for four gifts which appear to be distinct from each other:

revealed through the Spirit, he did not hand over his followers to another teacher; he committed them to himself, albeit "through the Spirit", inasmuch as he is visible no longer to eyes of flesh but is contemplated in the manner that befits God "by means of the spiritual eyes of the heart" <sup>(1)</sup>.

The last-mentioned point exemplifies a general principle of St. Cyril's theology of the Holy Spirit: the possession of the Spirit of Christ can be regarded as the inhabitation of Christ himself in the soul, because Christ since his resurrection has become a vivifying Spirit <sup>(2)</sup>. That being so, we are not surprised that St. Cyril ascribes the same operations to Christ and the Holy Spirit. Thus he affirms that without the illumination of the Spirit "accurate grasp of doctrines or hidden mysteries" <sup>(3)</sup> and "knowledge of the Scriptures" <sup>(4)</sup> are rendered impossible. A speculation that our author attaches to 2 Cor. 3, 18 throws further light on this point: the process of transferring the shadows of the law into the truth begets spiritual knowledge and produces an interior transformation which reflects to a certain extent the glory of Christ himself. In *Glaphyra* Cyril ascribes this transformation to Christ <sup>(5)</sup>, whereas in a fragment of his commentary on the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* he attributes it directly to the Holy Spirit <sup>(6)</sup>.

The heretical Gnostics divided men into three categories, namely, σαρκικοί, ψυχικοί and πνευματικοί <sup>(7)</sup>. Our author recognizes only the last two classes; his ψυχικοί coincide in reality with the σαρκικοί; the expression ψυχικοί adds the nuance that as well as living according to the flesh, these persons have not been illumined by the Spirit but are guided solely by the human understanding that

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1. the force of the Spirit; 2. the presence of Christ by faith; 3. charity; 4. intelligence of the mystery. St. Cyril makes the last three gifts dependent on the presence of the Holy Spirit.

(1) *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 508, 15 ff.

(2) H. DE MANOIR DE JUAYE. *Dogme et spiritualité chez saint Cyrille...*, p. 230.

(3) *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 172, 10; *ibid.*, PUSEY II, 507, 2 ff.; *ibid.*, PUSEY II, 715, 8 ff.

(4) *Frag. on 2 Cor.*, 3, 18, PUSEY III, 388, 1-339, 19.

(5) PG 69, 537 B ff.

(6) *Frag. on 2 Cor.*, 3, 13, *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 336 f.

(7) BULTMANN in KITTEL'S *Theologisches Wörterbuch...*, I, p. 714.

the Creator implants in everybody's soul <sup>(1)</sup>. These ψυχικοί stand in need of a παιδαγωγία, which none, save the πνευματικοὶ διδασκαλοὶ, are competent to impart. Cyril seizes on the expression συμβιβάζει of 1 Cor. 2, 16 to stress that these teachers do not merely drill the minds of the ψυχικοί with a view to preparing them to understand; they really impart knowledge to them as well. The "spirituals" have the Spirit within them, who reveals mysteries to them and makes their minds divine after a fashion; accommodating themselves to the dispositions of their listeners, they deal out explanations of what is most sublime in the Scriptures <sup>(2)</sup>. Once again it is Cyril's affection for an expression that helps us to define his attitude to tenets defended by older exponents of the school of Alexandria. Though he embodies many features of their teaching in his own system, never once does he use the expression γνωστικός, a term that he replaces by νουνεχέστερος or πνευματικός. The absence of γνωστικός from his writings seems to point to a connotation which he, as a bishop and shepherd of souls, was anxious to avoid.

The texts reviewed so far furnish us with at least a partial explanation of the preference that St. Cyril shows for the expression θεωρία πνευματική as a designation of the spiritual sense. Three other quotations will complete the information that is at our disposal. "All θεωρία πνευματική looks towards Christ's mystery" <sup>(3)</sup>. "Accordingly it is imperative to become πνευματικοί, because, otherwise, it is impossible to contemplate Christ, who is the end of the law that is being abolished" <sup>(4)</sup>. "The law which taught shadows and types was most burdensome. It did not infuse instruction of useful things into the minds and hearts of listeners. It merely imparted a kind of external knowledge — one consisting of letters alone. But the saving and evangelical preaching is delivered with the help of the Holy Ghost, who shows the depth of each idea and infuses θεωρία πνευματικά. He firmly implants the words of the saints and he

<sup>(1)</sup> Compare *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 257, 15 ff. with *ibid.*, 202, 9 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Frag. on 1 Cor.* 2, 14, *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 257 ff.; E. WEIGL, *Die Heilslehre des hl. Cyrill...*, p. 462.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Frag. on 2 Cor.* 3, 13, *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 336.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Frag. on 2 Cor.*, 3, 16, *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 337. 2 ff.

burns in to the inmost recesses of the thinking faculty" (1). Θεωρία πνευματική, therefore, is Cyril's favourite expression because it sums up succinctly the salient features of his conception of the spiritual sense of Scripture: it is a θεωρία, since it is a kind of "vision" that opens the mind to Christ's mystery: it is πνευματική, because during this "vision" the human mind is aided by the Holy Spirit both to discard "the mask of the letter or the overshadowing adhering to the literal sense" (2) and "to view the depth of the economy with the flesh" (3). Of course this explanation accounts only for the subjective connotation of θεωρία πνευματική, namely, inasmuch as it designates a method of spiritual interpretation. Later on we shall see that it adequately sums up the objective connotation as well (4).

Art. 9. — ST. CYRIL'S NOTION OF αἴνιγμα, παραβολή AND παροιμία

The conclusions reached by us earlier in this chapter need to be supplemented by an analysis of passages in which St. Cyril of Alexandria formally defines what exactly he means by αἴνιγμα, παραβολή and παροιμία, when he employs these expressions in connection with the spiritual sense of Scripture.

(1) PG 70, 800 AB.

(2) Τὸ ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος προσωπεῖον ἦτοι κατασκίασμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἱστορίας οὐκ ἔχοντα (*Frag. on 2 Cor. 3, 17, Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 337, 19).

(3) Τῆς μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομίας τὸ βάθος καὶ τοῦ κεκρυμμένου μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν θεωροῦμεν. (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 507, 30 ff.). The use of the verb θεωρεῖν is significant. See also *ibid* 508, 17 ff. The adverb πνευματικῶς when it is employed in these contexts means "aided by the Spirit". Here is an example: "Those who are good and sober and have their hearts free from the evils of the world, introduce the Paraclete into themselves quite spontaneously, and keeping him (on receiving him), contemplate spiritually (νοητῶς θεωροῦσι) whatever is accessible to man" (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 469, 26 ff.). See also PG 68, 189 B; 192 A; 600 C; 69, 93 D; 96, A. 448 B; 536 D etc.

(4) See pp. 233 f.

§ 1. — *The definition of παραβολή/αἰνιγμα given in "Contra Iulianum"*

Arguing against Julian, who identifies the scapegoat of *Lev.* 16, 5 ff. with the demon that wards off evil <sup>(1)</sup>, St. Cyril chides him for attributing only obvious meanings to the prescriptions of the Mosaic law <sup>(2)</sup>, whereas it really consists of shadows and enigmas and should therefore be interpreted in the same manner as hieroglyphics and the enigmas of Pythagoras. In other words, in order to interpret the text of Moses correctly attention should be focussed on the hidden meanings contained in it rather than on the literal sense <sup>(3)</sup>. Our author sets forth the essence of a παραβολή or an αἰνιγμα as follows: Καίτοι παντί που δῆλον ἂν εἴη δῆπουθεν ὡς παραβολή καὶ αἰνιγμα πραγμάτων ἂν εἶεν ἐμφάσεις ἐτέρων μᾶλλον, ἢ ὅπερ ἂν δοκοῖεν αὐτά <sup>(4)</sup>. Ostensibly this description of a parable or an enigma means little more than the ἐμφάσεις known to Greek rhetoricians: concise expressions which convey a meaning that is different from what the words used actually signify <sup>(5)</sup>. The context of *Contra Iulianum* shows that St. Cyril intends the terms παραβολή and αἰνιγμα to carry a richer meaning than this. His remarks concerning the enigmas of the ancient Egyptians, the Pythagorians and of Moses illustrate what precisely this richer meaning is. A few words about each category:

a) *The hieroglyphics*

"Among the worshippers of idols", Cyril writes, "we must include the makers of enigmas and those specially skilled experts known as ἱερογλύφοι, who were wont to make inscriptions for temples and obelisks, not using our letters but representing the natures of things by means of forms" <sup>(6)</sup>. Here is the first example that is quoted by our author: an eye with a straight rod underneath signifies the divine nature, "inasmuch as it sees all things

<sup>(1)</sup> The Greek expression used to denote this demon is ἀποτρόπαιος.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 76, 960 CE.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 961 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 960 C.

<sup>(5)</sup> See pp. 79 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 76, 960 CD.

and has kingly dignity". Cyril mentions some of the reasons that are alleged in explanation of these symbols: the sceptre is the emblem of kingship and the upright rod denotes that the divine nature "cannot be bent but stands up erect always and steadies everything". In the other examples cited by him the Patriarch draws attention in like manner to the reasons underlying the symbolism: the round shield is a type of the heavens, because the heavens revolve in a circle; the serpent, because it is long and entwines itself variously and creeps noiselessly, represents time. A brazier containing fire, which is suspended from a heart, denotes anger; no explanation is given of this enigma (<sup>1</sup>).

Though the concrete examples instanced by them are not the same, one is tempted to think that St. Cyril's views on this subject depend on those expressed by Clement of Alexandria in regard to the αἰνυμοί that characterize the third species of symbolical hieroglyphic described in the well known passage of *Stromata* V, 4, 20-24 (<sup>2</sup>). Both writers agree that these signs, though based on the resemblances existing between them and the things they represent (<sup>3</sup>), are primarily intended to convey hidden meanings (<sup>4</sup>). St. Cyril expressly says that the ἱερογλύφοι invented these

(<sup>1</sup>) PG 960 D-961 A.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Strom.*, 5, 20, 3, GCS, 15, 339, 11 ff. Clement distinguishes two kinds of hieroglyphics: the first expresses things in the literal sense by means of primary signs; the second is pictographic and has three subdivisions: a species that expresses things in the literal sense by means of imitation; a species that writes in metaphorical language; the third is completely allegorical and employs certain enigmas. See J. VERGOTE, *Clement d'Alexandrie et l'écriture égyptienne. Essai d'interprétation de Stromates* 5, 4, 20-21 (*Le Muséon*, 1939, pp. 199-221).

(<sup>3</sup>) "Here is an example of the third species — that which employs enigmas: they figure the rest of the stars by means of serpents because of their sinuous course; the sun, however, by means of a scarabaeus, because he forms a roll of ox-dung and rolls it before him. According to the Egyptians this animal lives six months over ground and the remaining part of the year under ground; he emits his seed into the sphere and brings forth, and there is no female scarabaeus" (*Strom.* 5, 20, 3, GCS, 15, 339).

(<sup>4</sup>) Clement adduces the elaborate systems of writing employed by the Egyptians chiefly to illustrate a more general thesis on which he is very keen, namely, the necessity of ἐπίκουρις, and the need of barring access to the truth to all except a select few (GCS, 15, 339). Concerning hieroglyphics and the Pythagorean precepts Cyril remarks: "Αὐ' οὖν εἰ τοῖς ἱερογλυφικοῖς ἐνορῶν



symbols with a view to creating a γνώσις reserved to the νουνεῖστές (1). It is significant that, in the definition of enigma given in *Contra Iulianum*, Cyril does not refer to this aspect of reserve or secrecy, although both Clement and he regard it as a characteristic element of the ancient enigmas. Indeed, if this definition were separated from its context, it would imply little more than the use of figures of signs that suggest other meanings.

### b) *The Pythagorean enigmas*

To illustrate the "enigmatic method" employed by Pythagoras St. Cyril quotes examples from Porphyry's Φιλοσόφου ἱστορία (2). All of them are moral precepts that are framed in figurative language: "*The yoke is not to be crossed*", meaning "*do not act fraudulently*"; "*do not shake fire with a dagger*", for "*an angry person should not be aroused with bitter words*"; "*do not pluck a garland*", meaning "*laws are not to be violated*" (St. Cyril observes that laws are the garlands of cities); "*do not eat a heart*", for "*do not distress yourself with sorrows*"; "*do not sit on the nave of a wheel*", for "*do not live in idleness*"; "*do not receive swallows into your houses*", for "*do not make talkative and licentious men your boon companions*"; "*help those who are carrying a load but do not join in pulling it down*", for "*do not collaborate with anybody in wrongdoing but only in virtue and labours*"; "*do not carry the images of the gods on rings*", for "*do not speak readily or clearly about the gods, especially to the common crowds*" (3). Rejoining Clement once again, at least with regard to the general conception (4), St. Cyril finds obscure meanings in all of these examples (5). Yet the defi-

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τις γράμμασιν, ἤγουν τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις αἰνίγμασιν, εἴτα τῶν ἐμφανεστέρων οὐδὲν εἶναι λέγοι τὸ περιττὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς (PG 76, 961 C).

(1) PG 76, 960 D.

(2) See *Vita Pythagorae*, 42 (NAUCK, *Porphyrii philosophi Platonici opuscula selecta*, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 39, 6-40, 6).

(3) PG 76, 961 AB.

(4) Clement treats of the Pythagorean precepts in *Stromata*, 5, 5, 27, 1. He alludes to the feature of obscurity in the opening words: Αὐτίκα τῆς βαρβαρίου φιλοσοφίας πάνυ σφόδρα ἐπικεκρυμμένως ἡρτηται τὰ Πυθαγόρεια σύμβολα (GCS, 15, 342, 20 f).

(5) See p. 193 note 4.

inition of enigma quoted by him alludes directly only to the use of figurative language, namely, of words conjuring up significations that are not obvious.

c) *The prescriptions of the Mosaic law*

St. Cyril's refutation of Julian aims at placing the enigmas of the Mosaic law on a par with the categories just reviewed. They too are expressed in figurative language<sup>(1)</sup>. Their meaning is obscure<sup>(2)</sup>. A third note, however, is added, which serves to differentiate them from the other enigmas: Christ's mystery is depicted αἰνιγματωδῶς in their literal sense<sup>(3)</sup>. Our author here underlines the religious character of the Mosaic enigmas. This constitutes a further characteristic which is not formally included in the definition of παραβολή/αἰνίγμα.

Readers cannot fail to remark that, while St. Cyril's definition merely alludes to the presence of figurative language, his subsequent explanations stress rather the presence of obscure meanings. In this respect he was the child of his times, for the idea that the truth should be hidden under symbols was part and parcel of the culture of that period. E. Bréhier traces its origins to the Orphic mysteries<sup>(4)</sup>. The systems of Philo<sup>(5)</sup>, Clement<sup>(6)</sup>, and Origen<sup>(7)</sup> were inspired with it. Various reasons were devised to justify the interposition of an impenetrable veil between the human mind and the truth: motives inspired by piety urged that ignorant persons should not be afforded an opportunity of deriding that which they did not understand; even grammatical

<sup>(1)</sup> St. Cyril seems to pass imperceptibly from a concrete object to the literary expression that serves to designate it. Here he styles the objects envisaged by the Mosaic law "enigmas"; we argue that they are figures of speech at least to the same extent as are the hieroglyphics.

<sup>(2)</sup> ...Ἡ ἀπόρρητος τῶν ἐννοιῶν ... δύναμις (PG 76, 961 C).

<sup>(3)</sup> ...Ἐντετυπῶσθαι φαμεν τοῖς γράμμασιν αἰνιγματωδῶς τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον (*ibid.*).

<sup>(4)</sup> E. BRÉHIER. *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1925, p. 40.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> C. MONDESERT, *Clément d'Alexandrie...*, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> C. BIGG, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, Oxford, 2nd. edition, 1913, pp. 177 ff.

reasons were alleged on the grounds that allegory made for brevity <sup>(1)</sup>. From a rather wide range of possible motives St. Cyril singles out reverence as the reason that justifies the presence of obscure meanings in the enigmas of Scripture. In his commentary on *Zachary* he informs us: "The language of the prophets is always obscure, since, as I think, God has arranged this, lest holy things be thrown to dogs and the pearl of great price be really insulted by being carelessly cast under the feet of swine" <sup>(2)</sup>.

§ 2. — *The definitions of the "Thesaurus" and the "Commentary on St. John"*

Replying in the *Thesaurus* to objections against Christ's Divinity based by the Arians on *Prov.* 8, 22, St. Cyril has occasion to express some remarks which are incidentally a definition of παροιμία. "It must first be noted", he observes, "that statements formulated as proverbs seem to signify a certain thing according to the obvious meaning, yet they actually give rise to another signification differing from the former" <sup>(3)</sup>.

The explanatory remarks added by our author proceed by way of implication rather than by clearly worded illustrations. First of all he implies that it is Christ who makes the statement ἔκτισέ με. Secondly he implies that this statement has an obvious meaning (γυμνότερον), and one that is not obvious <sup>(4)</sup>. What precisely the former signification is Cyril does not say. To determine the latter he has recourse to another statement of the book of *Proverbs*, namely, ἡ σοφία οἰκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον (*Prov.* 9, 1), arguing that since both texts are applied to Christ one should throw light on the other. Now the second text refers to the body born of the Virgin Mary in which the fullness of the god-head was pleased to dwell corporally; Christ, therefore, being already born and become man can say ἔκτισέ με of his human

(1) E. BRÉHIER, *Les idées philosophiques...*, pp. 40 f.

(2) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 525, 27 ff.

(3) Πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο χροὶ λέγειν, ὅτι τὰ παροιμιωδῶς λεγόμενα δοκεῖ μὲν τι σημαίνειν κατὰ τὸν προχειρὸν νοῦν, ἔχει δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ὡς λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν ὠδίνει διανοίαν (PG 75, 261 B).

(4) PG 75, 261 BC.

nature without incurring blasphemy <sup>(1)</sup>. Refuting another objection in the paragraph immediately following, Cyril draws attention to the fact that the statement ἔκτισέ με is followed by the additional words ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ. On this occasion he tells us that the Greek expression "to create" has two meanings, namely, "to confer existence on what was non-existent" and "to transfer beings already existing from one state to another". It is in the second sense that the expression κτίζειν is to be applied to Christ. Accordingly the whole statement means that Christ became man in order to promulgate his commandments to Gentiles and Jews alike. It was thus that he received a new beginning <sup>(2)</sup>.

The fact that our author quotes *Jn.* 16, 23 in the passages of the *Thesaurus* which we have just analysed <sup>(3)</sup> invites us to extend our investigations to the commentary on *St. John*. There, apropos of the text just mentioned, he notes: Παροιμίαν εἶναι φησι τὸν ἀμυδρόν τε καὶ οὐ λίαν ἐμφανῆ λόγον, ἐπεσκιασμένον δέ πως ἀσφαλείς οὕτω λεπταῖς, ὥς μὴ λίαν ἑτοιμῶς συνίεναι δύνασθαι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους. Πέπλασται γὰρ οὕτω τῶν ἐν παροιμίαις λεγόμενον τὸ σχῆμα <sup>(4)</sup>. Whereas the definition of the *Thesaurus* merely notes that the παροιμία yields a twofold signification, this one seems to make its essence consist of obscure expressions which listeners cannot readily understand. In the explanations to which he recurs in the *Thesaurus* Cyril implies that his readers are already initiated into Christianity. Here in the commentary on *St. John* he expressly refers to the initiation styled ἡ ἀναμφύλογος ἀποκάλυψις, of which listeners stand in need before they can grasp the meaning of a proverb. This revelation, our author avers, is given only at the proper time, either on the reception of γνῶσις from the Holy Ghost or, as more frequently happens, in the beatific vision after death <sup>(5)</sup>. In the after life we shall dispose of perfect light which will enable us to contemplate the beauty of the nature of the Father and to behold "his glory", to grasp how Christ is God κατὰ φύσιν and is consubstantial with the Father <sup>(6)</sup>. Such know-

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 75, 261 BC.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 261 D-265 D.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 261 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 646, 28 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 647, 7 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 648, 5 ff.

ledge is now impossible for us on account of the weakness of our minds. Therefore we are obliged to have recourse to σκιαί, ὑποδείγματα, εἰκόνες, τύποι, αἰνίγματα, παραβολαί and παροιμίαι; the γνώσις now at our disposal is "dark" <sup>(1)</sup>, because our minds are impeded by the mask which screens the objects of knowledge from its view <sup>(2)</sup>.

§ 3. — *The definition of παραβολή found in the "Commentary on St. Luke"*

Readers cannot have failed to notice that St. Cyril regards the expressions αἰνίγμα, παραβολή and παροιμία as synonyms. In his commentary on *St. Luke* he describes παραβολή as follows: 'Ρητέον δὲ καὶ ἔτι, ὅτι εἰκόνες εἰσὶν ὥσπερ αἱ παραβολαὶ πραγμάτων οὐχ ὁρατῶν, νοητῶν δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ πνευματικῶν· ὁ γὰρ ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἔνεστι τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς, τοῦτο δείκνυσιν ἡ παραβολή τοῖς τῆς διανοίας ὄμμασι, διὰ τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ οἷον ἁπτῶν πραγμάτων διαμορφοῦσα καλῶς τὴν τῶν νοητῶν ἰσχνότητα <sup>(3)</sup>. Here Cyril introduces an element from which he prescind in the preceding definitions. The παραβολή is conceived in terms of an antithesis which contrasts sense perception (οἱ τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοί) with the thinking faculty (τὰ τῆς διανοίας ὄμματα) and sensible things (τὰ ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ οἷον ἁπτὰ πράγματα) with spiritual things (τὰ νοητά/ τὰ πνευματικά/ τὰ πράγματα οὐχ ὁρατά). The definition does not expressly mention the use of figurative language, but its presence is implied in the expression εἰκόνες; sensible things are said to lead to the knowledge of spiritual realities precisely because they are their images <sup>(4)</sup>. Underlying this antithesis is the theory of Plato, to which

(1) Νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ διὰ σκιᾶς, καὶ ὑποδειγμάτων καὶ ποικίλης ἔσθ' ὅτε παραλαβανομένης τῆς διὰ πραγμάτων εἰκόνος, καὶ τύπων τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, μόλις ἐπὶ τινα γνώσιν ἀμυδρὰν ποδηγούμεθα, διὰ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν ἡμῖν κατὰ νοῦν ἀσθένειαν (*ibid.*, 648, 1 ff.).

(2) Τότε γε μὴν τύπου τὸ παράπαν δεηθέντες οὐδενός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἰνιγμάτων, ἡ παραβολῆς, γυμνῶ τρόπον τινὰ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ἀπαραποδίστῳ διανοίᾳ τὸ τῆς θείας φύσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἐννοήσομεν κάλλος, τὴν τοῦ πεφηνότος ἐξ αὐτοῦ θεωρήσαντες δόξαν (*ibid.*, 648, 5 ff.).

(3) *Comment. on St. Luke*, PG 72, 624 C.

(4) See pp. 127 f.

we have already alluded <sup>(1)</sup>, which holds that the universe consists of two worlds: the intelligible supersensual world of ideas which alone merits the name of reality, and the sensible material world that is only the image and appearance of the former. St. Cyril makes this metaphysical conception of a dual world a constitutive element of his παραβολή.

According to St. Cyril's exegesis of the parables of the gospel of *St. Luke*, the spiritual realities envisaged by them pertain to the objects embraced by the twofold παιδευσίς about which we have already spoken <sup>(2)</sup>. Thus the parables of *Lk. 13, 6-9* <sup>(3)</sup>, *13, 19* <sup>(4)</sup>, *14, 15-24* <sup>(5)</sup>, *15, 1-10* <sup>(6)</sup>, *15, 11-32* <sup>(7)</sup> illustrate truths belonging to the doctrinal παιδευσίς. On the other hand *Lk. 10, 25-37* <sup>(8)</sup>, *11, 1-13* <sup>(9)</sup>,

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 125 f. and p. 129 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 140 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> This parable describes the religious history of the Jews (PG 72, 764 B ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> "The comparison is an excellent one, and one most fit to set before them what took place and happened at the divine and sacred preaching of the gospel, to which he here gives the name of the kingdom of heaven; because it is through it that we gain the right of sharing Christ's kingdom" (PG 72, 771 C; PAYNE-SMITH's translation p. 456).

<sup>(5)</sup> This parable describes the respective roles played by the Father and the Son in the οἰκονομία (PG 72, 788 D ff.).

<sup>(6)</sup> "Understand from this, my beloved, the wide extent of the Saviour's kingdom, and the multitude past numbering of his subjects, and the skilful plan of the dispensation usward..." (PG 72, 797 C ff.; PAYNE-SMITH's translation, p. 495).

<sup>(7)</sup> "...Christ very necessarily set before them the present parable to shew them clearly this very thing that the God of all requires even him who is thoroughly steadfast and firm... and has attained to the highest praise for sobriety of conduct, to be earnest in following his will, so that when any are called unto repentance, even if they be men highly blameable, he must rejoice rather, and not give way to an unloving vexation on their account" (PG 72, 807 A; PAYNE-SMITH's translation, p. 504).

<sup>(8)</sup> "Thou hast seen, O lawyer, and it has been proved by the parable, that it is of no avail whatsoever to any man, to be set up by empty names, and to pride himself upon unmeaning and ridiculous titles, so long as the excellence of deeds does not accompany them" (PAYNE-SMITH's translation, p. 315).

<sup>(9)</sup> The parable teaches us that we should pray with discrimination (PG 72, 697 D ff.).

12, 41-46 <sup>(1)</sup>, 12, 35-40 <sup>(2)</sup>, 16, 19-21 <sup>(3)</sup> illustrate truths that have an immediate bearing on conduct. St. Cyril explicitly admits that these παραβολαί have a literal signification <sup>(4)</sup>. Its very obviousness, however, exempts one from the trouble of expounding it <sup>(5)</sup>. Indeed, anybody who confines his interest to the literal sense gives ample proof that he shares the dullness of the Jews <sup>(6)</sup>.

Although these considerations are based on St Cyril's conception of the parables of the gospels, there is no doubt whatsoever that his approach to the spiritual explanation of the Old Testament is guided by similar views. Without detracting in the least from the historicity of the events and institutions commemorated by it, he regards the Old Testament as a kind of grandiose enigma or parable — to be more precise — as a galaxy of countless αινίγματα and παραβολαί which adumbrate Christ's mystery in subtle fashion: "The inspired Scripture '*in many ways and many means*' (Heb. 1, 1), described beforehand the types of the salvation to be accomplished by Christ, thereby bringing considerable utility to its readers. As skilled painters make use of decorations involving the use of many colours, bringing the shadows into clearer vision and toning them down considerably so as to make a pleasing picture, so too did God (the wise Artificer of all things) announce beforehand in subtle fashion the beauty of the mystery by means of so many different glories. It

<sup>(1)</sup> This parable deals with the obligations incumbent on the διδασκαλοι (PG 72, 749 BC ff.).

<sup>(2)</sup> In this parable we are told about the duties of watchfulness that are obligatory for all of Christ's followers (PG 72, 744 C ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> The wealthy are here exhorted, if they cannot give up all their possessions, to be diligent at least in the practice of less heroic virtues, such as assisting the poor etc. (PG 72, 825 A ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> St. Cyril refers as follows to the literal sense of the parable of the steward: Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπλή καὶ πρόχειρος τῶν εἰρημένων δύναμις (PG 72, 749 B).

<sup>(5)</sup> "Now the outer sense of this passage needs not a single word for its explanation: but when we search into its inward and secret and unseen purport, it is, we affirm, as follows... (This passage is missing from the Greek fragments; PAYNE-SMITH's translation, p. 447).

<sup>(6)</sup> Apropos of the watchful servants Cyril notes: "For let no one say that he wishes us to have our bodily loins girt, and burning lamps in our hands: such an interpretation would suit only Jewish dullness" (Compare PAYNE-SMITH p. 424 f. with PG 72, 744 C).

was God's intention that these should be regarded as enigmas and be given a prudent interpretation so that those who are being instructed should dispose of enlightenment and of an initiation enabling them to embrace the truth" (1). St. Cyril's spiritual interpretations are not only introduced by formulae embodying the terms which recur in his definitions of αἰνίγματα, παροιμία and παραβολή, but they are also inspired with the same conception and obey the same principles: sensible things are constantly contrasted with spiritual things which, as we have seen, are frequently styled ἡ ἀλήθεια, αὐτὸ τὸ ἀληθές and so forth (2); stress is laid on the hidden character of the inner meanings (3); the presence of figurative language is implied (the objects of the literal sense, inasmuch as they are εἰκόνες, τύποι, and σκιαί, effectively represent realities of the spiritual order and embody the use of figurative language to an extent not less than the Pythagorean precepts). In fine, since the inner meanings of the Old Testament are concerned with Christ's mystery (4), their religious character is thereby affirmed.

Briefly, St. Cyril's notion of αἰνίγμα, παροιμία, παραβολή in its complete form comprises three constitutive elements: 1) a metaphysical conception which opposes the sensible world to the intelligible and spiritual [world, the former being the image of the latter; 2) figurative language which expresses this contrast; 3) obscurity of meaning and expression which cannot be dispelled without the gift of γνῶσις (5).

(1) PG 69, 225 C.

(2) The following texts oppose εἰκόνες, τύποι, σκιαί κ. τ. λ. to ἡ ἀλήθεια, τὸ ἀληθές κ. τ. λ.: PG 68, 141 C; 69, 37 C; 293 B; 452 DC; *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 483, 27 etc. There are texts which contrast τὰ αἰσθητά (= τὰ ἀρχαίως συμβεβότα, εἰκόνες, τύποι etc.) with τὰ νοητά: PG 68, 149 C; 69, 316 C; 424 D; 664 C; 70, 141 B; 272 B; 329 D. In the following passages τὰ αἰσθητά / τὰ σωματικά are contrasted with τὰ πνευματικά: PG 69, 168 D; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 22, 22; 78, 13.

(3) Τύπος γὰρ ὁ νόμος καὶ σκιά ... καὶ κεκρυμμένον ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχουσα κάλλος ... (PG 68, 137 A); ἀνατυποῦται δὲ ὡς ἐπίπαν ὡς ἐν γε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὰ κεκρυμμένα καὶ νοητὰ καὶ οἶναι σῶμα τῶν ἀφανεστέρων τὰ ἐμφανῆ γίνεται (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 526, 6 ff). See also PG 68, 141 B; 69, 665 A etc.

(4) See pp. 129 ff.

(5) See what we have said concerning St. Cyril's conception of γνῶσις on pp. 183 ff.



§ 4. — *St. Cyril's αἰνιγμα/παροιμία/παραβολή compared with the corresponding tropes of Greek rhetoric*

When treating of the metaphorical literal sense of Scripture, we showed that Greek rhetoricians draw a clear distinction between the meanings of the expressions αἰνιγμα, παραβολή and παράδειγμα <sup>(1)</sup>. Now, our author regards these terms as *synonyms* when he applies them to the *spiritual sense as well as to the literal sense*. This is the first point in which his rhetorical classifications differ from theirs.

As applied to the *metaphorical literal sense* by St. Cyril, the expressions αἰνιγμα, παραβολή, and παράδειγμα have practically the same connotation as αἰνιγμα alone has in the more carefully worded terminology of Greek rhetoric <sup>(2)</sup>. By pointing out the nuances accompanying our author's use of αἰνιγμα in connection with the *spiritual sense* <sup>(3)</sup>, we can determine at one and the same time 1) how precisely his usage differs from that of the rhetoricians; 2) how the application of αἰνιγμα to the literal sense differs from its application to the spiritual sense.

Recurring once again to the definition of so representative a rhetorician as Tryphon <sup>(4)</sup>, let us recall that for Greek rhetoric two characteristics belong to the essence of an enigma, namely, figurative language and obscurity of meaning and expression. With regard to the first element, it is to be remarked that the figures of speech quoted by the Greek grammarian envisage transferred meanings (established artificially) of the logical order. Indeed, it is altogether to be expected that Tryphon, as a grammarian, should interest himself only in literary forms as such. Something similar may be said of the hieroglyphics and the Pythagorean

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 62 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> See p. 64.

<sup>(3)</sup> One must not lose sight of the fact that in the usage of St. Cyril αἰνιγμα, παραβολή, and παροιμία are synonyms.

<sup>(4)</sup> "An αἰνιγμα is language which lingers to hide the thought or which expresses an impossible or inconceivable thing. It differs from an allegory inasmuch as the latter renders a thing obscure either by means of the expression or by means of the meaning, whereas an αἰνιγμα renders a thing obscure both in expression and in meaning" (L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores graeci...*, 3, 193, 13 ff.).

precepts cited by St. Cyril. However, the enigmas of the Old Testament, on which his intention is principally centred in his polemics with Julian <sup>(1)</sup>, are on an entirely different footing. Underlying the language used to describe them is a metaphysical conception of a dual world <sup>(2)</sup>. In this order of αίνιγματα St. Cyril is much more concerned with the *nature* of the realities envisaged by the literary forms, than with the *literary forms* themselves.

Tryphon and St. Cyril are in agreement with regard to the second element of an enigma, namely, the presence of obscurity. Our author, however, unlike the grammarian, is more interested in the problem of the nature of this obscurity. To unravel a Greek enigma a profane initiation suffices. It is true that the hieroglyphics and the Pythagorean precepts presuppose a kind of philosophical initiation; their obscurity veils philosophic or moral truths. However, the αίνιγματα of the Old Testament hide religious truths that are part and parcel of Christ's revelation <sup>(3)</sup>; to decipher them an appropriate religious initiation, nay, a special gift of the Holy Ghost, is necessary <sup>(4)</sup>.

For the sake of completeness, a few words must be said about the expression παροιμία (used by Cyril only in connection with the spiritual sense). St. Basil informs us that among non-Christians a παροιμία is held to be a trite saying in common use which is transferred from a few instances to several similar cases <sup>(5)</sup>. The Bishop of Caesarea cites no examples, but it is not unlikely that he had in mind adages resembling the παροιμιαί invented by Sophron: "*Epioles who throttled his sire*"; "*he has painted the lion from the*

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 195 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> Τὸ γὰρ τοι τῆς ἱστορίας πάχος κατισχνούντες ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὴν ἀπόρρητον τῶν ἐννοιῶν περιεργαζόμενοι δύναμιν, ἐντετυπῶσθαι φαμεν τοῖς γραμμασιν αἰνιγματωδῶς τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον (PG 76, 961 C).

<sup>(3)</sup> See p. 195, note 3.

<sup>(4)</sup> While vindicating *ex professo* the enigmatic character of the Mosaic law St. Cyril first expounds the doctrinal content of *Phil.* 2, 5 ff. and *1 Cor.*, 15, 49 before explaining the enigma contained in *Lev.* 16, 5 ff. That is tantamount to proclaiming the necessity of a religious initiation before one dares to embark on a spiritual interpretation of the Old Testament (PG 76, 961 C ff.). See our remarks concerning the need of an illumination of the Holy Spirit pp. 187 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> Ῥῆμα παρόδιον τετριμμένον ἐν τῇ χρήσει τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ἐπὶ πλείονα ὅμοια μεταληφθῆναι δυνάμενον (PG 31, 388 B).

*claw*"; "he has polished a ladle"; "he has skinned a flint" (1). These sayings, at the most, are little more than artifices that lend elegance to style (2). One may plausibly argue that they bear the mark of obscurity. Yet a metaphysical conception of a dual world does not belong to their essence. It is precisely in this respect that they differ from St. Cyril's παροιμίαι.

The preceding remarks enable us to discriminate between the two connotations of αἰνίγμα in the usage of St. Cyril. When applied to the *spiritual sense*, the word invariably recalls the antithesis τὰ αἰσθητά/τὰ πνευματικά, and suggests a metaphysical conception resembling the dual world of Plato. This connotation is absent when αἰνίγμα is applied to the metaphorical literal sense. Obscurity is a note that characterizes all αἰνίγματα. All of them deal with mysteries. The enigmas of the spiritual sense, however, are *exclusively* concerned with Christ's mystery in its various aspects; that is the only order of reality which deserves the designation πνευματικόν (3). The μυστήρια, envisaged by the *metaphorical literal* sense, have no direct bearing on Christ. They coincide with the secret messages confided to the prophets (4), or describe the manner in which they behave when they receive communications from God (5). In other words, these μυστήρια are occult presentations of realities belonging to the category styled τὰ αἰσθητά. Even the *raison d'être* of their obscurity differs from that of the αἰνίγματα of the spiritual sense. We have learned that reverence

(1) DEMETRIUS, *On Style*, par. 156. RHYS ROBERTS annotates this passage as follows: "Epioles (= Epiales, Ephialtes) is the demon who fastens on you in your sleep and strangles you his father (*i. e.*, the man who has bred the nightmare, and, presumably, deserves this unfilial treatment). The other proverbs explain themselves: (1) 'From seeing but a claw / The lion would he draw.' (of a person who founds big conclusions on slender premisses); (2) 'He has such an artistic soul / That he polished the skultery bowl' (of an enthusiast's wasted labour); (3) 'He splits cummin' (*i. e.*, he is a skinflint or a hair-splitting, straw-splitting pedant (*il coupe un cheveu en quatre*))" (RHYS ROBERTS's edition, p. 400).

(2) Demetrius remarks that Sophron employs two or three proverbs in succession to load his style with elegance (RHYS ROBERTS's edition, p. 400).

(3) See pp. 123 ff.

(4) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 424, 22; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 291, 16.

(5) *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 91, 14.

for sacred things is the motive that justifies the cult of hidden meanings in the spiritual sense <sup>(1)</sup>. The obscurity of the other enigmas is derived from the concrete difficulties that hindered the prophets in their ministry; they were obliged to speak obscurely for fear of arousing the anger of their listeners <sup>(2)</sup>.

§ 5. — *Cyril's definitions compared with those of other interpreters of sacred Scripture*

a) *Philo*

Philo gives a biblical justification of the Platonic theory of a dual world <sup>(3)</sup> and ascribes a twofold meaning to Scripture on the strength of it <sup>(4)</sup>. According to the Jewish exegete, the more important of these meanings, namely, the allegorical, expresses only what is grasped by the intellect; it is obscure and indistinct <sup>(5)</sup>. The second, namely, the literal sense (which is the sensible expression of the spiritual sense) <sup>(6)</sup> consists of figures which insinuate allegorical meanings <sup>(7)</sup>. To understand the real sense of Scripture, we must pass over the literal meaning and concentrate on its allegorical significance <sup>(8)</sup>. Such is Philo's allegory; it includes the three elements which we have already encounte-

<sup>(1)</sup> See p. 196, note 2.

<sup>(2)</sup> "The prophets are wont to hide *οὐκ ανομιμῶς* their words with obscurities, because of the unbridled anger of their listeners. These would not suffer them to speak openly but would become furious and threaten them saying: 'But speak to us and announce to us another form of error' (Is. 30, 10)" (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 330, 8).

<sup>(3)</sup> PHILO enunciates the theory of a dual world in *De opificio mundi*, 4, 10 (COHN's *editio minor*, I, 4, 5 ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> PHILO proves that the doctrine of the dual world is contained in *Gen.* 1, 1 (*De opificio mundi* 7, 29 (COHN, *ed. min.*, I, 6, 23 ff.)) and 10, 36 (COHN, *ed. min.*, I, 8, 21 ff.). See also BULTMANN in KITTEL's *Theologisches Wörterbuch*..., 3, p. 877 and M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole chez Clément d'Alexandrie*..., pp. 52 and 58.

<sup>(5)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *art. cit.*, p. 52, notes 211 and 212.

<sup>(6)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *ibid.*, p. 53, note 214.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53, note 213.

<sup>(8)</sup> *De vita contemplativa*, 10, 79: αἱ δὲ ἐξηγήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνονται δι' ὑπονοῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις (COHN, *ed. min.*, 6, 47, 19 ff.). In this text Philo ostensibly describes the exegetical method employed by the Therapeutae; in reality he enunciates his own doctrine.

red in St. Cyril's αἰνιγμα/παραβολή/παροιμία: 1) the theory of a dual world; 2) the figurative meaning conceived as the expression and consequence of this dual world; 3) the obscurity of the figurative sense <sup>(1)</sup>.

### b) *Clement of Alexandria*

M. Hermaniuk has shown the important role that is played by the parable in Clement's system; it is the key to his exegetical method, because the parable is not a special literary form that the author of Scripture employs now and again; it is the characteristic note of Scripture; it is its very style <sup>(2)</sup>. The three elements that characterize Philo's allegory appear in the following definition of a parable that is found in Clement's *Stromata*: "α παραβολή is an expression that leads the initiate from an apparent signification (which, however, resembles the true sense) to the true sense" <sup>(3)</sup>. The conception of the dual world is contained in the antithesis ἀπό τινος οὐ κυρίου... ἐπὶ κύριον ἄγων, since the expression κύριος in this definition means real being as opposed to what is

<sup>(1)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole chez Clément d'Alexandrie...*, p. 53.

<sup>(2)</sup> "Quand Clément parle du but des paraboles, il a en vue non seulement les paraboles évangéliques, mais tout le langage parabolique de l'ancien et du nouveau Testament... Et cette parabole n'est pas un discours un peu spécial qu'aurait employé l'une ou l'autre fois l'auteur sacré, dont se serait servi parfois, dans certaines circonstances, le Christ: la parabole est la note caractéristique de l'Écriture, elle est son style même" (M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique, enquête exégétique et critique*, Bruges-Paris-Louvain, 1947, p. 429). M. HERMANIUK refers us to *Strom.* 6, 15, 126, 3.

<sup>(3)</sup> Ἡ παραβολή, λόγος ἀπό τινος οὐ κυρίου μὲν, ἐμφοροῦς δὲ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐπὶ τάληθές καὶ κύριον ἄγων τὸν συνιέντα (*Strom.* 6, 15, 126, 4, GCS, 15, 495, 29 ff.). M. HERMANIUK epitomises his interpretation of this definition as follows: "Avec l'explication de l'expression τὸν συνιέντα nous finissons l'analyse de la première définition de la parabole. En résumant maintenant tout ce que nous avons dit à ce sujet, voici comment se présente la parabole de Clément: 1. Elle se définit comme 'une expression, qui, à partir d'un sens figuré mais semblable au sens propre conduit celui qui comprend au sens vrai et propre'. 2. Ainsi définie et entendue comme nous venons de l'expliquer, elle comprend trois éléments constitutifs: tout d'abord la conception platonicienne d'un monde double, l'un spirituel et archétype; l'autre sensible et image du premier; ensuite le sens figuré qui en est la conséquence et l'expression; et enfin la gnose qui est la connaissance". *La parabole chez Clément d'Alexandrie...*, p. 18).

unreal and apparent<sup>(1)</sup>. The expressions ἐμπεριής<sup>(2)</sup> and ὁ σωμαίος<sup>(3)</sup> respectively stress the presence of the figurative sense and the necessity of γνῶσις, which is to be identified with knowledge of the intelligible world through the sensible world. Since parable is the very style of Scripture, the various functions that Clement ascribes to Scripture<sup>(4)</sup> describe incidentally the role and purpose of parables. According to Clement, mysteries form the contents of parables in general; the parables of Scripture, however, are concerned with the hidden and mysterious truths of Scripture<sup>(5)</sup>. In the concrete, these are the truths of the Christian faith inasmuch as they are apprehended and contemplated by means of "gnostic" knowledge<sup>(6)</sup>.

### c) Origen

M. Hermaniuk quotes a passage from *Contra Celsum* <sup>(7)</sup> to prove that in Origen's system parables, far from having the importance that Clement ascribes to them, are merely one of the many forms

<sup>(1)</sup> M. HERMANIUK analyses the first element of the definition on pp. 8-12 (*La parabole chez Clément d'Alexandrie...*).

<sup>(2)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18. Clement gives a second definition of parable which he borrows from "certain others": ἡ, ὥς τινές φασι, λέξις δι' ἐτέρων τὰ κυρίως λεγόμενα μετ' ἐνεργείας παριστάνουσα (*Strom.*, 6, 15, 126, 4, GCS, 15, 495, 30 f.). M. HERMANIUK shows that this definition differs considerably from the first (*art. cit.*, pp. 18-20).

<sup>(4)</sup> See pp. 153 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique...*, pp. 428 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> "...Ainsi nous pouvons conclure que le mystère, contenu de la parabole, désigne chez Clément le secret de la foi chrétienne, c'est-à-dire les données de la foi saisies et contemplées par la connaissance gnostique" (*op. cit.*, p. 428).

<sup>(7)</sup> In conformity with God's will, the prophets have spoken about everything that contributes to the improvement of morals clearly and without a veil; on the other hand the more mysterious things belonging to higher contemplation (which are the object of speculations that exceed ordinary intelligence) they have revealed by means of enigmas, allegories, by what are styled "dark sayings", and by parables or proverbs, so that those who do not shirk work but submit to its discomfort for the sake of virtue and truth, should set themselves to research and inquire, and having found, should distribute as the Logos prescribes". (*Contra Celsum* 7, 10, 6; GCS, 3, p. 162). See M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique...*, p. 452.

that Scripture employs to communicate mysteries. Origen defines a parable as "language which relates a thing as having taken place, although it has not taken place in the way indicated by the letter; it shows the figurative sense by the transposition of the things that it narrates" <sup>(1)</sup>. M. Hermaniuk points out that parables belong to that category of texts which have no literal sense, since they allude to things which have not taken place in the manner narrated; the figures used in the parable show that a tropological or figurative meaning is intended. In the concrete, M. Hermaniuk avers, this figurative signification is the spiritual sense <sup>(2)</sup>.

In Origen's opinion a parable is to be distinguished from an enigma. The latter is a narrative which sets things down as having happened, though they have not happened, since they are impossible. They designate something hidden and inexpressible <sup>(3)</sup>. As examples Origen quotes the apologue of Joatham (*Jg.* 9, 7-15), the fable of Joas (*2 K* 14, 9) and the allegory of Ezechiel concerning the eagle (*Ez.* 17, 3). Parables and enigmas have this in common: they describe things, which did not happen, as having happened. They differ in that a parable describes something which in itself is capable of realization, whereas an enigma depicts something that cannot be realized <sup>(3)</sup>.

Similarly parables differ from allegories. The latter consist of spiritual significations that are founded on the literal sense (in other

(1) Ἔστι τοίνυν παραβολή λόγος ὡς περὶ γενομένου, μὴ γενομένου μὲν κατὰ τὸ ῥητόν, δυναμένον δὲ γενέσθαι, τροπικῶς δηλωτικὸς πραγμάτων ἐκ μεταληψεως τῶν ἐν τῇ παραβολῇ λελεγμένων (PG 13, 20 C). See also the definition contained in 25 C.

(2) "Elle (i. e. la parabole) appartient donc à cette catégorie de textes qui n'ont pas de sens littéral. Car elle rapporte un récit qui n'est pas arrivé dans le sens dans lequel il est raconté. Le sens figuré, en effet, qu'elle comporte nous avertit qu'il s'agit là non pas des événements racontés suivant la lettre, mais bien d'un sens "tropologique", c'est-à-dire d'un sens figuré qui est au concret le sens pneumatique" (M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique...*, p. 448).

(3) Αἰνίγμα δὲ εἶναι νομίζω διέξοδόν τινα περὶ ὡς γεγονότων μὴ γεγονότων μήτε γενέσθαι δυναμένων, σημαινόντων δ' ἐν ἀποκριφῇ ἀπόρρητόν τι (PG 13, 25 B).

(4) "C'est donc surtout par son caractère d'irréalité que l'énigme diffère de la parabole... D'où le récit parabolique que brille plutôt par son naturel, par le vraisemblable, tandis que l'énigme frappe davantage par son caractère d'étonnant et d'impossible" (M. HERMANIUK, *La parabole évangélique...*, p. 451).

words the text envisaged has both a literal and a spiritual sense), whereas parables have only spiritual significations <sup>(1)</sup>.

Parables differ from similes. The former hide truths, whereas the latter present the same truths explained beforehand <sup>(2)</sup>. As already mentioned, enigmas, allegories, dark sayings, parables and proverbs are vehicles that God uses to reveal mysteries <sup>(3)</sup>. According to Origen, the contents of parables, particularly those of the gospel, are the deep mysteries relating to the Kingdom of God <sup>(4)</sup>. Parables need an explanation, which can be adequately given only by Christ <sup>(5)</sup>.

St. Cyril's conception of αἰνίγμα / παραβολή / παροιμία differs from that of Origen in that the older exegete draws a distinction between enigma and parable, whereas the Patriarch regards these expressions as synonymous. Another difference arises from the fact that in Origen's system αἰνίγματα and παραβολαί envisage texts which have a spiritual but no literal sense; Cyril, on the contrary, explicitly recognizes that all enigmas and parables have a literal as well as a spiritual sense <sup>(6)</sup>. A last difference: though Origen shows that he is familiar with the antithesis τὰ αἰσθητά / τὰ πνευματικά <sup>(7)</sup>, he does not introduce it into his definitions of

(1) Καὶ δῆλον ὅτι Μωσῆς ἑώρα τῷ νοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τὰς κατὰ ἀναγωγὴν ἀλληγορίας τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων παρ' αὐτῷ ἱστοριῶν (*In Ioh. comm.* 6, 4, 22, GCS, 10, p. 111). M. HERMANIUK quotes this text to prove that in Origen's system an allegory always presupposes a literal sense (*op. cit.*, p. 452).

(2) "Ainsi la différence entre la parabole et la similitude ne semble pas résider, pour Origène, dans le fait que la première est un discours figuré et la seconde une comparaison à prendre au sens propre, mais dans ce que la parabole cache la vérité, tandis que la similitude présente cette même vérité déjà expliquée". (M. HERMANIUK, *op. cit.*, p. 450).

(3) See p. 207, note 7.

(4) M. HERMANIUK, *op. cit.*, pp. 453 f.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 454.

(6) See pp. 196 f. and pp. 199 f.

(7) Εἰ δὲ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι νοηταὶ εἰσι δι' αἰσθητῶν ἀπαγγελλόμεναι, καὶ οἷς αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, οὐ σωματικοί. Origen here contends that they to whom the prophets made spiritual promises by means of visible signs were not themselves "corporeal" (*Περὶ ἀρχῶν* 4, 3, 6; GCS, 22, 333, 6 f.). In his commentary on St. John Origen remarks: δύναται γὰρ ἀναλογίαν ἔχειν τὸ αἰσθητὸν πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν, οὐ μὴν τὸ ψεῦδος ὁμῶς παντὸς κατηγορεῖσθαι τοῦ οὐκ ἀληθινοῦ (*In Ioh. comm.* 1, 26, GCS, 10, 31, 30 f.).



παραβολή as Cyril does. It is to be noted that St. Cyril's views rejoin those of Origen in that for both writers enigmas and parables are framed in obscure figurative language and are vehicles of mysteries.

#### d) Didymus

A fragment on *Prov.* 1. 6 ascribed to Didymus, discriminates between σκοτεινὸς λόγος, παραβολή, ἱστορία and αἶνιγμα <sup>(1)</sup>. The σκοτεινὸς λόγος is defined as: "language, which is obscure both in wording and in meaning such as the saying of Isaias the prophet: 'Woe! land of ships beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, which sends messages by sea and letters of papyri on the water' (*Is.* 18, 12) " <sup>(2)</sup>. The purpose of this is "to keep ignorant persons in the dark, not on account of lack of light but rather on account of the thing itself that is hidden" <sup>(3)</sup>. Σκοτεινὸς λόγος is a generic term, whereas παραβολή denotes a particular variety <sup>(4)</sup>, characterized by the use of clear expressions <sup>(5)</sup>. A fragment attributed by Corderius to Didymus defines parable as follows: "Ad haec vero sciendum est, quod parabola nostris oculis corporeis rerum sensibilibus species quasdam simplici ratione subiciat, quo mentis obtutibus rerum spiritalium subtilitatem perfectius repraesentet" <sup>(6)</sup>. An enigma is a "statement which signifies the truth in a hidden manner, an apposite example being: 'Open, O Lebanon, your gates and let fire devour your cedars' " <sup>(7)</sup>. The fragment shows that Didymus's notion of enigma closely resembles that of Origen <sup>(8)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 39, 1624 AB.

<sup>(2)</sup> Ὁ συγκεχυμένος κατὰ τε λόγον καὶ διάνοιαν καὶ φράσιν (*ibid.*, 1624 A).

<sup>(3)</sup> Σκοτεινὸς δέ, οὐ τὸν κατὰ στέρησιν φωτός, ἀλλὰ τὸν κεκρυμμένον, ὡς σκοτιζέσθαι τὸν ἀγνοοῦντα (*ibid.*, 1624 B).

<sup>(4)</sup> Σκοτεινὸς μὲν λόγος γενική ἐστι φωνή· ἡ δὲ παραβολή, ἰδική (*ibid.*, 1624 B).

<sup>(5)</sup> Didymus characterizes the "dark saying" as follows: οὐδὲν γὰρ τοῦτων ἐν παραβολαῖς τὴν λέξιν σαφῆ ἔχει, οὔτε μὲν ἱστορίας διήγησιν φανεράν (PG 39, 1624 B).

<sup>(6)</sup> B. CORDERIUS, *Catena sexaginta quinque graecorum patrum in s. Lucam*, Antwerp, 1628, p. 218.

<sup>(7)</sup> Αἶνιγμα δέ, λόγος μετ' ἐπακρύψεως σημαίνων τὸ ἀληθές... (PG 31, 1624 B).

<sup>(8)</sup> Aenigma autem, opinor, est expositio rerum quasi gestarum, quae facta non sunt, neque fieri potuerunt, arcanum quod obscure significantium, quale est illud quod exempli causa adfertur in libris Iudicum:

It is difficult to say whether these fragments are authentic or not. Assuming that they are authentic, we readily agree with Ruecker that Cyril's definition of parable resembles that of Didymus<sup>(1)</sup>; the Latin translation shows that Didymus formulates his notion in terms of the Platonic theory of a dual world. The chief difference between these exegetes is that Cyril regards parable and enigma as synonyms, whereas Didymus regards them as distinct tropes. The definition of enigma given by the older Alexandrian practically amounts to an avowal that there are texts of Scripture whose literal sense is meaningless<sup>(2)</sup>.

e) *Titus of Bostra*

In a fragment of the commentary of Titus of Bostra on *St. Luke* published by J. Sickenberger, a parable is defined as follows: Καὶ πρῶτον ἐκείνο λεγέσθω ὅτι διὰ παραβολῶν ἐλάλησεν ὁ κύριος, ἵνα παραστήσῃ ἡμῖν διὰ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ ἐπουράνια πράγματα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ οὐράνιος κατάστασις ἀόρατός ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀόρατα δὲ ἰδεῖν οὐ δύναμεθα, διὰ τῶν ὁρωμένων προσβιαζόμεθα πρὸς νόησιν τῶν μὴ φαινομένων<sup>(3)</sup>. Christ's purpose in speaking in parables was to lead us from earthly things to the knowledge of heavenly things. Titus expressly introduces into his definition an antithesis resembling the correlative terms τὰ αἰσθητά/τὰ νοητά which, in St. Cyril's conception, conjure up the theory of the dual world. Though difficult to explain, the resemblances between the two definitions are certainly striking.

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"Euntia iverunt ad ungendum super se regem". Quatenam enim fuerint tria ligna fructifera, nempe ficus, vitis et olea, quae detrectarunt regnare super ligna suo regimine indigna, et quis sit spinosus rhamnus, atque ignis ex illo egrediens ad devorandas cedros Libani: haec, inquam, intelligere sapientis est, et referre liceat ad Patrem et Christum et Spiritum Sanctum. (B. CORDERIUS, *Catena*..., p. 218).

(1) A. RUECKER, *Die Lukashomilien des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese*, Breslau, 1911, p. 76.

(2) "Besonders stark erinnert an Origenes die Überzeugung des Didymus, dass es in der Schrift Stellen gibt, deren wörtliches Verständnis sinnlos ist..." (J. LEIPOLDT, *Didymus der Blinde von Alexandria. Texte und Untersuchungen, zweite Reihe*, 14, 3, Leipzig, 1905, p. 58).

(3) J. SICKENBERGER, *Titus von Bostra, Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien in Texte und Untersuchungen, zweite Folge*, 21, 1, p. 211. A. RUECKER remarks: "Ueber das Wesen der Parable gibt Cyrill wiederholt deutliche An-

f) *Diodorus of Tarsus*

Discussing the nature of the serpent-tempter of *Genesis*, Diodorus of Tarsus makes some observations in which he sharply opposes enigma to allegory. The serpent, he claims, is an enigma, not an allegory. It would have been an allegory, had there been nothing present on the scene but the name. The serpent, however, was real; yet, since it is an irrational animal, the fact that it spoke proves that it acted under the influence of the devil. Scripture, the Bishop of Tarsus notes, assures us that the devil acted through the serpent<sup>(1)</sup>. The following description of enigma takes into account the elements stressed by this interpreter of Holy Writ: "an enigma is a reality belonging to the order of visible things that secretly denotes some other thing". Diodorus implies that the Lord reveals this secret meaning<sup>(2)</sup>. As far as its positive elements are concerned, his conception resembles that of Cyril, who insists on the presence of hidden meanings and on the reality of enigmas in their own order. Noteworthy is the absence of the antithesis τὸ αἰσθητόν/τὸ νοητόν, which is a constitutive note of Cyril's αἰνigma.

g) *St. Basil*

St. Basil draws attention to the fact that a special meaning is attached to the expression παροιμία in Christian circles on account of Christ's having said: Ταῦτα ἐν παροιμαῖς ὑμῖν λελάληκα (*Jn.* 16, 25). He defines it: Λόγος ὠφέλιμος, μετ' ἐπικρύψεως μετρίως ἐκδεδομένος, πολὺ μὲν τὸ αὐτόθεν χρήσιμον περιέχων, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐν βάθει τὴν διάνοιαν συγκαλύπτων<sup>(3)</sup>. The Bishop of Caesarea and St. Cyril are agreed that obscurity is essential to the παροιμία. They

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gabe die ein Verwandtschaft mit der von Titus von Bostra (zu Lk. 15, 3, Sickenberger, Titus, S. 211) verraten, wie mit jener, die Didymus (bei Corde-rius, Catena in Lucam, S. 218) gibt". (*Die Lukashomilien...*, p. 76).

(1) L. MARIÈS, *Extraits du commentaire de Diodore de Tarse sur les psaumes*, in *Recherches de science religieuse*, 9 (1919), pp. 94 f.

(2) Λέγει οὖν τὸν μὲν ὅφιν ὡς φανερόν, τὸν δὲ διάβολον λαθραῖως αἰνίττεται... Νῦν δέ, κατὰ τὸ ἀληθές, καὶ πρᾶγμα ἦν καὶ αἰνigma... Τῷ μὲν οὖν Κυρίῳ ἐξῆν σαφηνίζειν τὰ αἰνίγματα, προφήταις δὲ καὶ ἀποστόλοις αὐτὰ λέγειν τὰ πράγματα (L. MARIÈS, *art. cit.*, p. 95).

(3) *Homilia in principium Proverbiorum*, PG 31, 388 C.

concur too in recognizing that a παροιμία has a literal sense with a utility peculiar to itself<sup>(1)</sup>. However, St. Basil makes no reference to the metaphysical theory of a dual world.

#### h) *St. John Chrysostom*

St. John Chrysostom seems to associate παραβολή with αἴνιγμα<sup>(2)</sup>. However, he is interested only in their literary aspects: the adroit employment of ἔμφασις and vivid description, with a view to impressing the message contained in them on the memory<sup>(3)</sup>. The Bishop of Constantinople is conversant with the antithesis τὸ αἰσθητόν/τὸ νοητόν<sup>(4)</sup>, but makes no reference to it in his definition.

#### i) *St. Jerome*

St. Jerome makes fleeting references to the tropes of Scripture. Thus in the commentary on *Galatians* he remarks: "Allegoria proprie de arte grammatica est et quo a metaphora, vel caeteris tropis differat, in scholis parvuli discimus. Aliud praetendit in verbis, aliud significat in sensu"<sup>(5)</sup>. He informs us that St. Paul's interpretation of the Old Testament in *Gal.* 4, 16 deserves the designation "intelligentia spiritualis" rather than "allegoria"<sup>(6)</sup>. Apropos of *Ez.* 17, 1 ff. he equates "enigma" with "parabola" and ascribes obscurity and figurative language to both: "Quando prophetae dicitur '*Propone aenigma, narra parabolam*', sive ut LXX transtulerunt '*narra narrationem, et dic parabolam*', ostenditur obscurum esse quod dicitur. Nulli enim dubium, aenigma, et parabolam aliud proferre in verbis aliud tenere in sensi-

(1) Πολὺ μὲν τὸ αὐτόθεν χρήσιμον περιέχων (PG 39, 388 C).

(2) PG 57, 467.

(3) Ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐμφαντικώτερον τὸν λόγον ποιήσῃ, καὶ πλείονα τὴν μνῆμην ἐνθῇ, καὶ ὑπ' ὅψιν ἀγάγῃ τὰ πράγματα. Οὕτω καὶ οἱ προφήται ποιοῦσι, PG 57, 467.

(4) PG 55, 209.

(5) PL 26, 389 C.

(6) ... Quod intelligens Paulus apostolus (quippe qui et saeculares litteras aliqua ex parte contigerat) ipso verbo figurae usus est, ut allegoriam, sicut apud suos dicitur, appellaret: quo scilicet sensu magis loci huius graeci sermonis abusionem monstraret... Ex quibus et aliis evidens est Paulum non ignorasse litteras saeculares, et quam hic allegoriam dixit alibi vocasse intelligentiam spiritualem. (PL 26, 340).

bus" (1). In another passage Jerome, while he implies that a parable hints at the truth in an obscure manner, classifies parables with similes as the rhetoricians do: "similitudo, quae ab eo vocatur quod alteri παραβάλλεται hoc est umbra prooemiumve veritatis" (2). In conclusion, it is as a grammarian that the Latin exegete appraises the tropes of Scripture. Though he was acquainted with the antithesis τὰ αἰσθητά/τὰ νοητά (3), he does not define enigma and parable in terms of it.

### Conclusion

Of the conceptions of parable, enigma and proverb, expounded by us, those of Philo, Clement, Didymus and Titus of Bostra are closest to that of St. Cyril. As has been verified so frequently in the course of this essay, whenever the problem arises of determining the sources of St. Cyril's ideas on the spiritual sense, it is found that the influences in question were exercised by Alexandrian rather than by other factors. Now, while it is true that Titus's parable resembles Cyril's, we are at a loss to know if Titus ever applied this notion to the Old Testament. Didymus regards parable as one of the tropes of the Old Testament but not as its characteristic style. On the other hand Philo, Clement and Cyril are in agreement concerning the three constitutive elements of a parable and on the fact that parable pertains to the very style of Scripture. In all probability it is on Clement rather than on Philo that St. Cyril depends; the Jewish exegete looks principally for moral truths in his parables (4), whereas Clement and Cyril look upon parables as vehicles of Christ's mysteries.

(1) PL 25, 161 A.

(2) *Ep.* 121, 6, CSEL, 56, 23, 19 ff.

(3) Apropos of *Is.* 7, 10 f. JEROME writes: "Legi in cuiusdam commentariis hunc locum per allegoriam extenuatum, ut profundum et excelsum αἰσθητά et νοητά intelligeret, quae nos possumus *sensibilia* dicere et *intelligibilia*, quorum alterum refertur ad sensus, alterum ad mentem et rationem (PL 24, 106 B).

(4) See p. 163 and the opinions of Philo quoted in the article in question.

Art. 10. — THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE DIVINE AND HUMAN AUTHOR  
OF SCRIPTURE WITH REGARD TO THE SPIRITUAL SENSE

In this article we shall examine St. Cyril's opinions concerning the part played by the divine and human authors of Scripture with regard to the spiritual sense. As well as enabling us to compare St. Cyril's views with those of modern exponents of hermeneutics, this discussion, incidentally, throws light on the tendencies that he himself represents in the history of exegesis. These seem to point to a kind of compromise between the tenets of the schools of Alexandria and Antioch.

§ 1. — *The point of view of modern writers*

We begin our enquiry by giving a summary description of what modern hermeneutics understand by the spiritual sense. There is rather widespread agreement that it is a signification which the Holy Spirit attaches immediately, not to the words of Scripture, but to the things signified by the words. Such is the description to which Cornely-Merk <sup>(1)</sup>, Simon-Prado <sup>(2)</sup>, Fernandez <sup>(3)</sup> and Renié rally <sup>(4)</sup>. The description of F. X. Patrizi is somewhat fuller than theirs since he distinguishes between two aspects of the spiritual sense styled by him "sensus spiritualis rerum" and "sensus spiritualis verborum" respectively; the former is the foundation of the latter and is imprinted on things by the Holy Spirit, inasmuch

<sup>(1)</sup> Typicus sensus non immediate e verbis hauritur, sed immediatum eius fundamentum sunt personae vel res providentia divina ita dispositae, ut alias res vel personas significarent (typi). A sola igitur libera Dei dispositione dependet typica alicuius rei vel personae ratio et in solis Scripturis invenitur typicus sensus (CORNELY-MERK, *Introductionis in s. Scripturae libros compendium*, editio nona, Parisiis, 1927, p. 244).

<sup>(2)</sup> SIMON-PRADO, *Praelectiones biblicae ad usum scholarum. Propaedeutica biblica sive introductio in universam Scripturam*, Taurini, 1931, pp. 203 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> F. FERNANDEZ in *Institutiones biblicae scholis accommodatae*, vol. 1, editio 5a, Romae, 1937, pp. 342 and 350.

<sup>(4)</sup> "Le sens mystique est un sens caché par lequel l'Esprit-Saint exprime à l'aide des choses ou des personnes désignées par les mots des événements ou des personnes à venir" (J. RENIÉ, *Manuel d'Écriture sainte*, vol. 1, 5e éd., Lyon-Paris, 1945, p. 210).

as he is the author of all things; the latter, on the contrary, is attached to the words by the same Spirit who in this instance acts as the author of Scripture<sup>(1)</sup>. None of the above-mentioned writers make any explicit reference to the human author of Scripture; their insistence on the role of the Spirit shows by implication that they exclude the human author from the spiritual sense. This point is expressly stressed by A. M. Dubarle<sup>(2)</sup> and P. Benoît<sup>(3)</sup>. The former stipulates that the spiritual sense fulfil two conditions: 1) it must be deduced from the things immediately signified by the literal sense; 2) it must exceed the conscious intention of the human author<sup>(4)</sup>. With regard to the last-mentioned condition P. Cheminant, to mention but one writer, is inclined to think that the typical signification of some of the messianic oracles was perceived, albeit imperfectly, by the human author<sup>(5)</sup>. There is, however, a marked tendency among modern writers to reduce

(1) F. X. PATRIZI, *De interpretatione Scripturarum sacrarum*, liber 1, Romae 1844, pp. 214 f.

(2) A. M. DUBARLE, *Le sens spirituel de l'Écriture*. in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 31 (1947), p. 46.

(3) P. SYNAVE-P. BENOÎT, *Saint Thomas d'Aquin. Somme théologique. La prophétie*, Paris, 1947, p. 358 (Appendice II contributed by P. Benoît).

(4) "Le sens spirituel ne commence qu'au moment où la leçon tirée d'un texte dépasse l'intention consciente de l'auteur humain..." (P. SYNAVE-P. BENOÎT, *St. Thomas d'Aquin*,... p. 45) "...En résumé, le sens spirituel requiert deux conditions: dépasser l'horizon de l'auteur humain, résulter des réalités signifiées par le sens littéral et non des mots. Si la première manque, on a un sens littéral, quels que soient les détours par lesquels il est communiqué (métaphore, parabole, récit historique comportant une leçon etc.). Si la seconde condition fait défaut, on se trouve en présence d'un sens accommodatif ou d'une transposition allégorique..." (*ibid.*, p. 44).

(5) "J'incline plutôt à croire que dans plusieurs de ces cas, le Psalmiste et le Prophète visent, et nous font entrevoir dans une même perspective le roi d'Israël et le roi-Messie, l'avenir de la Jérusalem ancienne et la Jérusalem nouvelle (l'Eglise de la terre et du ciel), l'avenir de l'Israël selon la chair et les destinées de l'Israël selon l'esprit. Sans doute il est difficile d'affirmer que Psalmistes et Prophètes aient vu dans une lumière parfaite le Messie et l'Eglise. Pourtant ils les entrevoyaient au bout de l'horizon, il les annonçaient, et déjà, ils se réjouissent de ces jours de bonheur et de gloire. Leurs prophéties, en ces cas, visent au sens littéral tout l'avenir". (P. CHEMINANT, *Précis d'introduction à la lecture et à l'étude des saintes Écritures*, Paris, 1930, vol. 2, p. 228).

these instances to the very minimum <sup>(1)</sup>. It is symptomatic that Dom Gribomont, who defines the spiritual sense as "that towards which the intention of the hagiographer tended" <sup>(2)</sup>, commits himself to a point of view that practically avows that the intention in question is an unconscious one <sup>(3)</sup>. J. Coppens favours a partial application of the principles of the school of Antioch and seems inclined to admit that the hagiographer was conscious of the signification styled "*le sens plénier prophético-typique*"; the Professor of Louvain excludes from the hagiographer's

<sup>(1)</sup> Criticizing the school of Antioch which admitted that the hagiographers were conscious to some extent of the resemblances existing between "type" and "antitype", J. GUILLET notes: "Le type ne suppose donc pas la conscience. Bien au contraire, prophétie dans les faits, le type est normalement une prophétie inconsciente et inaperçue". *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche. Conflit ou malentendu?* (*Recherches de science religieuse*, vol. 34 (1947), p. 300).

<sup>(2)</sup> "Si le sens spirituel en effet est ce vers quoi tendait l'intention de l'hagiographè..." (J. GRIBOMONT, *Le lien des deux testaments, selon la théologie de s. Thomas in Ephemerides theologiae Lovanienses*, vol. 22 (1946), p. 78).

<sup>(3)</sup> "La conscience claire de l'auteur s'arrêtait au monde israélite contemporain. D'où pouvons-nous garantir la pénétration profonde de son intention, entraînant, dans sa subconscience, nos sens typiques? Rappelons-nous que toute la valeur religieuse du plan superficiel n'était qu'un reflet des plans profonds qu'il préparait: or, *propter quod unumquodque, et illud magis*. Dans toute la mesure donc où l'auteur considérait, de son monde, la valeur religieuse, c'est la substance profonde qu'il visait dans son analogue, l'objet contemporain, enrichi spirituellement par pure participation. Rien par conséquent n'exige ici, en plus de l'inspiration, un charisme spéciale de révélation, intervention extraordinaire de Dieu sur l'intelligence de l'hagiographe..." (J. GRIBOMONT, *Le lien des deux testaments...*, pp. 75 f.). "...Mais quand S. Thomas, avec son temps, suppose chez les prophètes une révélation beaucoup plus claire (encore que toujours imparfaite) de la valeur typologique du cadre où ils vivaient, nous ne voyons aucune nécessité à admettre a priori chez les hagiographes une vue aussi nette de l'avenir; au contraire, si les textes manifestent une perception extrêmement vive de la valeur religieuse transcendante du monde israélite, l'intérêt qu'ils continuent à lui témoigner, même sous son aspect matériel, terrestre et transitoire, tend à faire croire que les auteurs n'ont pas toujours perdu la relativité; le moins qu'on puisse dire est qu'ici rien ne nous impose les conceptions historiques des théologiens du Moyen Age, et nous n'avons aucun scrupule à nous ranger sur ce point à des positions plus modernes..." (*art. cit.*, pp. 79 f.).



consciousness what he styles "*le sens périchorétique des Écritures*" and "*le sens plénier historico-typique*" (1).

§ 2. — *The role played by the hagiographer in those passages of Scripture of which St. Cyril gives but one interpretation, namely, the spiritual*

Let us now acquaint ourselves with St. Cyril's views on these problems. A first selection of passages from his writings reveals that, in his opinion, the human authors of Scripture were conscious of the spiritual signification *at least at times*. A remark made by him in the prologue to *Osee* sounds rather like a principle of general application: "Since we are now beginning the clear explanation of the blessed prophet *Osee*, we shall say in advance some things concerning the writings of the other prophets. Because all of them whenever they spoke, were wont to fashion their words to suit the wishes of the Holy Spirit, so that they could readily ascend

(1) "... Dans les deux cas précédents, il ne semble pas que l'hagiographe s'en soit rendu compte; de par sa nature, la plénitude n'a pu être saisie qu'au terme, quand le tout fut accompli. Mais il est arrivé sans doute qu'à la lumière de l'inspiration prophétique — dépassant celle requise communément pour la simple composition des Livres saints — les auteurs sacrés aient d'avance entrevu, d'une certaine manière, le terme final de la doctrine, en pleine évolution, dont ils n'exprimaient directement qu'un jalon, qu'une étape. C'est le sens plénier, on l'aura déjà reconnu, à la manière de la "théorie" antiochienne. Nous le distinguerons du précédent en l'appelant *prophético-typique*. De cette façon tous les éléments sont de nouveau clairement désignés: la plénitude résulte d'un rapport et d'une signification typiques, non seulement dégagées *post factum* comme dans le cas précédent, à la suite d'une longue évolution historique, mais connues d'avance, antérieurement aux événements par une prise de conscience prophétique" (J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux testaments...*, p. 60 f.). In the opinion of the Professor of Louvain "*le sens périchorétique des Écritures*" is that which results when a given text is confronted and compared with several other homogeneous elements of Scripture (*ibid.*, p. 59 f.). The "*sens plénier historico-typique*" is the sense just mentioned considered more formally under the aspect of historical continuity. "Voir le sens plénier consistera donc à percevoir un texte de l'Ancien Testament dans son aspect de réalité inchoative du Nouveau, dans sa valeur de type, de figure, de symbole historico-réel, à la lumière de deux perspectives, l'une récapitulative ou exemplaire, l'autre efficiente ou évolutive, qui se recourent" (*ibid.*, p. 60).

to inner spiritual things from the literal sense" <sup>(1)</sup>. Apropos of *Amos* 8, 9 f. he notes: "These verses contain a double meaning. For the prophets are always wont to remember Christ at the end of their discourses; they give an explanation of his mystery, shadowing it with obscurities" <sup>(2)</sup>. Various incidental observations made by our author in his prologues explain more accurately these somewhat vague and general statements. Thus in the preface to *Isaias* Cyril says: "... the prophet's discourse is 'mixed' " <sup>(3)</sup>; when Israel is guilty of grave sin, he utters grave threats. Yet he introduces oracles promising good things in the future. In all instances mention is made of the Redemption to be accomplished by Christ. He says, in sooth, that at a certain time Israel will be excluded from familiarity with God and will be succeeded by countless Gentiles who will be justified through faith in Christ. Indeed, I feel inclined to crown *Isaias* not only with the charism of prophecy but also with the prerogatives of the apostles. He is at once a prophet and an apostle, and his writings share the lustre of the gospel preachings" <sup>(4)</sup>. The prologue to *Habacuc* states: "From the partial liberation the [prophet's] discourse passes gracefully to the more universal and general one, namely, the one accomplished by Christ in favour of all

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 2, 12 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 517, 11 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cyril means that the prophecy has both literal and spiritual significations.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 13 AB. Compare with St. JEROME: ... Sicque exponam Isaiam, ut illum non solum prophetam, sed evangelistam et apostolum doceam... (PL 24, 18 A); ... Nullusque putet, me voluminis istius argumentum brevi cupere sermone comprehendere: cum universa Domini sacramenta praesens Scriptura contineat: et tam natus de Virgine Emmanuel, quam illustrium patrator operum atque signorum: mortuus ac sepultus et resurgens ab inferis, et Salvator universarum gentium praedicetur... (*ibid.*, 18 Bf.); ... Neque vero, ut Montanus cum insanis feminis somniat, prophetae in ecstasi sunt locuti, ut nescierint quid loquerentur, et cum alios erudirent, ipsi ignorarent quid dicerent... etsi ipsi sciebant quid dicerent. Si enim sapientes erant prophetae, quod negare non possumus... quomodo sapientes prophetae instar brutorum animalium quid dicerent, ignorabant?... Si ergo intelligebant quae dicebant, cuncta sapientiae rationisque sunt plena. Nec aër voce pulsatus ad aures eorum perveniebat, sed Deus loquebatur in animo prophetarum... (*ibid.*, 19 Bf.).

who are redeemed by faith and have cast off the yoke of sin and have fled from Satan, that bitter and harsh master. In these remarks you have the purpose of the whole prophecy put briefly" <sup>(1)</sup>. Similar statements fall from Cyril's pen in the prologues to *Aggeus* <sup>(2)</sup>, *Zachary* <sup>(3)</sup> and *Malachy* <sup>(4)</sup>.

The passages just quoted bear ample witness to our author's conviction that spiritual objects were present to the minds of the prophets *at least on occasion*. It seems quite reasonable to affirm that whenever St. Cyril gives but one interpretation of a prophetic text, and that *the spiritual one*, the prophet was conscious of the spiritual meaning. Without being exhaustive, the following list enumerates texts of the *Minor Prophets* of which our author *de facto* proposes only a spiritual explanation: *Os.* 13, 14-15 <sup>(5)</sup>; *Joel.* 2, 27-34 <sup>(6)</sup>; *Mich.* 4, 1-2 <sup>(7)</sup>; 4, 3 <sup>(8)</sup>; 5, 2 <sup>(9)</sup>; 5, 3 <sup>(10)</sup>; 7, 14-15 <sup>(11)</sup>; 7, 18-20 <sup>(12)</sup>; *Hab.* 3 <sup>(13)</sup>; *Soph.* 3, 13 <sup>(14)</sup>; 3, 16-18 b <sup>(15)</sup>; 3, 19-20 a <sup>(16)</sup>; 3, 29 b <sup>(17)</sup>; *Agg.* 2, 7-10 <sup>(18)</sup>; 2, 20-22 <sup>(19)</sup>; *Zach.* 2, 8-13 <sup>(20)</sup>; *Zach.* 3, 8, 9 a <sup>(21)</sup>; 3, 9 b <sup>(22)</sup>; 4, 4-6 <sup>(23)</sup>; 4, 7 <sup>(24)</sup>; 4, 10 <sup>(25)</sup>;

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 70, 3 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 243, 15 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 284, 9 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 547, 27 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 271, 28 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 334, 10 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 657, 4 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 659, 14 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 674, 5 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 677, 19 ff.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Ibid.*, 730, 13 ff.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Ibid.*, 739, 6 ff.

<sup>(13)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, pp. 117-166.

<sup>(14)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 231, 22 ff.

<sup>(15)</sup> *Ibid.*, 236, 6 ff.

<sup>(16)</sup> *Ibid.*, 238, 20 ff.

<sup>(17)</sup> *Ibid.*, 240, 7 ff.

<sup>(18)</sup> *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 264, 11 ff.

<sup>(19)</sup> *Ibid.*, 277, 14 ff.

<sup>(20)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 306, 25 ff.

<sup>(21)</sup> *Ibid.*, 319, 25 ff.

<sup>(22)</sup> *Ibid.*, 323, 6 ff.

<sup>(23)</sup> *Ibid.*, 332, 13 ff.

<sup>(24)</sup> *Ibid.*, 334, 27 ff.

<sup>(25)</sup> *Ibid.*, 341, 16 ff.

4, 11-14 <sup>(1)</sup>; 8, 7-8 <sup>(2)</sup>; 8, 20-23 <sup>(3)</sup>; 9, 8 <sup>(4)</sup>; 9, 9 <sup>(5)</sup>; 9, 10 <sup>(6)</sup>; 9, 11-12 <sup>(7)</sup>; 9, 14 <sup>(8)</sup>; 9, 15-16 <sup>(9)</sup>; 9, 17 <sup>(10)</sup>; 11, 1-2 <sup>(11)</sup>; 11, 3 <sup>(12)</sup>; 11, 4-5 <sup>(13)</sup>; 11, 6-7 <sup>(14)</sup>; 11, 8-9 <sup>(15)</sup>; 11, 10-11 <sup>(16)</sup>; 11, 12-13 <sup>(17)</sup>; 11, 15-16 <sup>(18)</sup>; 11, 17 <sup>(19)</sup>; *Zach.* chapters 12 <sup>(20)</sup>, 13 <sup>(21)</sup> and 14 <sup>(22)</sup>; *Mal.* 1, 10 b-11 <sup>(23)</sup>; 3, 1 <sup>(24)</sup>; 3, 2 <sup>(25)</sup>; 3, 3 <sup>(26)</sup>; 3, 4 <sup>(27)</sup>; 4, 4-5 <sup>(28)</sup>.

We may be pardoned for asking how did the prophets acquire knowledge of objects belonging to the realm of spiritual beings. St. Cyril has an answer to this question that is worth quoting *in extenso*: "Knowledge of all things from the beginning to the end belongs to the true God alone. For all understanding is from him; he is the fount of knowledge and in him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. But if anybody is found to have knowledge of future things, he necessarily has received this gift

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 345, 5 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 386, 14 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 401, 4 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 412, 12 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 415, 6 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 417, 21 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 419, 15 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 424, 21 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 425, 20 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 427, 27 ff.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Ibid.*, 445, 19 ff.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Ibid.*, 448, 8 ff.

<sup>(13)</sup> *Ibid.*, 450, 17 ff.

<sup>(14)</sup> *Ibid.*, 453, 15 ff.

<sup>(15)</sup> *Ibid.*, 457, 23 ff.

<sup>(16)</sup> *Ibid.*, 462, 12 ff.

<sup>(17)</sup> *Ibid.*, 464, 22 ff.

<sup>(18)</sup> *Ibid.*, 469, 9 ff.

<sup>(19)</sup> *Ibid.*, 472, 17 ff.

<sup>(20)</sup> *Ibid.*, 474-497.

<sup>(21)</sup> *Ibid.*, 497-510.

<sup>(22)</sup> *Ibid.*, 511-544.

<sup>(23)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 564, 16 ff.

<sup>(24)</sup> *Ibid.*, 594, 25 ff.

<sup>(25)</sup> *Ibid.*, 597, 13 ff.

<sup>(26)</sup> *Ibid.*, 599, 10 ff.

<sup>(27)</sup> *Ibid.*, 601, 4 ff.

<sup>(28)</sup> *Ibid.*, 624, 4 ff.

from God" (1). In the case of the prophets knowledge of future things was conveyed by the channels of revelations and visions. Revelation was an illumination that imparted knowledge to them (2). At times visions were granted to them; on such occasions the events with which the revelations were concerned, were enacted before their very eyes; for example, Isaias actually beheld Christ being conducted to the Passion (*Is.* 53, 7) and Zachary contemplated the marks of the nails in Christ's hands (*Zach.* 13, 6) (3). In visions like these the hagiographers were spectators (θεωροί), in the strict sense of the word, of the events described in their oracles (4). St. Cyril tells us that knowledge of mysteries is revealed, generally speaking, to the prophets in an obscure manner and that the glimpse of God's glory conceded them expresses itself in enigmas (5). Cyril usually confines himself to statements regarding the fact that the prophets were granted visions; only rarely does he allude to the *mode of vision*. For instance apropos of *Agg.* 2, 20-22 St. Cyril observes: Ἐκ τῶν μερικῶν αἰεί πως ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ὁ προφητικός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ καθόλου καὶ γενικώτατα ποιεῖται τὴν ἐκδρομὴν. εἰ γάρ που περὶ λυτρώσεως τῆς τινων ποιοῖτο τὴν μνήμην, ἀποφοιτᾷ πολλῶς ἐπὶ τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ νῦν ὁ προφητικός ἡμῖν ὑποφαίνει λόγος (6). The oracles that immediately precede *Agg.* 2, 20 ff. consist of various exhortations bearing on the reconstruction of the temple. The passage that we have quoted insinuates that the vision of Christ's mystery, which is enjoyed by Aggeus at this juncture, occurs brusquely and in a manner which interrupts the course of the vision of historical events

(1) PG 70, 893 C.

(2) Ὅτι γέγονεν ἀποκάλυψις ἐν Ὡσηέ, καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ἡ γνώσις φωτὸς ἐνήστραψε δίκην, οὐ σώματος ὀφθαλμοῦς, ἀλλὰ νοῦν καὶ καρδίαν καταλαμπρύνοντος (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 14, 18 ff.).

(3) ...Ἐμφανῆ γὰρ τοῖς ἁγίοις προφήταις κατέστησεν ὁ Θεὸς ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἀποκαλύψει μονονουχὶ καὶ αὐτὰ παρόντα τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε δοκεῖν καὶ ὁρατοὺς ἦδη πως γενέσθαι τοὺς λόγους, συνθεοῦσης τάχα που τῆς τῶν ἐκβησομένων θέας, οἷς ἂν λέγῃ Θεός (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 368, 13 ff.); See also *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 642, 9 ff.; the examples of *Is.* 53, 7 and *Zach.* 13, 6 occur in this passage.

(4) PG 70, 13 C.

(5) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 14, 5 ff.; PG 70, 600 C.

(6) *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 277, 14-19.

that he was up to then experiencing. The substantive ἐκδρομή seems to indicate that at this point an abrupt change occurs in the prophet's perspective; this impression is confirmed by the prepositions ἐκ ... ἐπί, which suggest that the prophet transfers his gaze from one set of objects to another. Other passages corroborate this interpretation. Thus apropos of *Is.* 45, 8 Cyril notes: "Ἔθος καὶ μελέτη πλεισταχοῦ τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ Γραφῇ διεξάγειν τοὺς λόγους ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα τε καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπὶ τισι γεγονότων εἰς τὸ καθόλου καὶ ἐπὶ πάντες... (1). The διήγημα μερικόν, to which our author alludes, consists of the preceding predictions which deal with the defeat that Cyrus inflicted on the Babylonians and the subsequent release of the Jews from captivity (2). The prophetic discourse changes over to Christ who is appointed by God the Father "to grant liberation to captives, to give sight to the blind, to snatch from evil sinners who are inescapably held fast by the chains of their own sins, to free them from the tyranny of the devil and to cause the inhabitants of the earth to return to him once more..." (3).

An examination of the oracles of the *Minor Prophets* listed overleaf of which St. Cyril gives but a spiritual interpretation, provides further cumulative evidence that the spiritual signification attached by our author to the texts in question is to be traced to the *hagiographer himself*. For example, St. Cyril expressly includes the spiritual meaning in the *prophet's* σκοπός (4). The verbs used by him to describe the literary activities of the hagiographer imply that the latter is the *conscious author* of the spiritual sense (5). Indeed, it is the prophet himself who expresses

(1) PG 70, 953 D.

(2) *Ibid.*, 956 A.

(3) Μεθίστησι δὲ λοιπὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη Ἑμμανουήλ (PG 70, 956 A). Cyril makes similar observations in other commentaries: Ὡς πότε μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας ... ἀναφαιτῶν εὐκόλως εἰς τὰ ἐσώτατα καὶ πνευματικὰ (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 2, 15 f.); Ἔθος τοῖς ἀγίοις προφήταις ἐκ τῶν κατὰ μέρος, καὶ ὡς πρὸς ὀλίγους ἀγαθῶν, ἐκκομίζειν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ καθόλου τε καὶ γενικώτερα (*Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 330, 6 ff.); Ἐρπεί δὲ ὁ λόγος ὡς ἐκ μερικοῦ παραδείγματος ἐπὶ τὸ καθόλου καὶ γενικώτατον (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 419, 7 ff.).

(4) Σκοπὸς τῷ προφήτῃ... (*Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 143, 14); *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 498, 11 ff.; *ibid.*, 512, 4 ff.

(5) Ἐπαγγέλλεται... (*Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 334, 10); *ibid.*, 335.

τά νοητά in terms of αἰσθητὰ πράγματα, the meaning of which is generally obscure (<sup>1</sup>) but can be clear at times (<sup>2</sup>).

§ 3. — *The role played by the hagiographer in the spiritual sense of texts of which St. Cyril admits both a literal and a spiritual signification*

Postponing an appraisal of the data just reviewed until later, let us extend our investigations to passages of Holy Writ of which St. Cyril actually gives both an historical and a spiritual interpretation.

There is no gainsaying that, in certain instances at least, St. Cyril regards the spiritual signification as pertaining to the objective structure of Scripture itself. Quite instructive in this respect are the formulae sometimes employed by him to introduce a literal and a spiritual explanation apropos of the same scriptural passage: Ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος διττὴν ὀδίνει τὴν θεωρίαν and διττὴν ὀδίνει τὴν διάνοιαν (<sup>3</sup>). These formulae surely ascribe the same degree of objectivity to both senses of Scripture. One is not more foreign to the biblical text than the other.

More striking still are his remarks on the σκοπός of Scripture: Ἄπας οὖν, ὡς ζῶντα, τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς ὁ σκοπὸς εἰς τὸ Χριστοῦ βλέπει μυστήριον (<sup>4</sup>); Σκοπὸς τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ Γραφῇ τὸ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον διὰ μυρίων ὅσων ἡμῖν κατασημῆναι πραγμάτων (<sup>5</sup>). St. Cyril employs the expression σκοπός to designate the conscious inten-

(<sup>1</sup>) Compare *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 338, 24 ff. with *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 145, 16. See also *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 138, 25; 162, 22 f.; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 335, 5 f.; 418, 1; 521, 20 ff.

(<sup>2</sup>) Ἐναργῶς (*Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 334, 10; *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 658, 17; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 325, 13; *Comment. on Mich.* PUSEY I, 657, 4).

(<sup>3</sup>) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 25, 6 f. According to St. Cyril the text has two meanings, the one historical the other spiritual; both are included in the σκοπός of Osee. See also *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 517, 11; our author expounds the literal sense on pp. 517, 15-519, 6 and the spiritual sense on pp. 519, 9-521, 22. In the usage of St. Cyril the verb ὀδίνειν has frequently an exegetical connotation: PG 69, 149 B; 344 B; 556 C; 72, 564 A etc.

(<sup>4</sup>) PG 68, 268 A.

(<sup>5</sup>) PG 69, 308 C.

tion that guided him while he composed his writings <sup>(1)</sup>. We now learn that the spiritual signification is included in the very σκοπός of Scripture. It is not therefore a mere subjective interpretation excogitated by a commentator. Inasmuch as embraced by the conscious purpose of Scripture, it is no less real and objective than the σκοπός itself. Not satisfied with a generic affirmation, St. Cyril takes care to assure his readers that the spiritual sense is included in the σκοπός of particular texts. For instance, he characterizes the message of the prophet *Habacuc* as follows: 'Επεὶ τοι τῆς προφητείας τὸν σκοπὸν διττὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν θεωρίαν ὀδίνοντα κατίδοι τις ἄν, πνευματικὴν τε ἅμα καὶ ἱστορικὴν <sup>(2)</sup>. Referring to his brief treatment of the 'spiritual sense of *Num.* 12, 1-15 our author remarks: 'Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἐν ὀλίγοις εἰπεῖν ὅλως ἐν τούτοις ὁ τῶν προκειμένων διανένευκε σκοπός <sup>(3)</sup>. With reference to the spiritual interpretation that he gives of *Is.* 23, 14 f. Cyril notes: 'Επειδὴ δὲ χρὴ κατὰ νοῦν ἰέναι τὸν λόγον, καὶ τῆς προφητικῆς ἀκριβείας ἀπογυμνοῦν τὸν σκοπὸν, ἔκεινό φαμεν ἀναγκαίως <sup>(4)</sup>. Other examples are not less instructive <sup>(5)</sup>. It is important to note

<sup>(1)</sup> In PG 69, 16 A σκοπός denotes the aim that St. Cyril had in view when writing *Glaphyra*; in 69, 71 A σκοπός designates the purpose he set himself to actuate when composing his treatise on Abraham and Melchisedech. In 69, 388 D σκοπός denotes the intention that guided him when writing *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 68, 11 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 593 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 581 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> 'Εφαρμόσειεν ἄν... καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ (it is thus that St. Cyril refers to the spiritual explanation of *Gen.* 49, 21 (PG 69, 369 C)); 'Ο τῆς προφητείας ὀδίνει σκοπός (PG 69, 344 B = *Gen.* 49, 5-7); Τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ... θεωρίας ὁ σκοπός (Cyril here alludes to the purpose of the spiritual signification of the books of the Pentateuch examined by him in *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* (PG 69, 385 B)); Τὸν τοῦ νόμου σκοπὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον μεταπλάττωμεν (PG 69, 584 B); Οὗτος μὲν οὖν τοῦ προκειμένου ἡμῖν ὁ σκοπός (Cyril uses these words with reference to the spiritual signification of *Is.* 45, 8 (PG 70, 956 BC)); Αἰτιῶτο δ' ἂν οἱμαί τις οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ λοιπὸν τὸν τοῦ προφήτου σκοπὸν (Cyril here alludes to the spiritual signification of the gesture described in *Os.* 1, 3 f. (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 22, 13 f.)); Εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἔλοιτο καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους τὴν ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων διάνοιαν ἀποφέρειν, οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ βαδιεῖται (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 433, 18 ff.); *Comment. on Jonas*, PUSEY I, 562, 5-11; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 143, 14-16; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 430, 16 ff.



that in the usage of St. Cyril σκοπός, when applied to Scripture, denotes not only its purpose but also its field of vision; that is implied by the use of the verb βλέπω as the predicate of σκοπός<sup>(1)</sup>.

The instances discussed so far prove that St. Cyril regards the spiritual sense as an objective sense of Scripture. A question now arises: to which author of Scripture, God, the hagiographer, or both, does St. Cyril ascribe the spiritual sense in the case of passages of Holy Writ in which he recognizes the existence of an historical as well as a spiritual meaning?

To begin with, the spiritual sense must certainly be ascribed to God as its author. If the spiritual sense belongs to the σκοπός of Scripture, it is because God himself has so arranged things. We have already quoted a text which shows that, in the opinion of St. Cyril, all knowledge of the future is derived from God<sup>(2)</sup>. This principle is applicable to the spiritual meanings of the Old Testament seeing that they all envisage the future. The following passage formally describes the role that God assumes in regard to the spiritual sense: "The inspired Scripture '*by many degrees and in many ways*' (Hebr. 1, 1) described beforehand the types of the salvation to be accomplished by Christ, bringing considerable profit to readers in consequence. As those who are skilled in the art of painting, make use of decorations that involve the use of various colours — bringing the shadows to clearer vision and then toning them down considerably so as to make an agreeable picture — so too did the wise Artificer of all things, namely, God announce beforehand in subtle fashion the beauty of the mystery by so many various glories, so that those undergoing instruction might be enabled to receive the truth. This entailed their regarding all these things as enigmas as well as making prudent use of the anticipated instruction (προκατήχρησις καὶ προεισβολή)

(1) PG 70, 372 C; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 8, 14 f.; *Comment. on Abdias*, PUSEY I, 548, 20 ff.; *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 3, 17 f.; PG 70, 1280 A. These texts are quoted *in extenso* on p. 38, note 7. Note the use of βλέπω in connection with the σκοπός of the spiritual sense in the following quotation: "Ἀπας οὖν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς ὁ σκοπὸς εἰς τὸ Χριστοῦ βλέπει μυστήριον (PG 68, 268 A).

(2) PG 70, 893 C. See p. 222, note 3.

furnished by them" (1). This principle is of universal import: the spiritual interpretations of the Old Testament are to be ascribed to God; it was he who attached to the events of the old dispensation the quality of enigma that described in advance the glories of Christ's mystery; it was he who arranged that they be recorded in the inspired Scripture so as to serve as a προκατήχησις and προεισβολή for subsequent generations.

Texts are not wholly lacking which prove that, at times, St. Cyril includes the spiritual sense in the field of vision of the human author. For example, he claims that in the prophecy concerning Simeon and Levi (*Gen.* 49, 4-7) Jacob's real scope was not "to predict that a deed already accomplished would happen again, but rather to emphasize that the crime committed at Sichima by the two brothers prefigured the crimes which the Jews were destined to commit against Christ and the apostles" (2). The spiritual sense of *Is.* 11, 12 is explicitly attributed to the conscious intention of Isaias himself (3). At the conclusion of his historical explanation of *Os.* 4, 1f., St. Cyril speaks as if Osee himself were the author of the spiritual signification expounded there: "Εἶπκε δὲ πάλιν ὁ μακάριος προφήτης μυστικωτέραν ποιεῖσθαι ἡμῖν τὴν ἀφήγησιν, καὶ καταιτιᾶσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰς Χριστὸν παροινίαις, καὶ μαιφονίαις ταῖς εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἁγίου (4).

The veneration in which Origen holds Moses, whom he describes as "having seen all heavenly mysteries but giving to the peo-

(1) PG 69, 225 C. In the prologue to the commentary on the *Psalter* recently published by CARDINAL MERCATI the spiritual significations of the *Psalter* are expressly ascribed by Cyril to the σκοπός of the Holy Spirit: καὶ ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς πᾶν ὅπερ ἐστὶν εἰς ὀνησὶν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν τελοῦν τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις, τοῦτο σαφῶς τε καὶ ἀπλᾶνως καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀφηγηῖσθαι σκοπὸς αὐτῇ (*Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio di Origene, Ippolito, Eusebio, Cyrillo Alessandrino e altri, con frammenti inediti*, Città del Vaticano, 1948, p. 141, 26 ff.).

(2) Notice how St. Cyril draws attention to the σκοπός of the person who uttered the prediction envisaged in the context (ὁ τοῦ δικαίου σκοπός (PG 70, 332 B)).

(3) Γέγονε δὲ τῷ προφῆτῃ σκοπός, ὡς ἐκ πραγμάτων ἐμφανεστέρων καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῖς πάλαι συμβεβηκότων τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιδημίας καταδείξαι τὰ κατορθώματα (PG 70, 332 B).

(4) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 92, 19 f.

ple only the types and images of what he had seen" <sup>(1)</sup>, reappears in the writings of St. Cyril. According to our author the great lawgiver wrote down for our benefit all the things that God spoke to him because he was conscious of being "led by the illumination of the Spirit to knowledge of future things" <sup>(2)</sup>. The Patriarch of Alexandria credits Moses with knowing Christ's incomparable glory, excellence and power as Saviour. In his opinion Moses actually saw (βλέπων): "enemies falling, death weakening, Satan (the one-time unbeatable dragon) already conquered and fleeing, the mouth of sin being stopped up, lepers being cleansed, demons in the act of shouting aloud and the sea being calmed at a word" <sup>(3)</sup>. In virtue of his foreknowledge the Jewish legislator could describe Christ "as the one who could instruct his hearers accurately and elegantly about God and impart such instruction readily to the whole earth" <sup>(4)</sup>. Moses was not unaware of the fact that the law justified nobody; on the contrary, he knew that Christ would liberate the world from its chains — that he would sanctify believers with his own blood and make them victorious over death and corruption and introduce them into the Church <sup>(5)</sup>. Even the types of the churches were shown to him <sup>(6)</sup>. Moses too was fully aware of the symbolism of his own actions: for example, the twelve

<sup>(1)</sup> Ipsa enim coelestia Moyses vidisse describitur, typos autem et imagines eorum quae viderat populo tradidisse (*In Lev. hom.* 13, 1, GCS, 29, 467, 20 f.); Hoc fuit mysterium quod postea futurum, iam tunc ille qui populum vastabat, expavit. Agnoscebat enim figuras batilli, et ignis, et incensi: et qualis offerenda esset Deo hostia ab eo, qui medius mortuorum vivorumque constiterat, praevidebat. Et illos quidem tunc imago praefigurata salvavit, ad nos autem salutis veritas ipsa pervenit. (*In Num. hom.* 9, 5, GCS, 30, 60, 28 f.). In his commentary on *St. John* Origen shows that he is fully aware that all do not credit Moses and the prophets with seeing Christ's glory (*In Ioh. com.* 13, 46, GCS, 21, 274-275). See H. DE LUBAC, *Origène. Homélie sur l'Exode...*, pp. 38 f.; J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche...*, p. 288.

<sup>(2)</sup> Τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος φωταγωγία πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων γνῶσιν (PG 69, 517 C).

<sup>(3)</sup> Οὐκ ἠγγόνησεν ὁ Μωσῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὴν δόξαν (PG 69, 673 A).

<sup>(4)</sup> Τοιγάρτοι προγινώσκων ὁ θεσπέσιος Μωσῆς... (PG 68, 252 B).

<sup>(5)</sup> St. Cyril repeats with insistence Οὐκ ἠγγόνησεν οὐτ... (PG 69, 673 A). See note 2.

<sup>(6)</sup> Παρεδείχθη γάρ τοι τῷ μακαρίῳ Μωσῇ τύπος, ὡς ἔφην τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν... (PG 68, 596 C).

stones that he erected for the twelve tribes of Israel constituted an exhortation that reminded the Israelites long in advance that the Church of Christ was the region that best suited them <sup>(1)</sup>; by veiling his face he intimated to the *νουνεχέστεροι* that the truth is within the law and that the shadow is but a mask <sup>(2)</sup>; his getting up early and his fatiguing ascent of the mountain typified Christ's offering of himself as a holocaust on our behalf <sup>(3)</sup>; by transferring his own tent outside the camp Moses showed that Christ would abandon the Jews <sup>(4)</sup>. Moses knew beforehand the signification of the descent of the Spirit on the seventy <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril credits him also with knowing the inner meanings of some of his own statements: the prescriptions of *Ex.* 19, 10, 15 deal with the need of purification by water and mortification of carnal desires <sup>(6)</sup>; the regulations of *Lev.* 14, 4 concerning the two birds describe how Christ's two natures unite to form but one person <sup>(7)</sup>; *Dt.* 31, 7 describes Christ's good deeds <sup>(8)</sup>; *Dt.* 31, 8 bears witness to Moses's conviction that the Father will fully collaborate with the Son made man <sup>(9)</sup>.

In the opinion of Theodore of Mopsuestia, David, who had lived in anticipation all the history of his people, was the greatest figure of the Old Testament; Origen, on the contrary, claims this distinction for Moses, the man who had seen the glory of God <sup>(10)</sup>. St. Cyril seems to place both of these biblical personages on a par; certainly the esteem in which he holds David the Psalmist is not inferior to the good opinion which he entertains of Moses. This

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 520 C. See 517 A. The illumination conferred on Moses by the Spirit showed him that his actions typified in advance Christ's own actions.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 666 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 522 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 532 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> Πλὴν ἐγγεγῆται ὁ Μωσῆς προεγνωκώς τὸ μυστήριον (PG 69, 466 B).

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 540 B.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 560 C.

<sup>(8)</sup> Ὅρα τοίνυν τοῦ νόμου τὴν προαγγέουσιν... (PG 69, 672 Df.).

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 69, 673 Bf. Other examples are: *Dt.* 27, 1-8 intimates that Moses was aware that the teachers of the New Testament would give a clearer interpretation of his own words, since they would explain it more spiritually (PG 69, 666 B). *Dt.* 31, 6 alludes αἰνιγματωδῶς to the abrogation of the law (PG 69, 677 B).

<sup>(10)</sup> J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche...*, p. 288.

is eloquently affirmed in the prologue to his commentary on the *Psalter*, the complete text of which has been published recently by Cardinal Mercati<sup>(1)</sup>; St. Cyril claims that, in the *Psalter*, David foretold everything from beginning to end: Christ, his life and doctrine and the events recorded in the New Testament<sup>(2)</sup> and he promises to elucidate these traits in detail in his explanations of individual *Psalms*. The fact that many of the fragments on the *Psalms*, that have been published under Cyril's name, are of dubious authenticity prevents our using them in this study. We shall quote instead from his other writings in which he ascribes expressly to David several spiritual interpretations<sup>(3)</sup>. The point that interests us most at present is the fact that in not a few instances Cyril implies that the Psalmist had *foreknowledge* of these

(1) G. Card. MERCATI, *Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio...*, pp. 132f).

(2) Ἐξαίρετως γε μὴν ἡ τῆς μελωδίας συγγραφὴ μονονουχὶ καὶ καταμεθύει τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν σωτήρος Χριστοῦ διηγήμασι, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως μυστήριον λεπτῶς τε καὶ κατεργημένως προαναφωνεῖ παραλιμπάνουσα τῶν γεγονότων τὸ σύμπαν οὐδέν (G. MERCATI, *op. cit.*, p. 140, 14-17). A few lines further on Cyril ascribes foreknowledge of Christ's mystery to David: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι προφήτης ὑπάρχων ὁ θεσπέσιος Δαυὶδ καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὄραφ ὥμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ καθίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, καθὼς γέγραπται, τοῖς περὶ Χριστοῦ διηγήμασιν ἐμφιλοχωρεῖ... (*ibid.*, p. 141, 30 ff.).

(3) Ὅτι προφήτης ἐν πνεύματι λαλεῖν μελετήσας μυστήρια, τὸ πρόσωπον ἡμῖν ὑποκρίνεται τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰσφέρει παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀκούοντα αὐτόν «Υἱός μου εἰ σὺ» καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα (apropos of Ps. 2, 7 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 51)); τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τὸ μυστήριον ὡς ἐν καιρῷ καθήκοντι πληροῦσθαι λοιπὸν παρεκάλει λέγων ὁ μακάριος Δαυεὶδ κ. τ. λ. (apropos of Ps. 9, 22 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 394)). Other examples are: Ps. 15, 5 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 384); Ps. 16, 14 (*Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 157); Ps. 17, 29 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 98, 30 ff.); Ps. 20, 10-12 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 177); Ps. 24, 19 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 605); Ps. 25, 2 (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 466); Ps. 26, 10 (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 274); Ps. 26, 12 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 210); Ps. 30, 16 (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 123); Ps. 34, 11 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 210); Ps. 39, 7-9 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 519); Ps. 40, 10 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 365 f.); Ps. 65, 7 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 582); Ps. 67, 29 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 376); Ps. 68, 24 (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 520); Ps. 73, 13, 14 (*Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY I, 206); Ps. 83, 5 (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 437); Ps. 108, 6 (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II 315); Ps. 110, 3 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 19 f.; 48); Ps. 113, 17 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY I, 95, 366 f.) etc.

significations. Thus, citing *Ps.* 49, 1 as a proof that the gospel would be preached everywhere, the Patriarch of Alexandria notes: Καὶ τοῦτο εἰδὼς ὁ μακάριος ἔφη Δαβίδ (¹). Apropos of *Ps.* 118, 24, quoted by our author as containing a reference to Christ's coming, he writes: Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος μελωδὸς ἡμέραν ὥσπερ εἰδὼς τὸν τριπόθετον τῆς ἐπιδημίας αὐτοῦ καιρὸν, προαναφώνει λέγων ἐν Πνεύματι "Αὔτη..." (²). Apropos of *Ps.* 8 St. Cyril remarks: "David knew as a prophet that Christ, in accordance with the infallible divine promise, would be born 'out of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh' (*Acts.* 2, 30). He knew as well that Christ, being God by nature, would descend to our plane for a time. Hence in *Ps.* 8 David converses with and addresses his words to Christ as to man and God at one and the same time, since he was aware that the Being who existed in the two natures was one God" (³). Another quotation: "In addressing the natural Son of God the Father with the words 'You loved justice and hated iniquity, hence God, thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness above your participators' (*Ps.* 44, 8), David perceived the deep mystery of the Incarnation" (⁴).

At this juncture other questions arise: may the instances of illumination and special insight into deeper meanings of Scripture, (which Moses, David and the prophets certainly possessed on occasions) be generalized? Were the hagiographers endowed with this faculty more frequently than in the instances *expressly* mentioned by St. Cyril? To this question our exegete gives no direct answer. It is true that an affirmation such as Εἰς αὐτὸν [*i. e.*, Χριστὸν] οἶμαί σου παντὸς ὁρῶντος καὶ τετραμμένου προφητικοῦ τε καὶ νομικοῦ θεσπίσματος (⁵) is susceptible of a most extensive interpretation which might plausibly embrace all the spiritual meanings that he himself discovers in the Bible. We shall refrain, however, from pushing this statement to its logical consequences and content ourselves with saying that in St. Cyril's opinion the human

(¹) *Comment. on Jonas*, PUSEY I, 563, 12.

(²) *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 129.

(³) Ἦδει ὡς προφῆτης ὁ θεσπέσιος Δαβίδ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀψευδῆ τε καὶ θεῖαν ὑπόσχεν (*Comment. on St. John*, III, 387, 15 ff.).

(⁴) *Fragment on Hebr.* 1, 9 (*Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 376, 18 ff.).

(⁵) PG 68, 140 B.

authors of Scripture were *frequently* aware of the spiritual signification of their words.

It is to be borne in mind that the Patriarch of Alexandria never once ascribes his moralizing interpretations either to God or the human author of Scripture. Is that tantamount to claiming that he regarded them merely as speculations of his own and not as objective significations of Holy Writ? Perhaps it is wiser not to indulge in surmises on topics about which St. Cyril himself is silent. Even though he assigned the objects, with which these explanations deal, to the category of τὰ πνευματικά<sup>(1)</sup> and held that the processes leading the interpreter to the discovery of such meanings were accompanied by the aid of the Holy Spirit<sup>(2)</sup>, he could hardly have failed to notice that the meanings in question were adaptations established by himself rather than by the authors of Scripture.

St. Cyril does not sponsor the opinion that every single detail of Scripture yields a spiritual signification. As we shall see presently, he lays down rules of interpretation intended to curb the exuberance and fancifulness of would-be exegetes<sup>(3)</sup>. If we transpose these norms from the subjective to the objective plane, it is evident that not everything recorded in the narrative and legislative parts of the Old Testament gives rise to spiritual meanings; that is a prerogative which is reserved exclusively to those elements that are capable of being linked up with Christ's mystery. It was to these elements that the gift of spiritual insight (which was granted to the hagiographers at least occasionally) was directed. The enlightenment then conferred on them showed them that the realities of history and the precepts of the law, on which they were concentrating, stood in the relation of types and shadows to the higher spiritual realities<sup>(4)</sup>.

(1) See pp. 163 ff.

(2) See pp. 186 ff.

(3) PG 69, 137 C; *Prologue to Jonas*, PUSEY I, 562 ff... See pp. 367 ff.

(4) Moses typified Christ's holocaust in advance precisely because he had been illumined previously by the Holy Ghost (PG 69, 517 B). The verb used St. Cyril is προανατυπῶν; this expression introduces us immediately to the term τύπος and its cognate terms. See also PG 69, 612 B: Moses (*i. e.*, the force of the "legal letters") led in advance the more instructed and the more intellectually gifted to an accurate perception of the things promised

There is no doubt that Cyril regards this insight as vision in the instance of oracles that admit only of a spiritual signification. Such a vision is designated occasionally by the technical expression *θεωρία* <sup>(1)</sup>. He seems to discover something analogous to vision in the insight which enabled the hagiographers to perceive realities transcending those designated by the literal sense. Does he not speak of an illumination conferred on them by the Spirit? <sup>(2)</sup>. Do not the verbs used to describe their psychological state convey the meaning "to see", "to behold"? <sup>(3)</sup>.

These observations enable us to explain the preference that St. Cyril shows for the expression *θεωρία πνευματική* as a designation of the spiritual sense (understood objectively as an utterance of Scripture itself). The word *θεωρία* reminds us that the realities with which the spiritual sense is concerned were attained

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by God. Types and shadows were employed by him as a means to achieve this end.

Osee took Gomer to wife and thus became a τύπος of the relations existing between God and the idolatrous Israelities (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 24, 26 ff.). It is to be inferred that the revelation granted to the prophet (*ibid.*, 13, 25 ff.) made him conscious of the typical aspect of his deed.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 642, 9 f.; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 91, 11 ff. Cyril uses the verb *τεθεᾶσθαι* to describe the action of the prophet during the course of his visions (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 291, 17, 28 and 303, 7).

<sup>(2)</sup> Τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος φωταγωγία πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων προηγούμενος γνῶσιν (PG 69, 517 C).

<sup>(3)</sup> Moses in the act of uttering *Num.* 11, 29 is described as Ὁ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προανθρῶν μυστήριον (PG 69, 466 A). The participle used certainly implies some kind of vision. In PG 69, 673 A St. Cyril says that Moses "saw" (βλέπων) various phases of the Redemption. A last example: Cyril describes as follows the psychological state of David that is reflected in *Ps.* 8, 5: "Accordingly, David, beholding (βλέπων) the Son become man and riding on the ass, and reflecting in his mind that he is seen to have descended to such a degree of meanness (although he is God by nature), wonders the-reat; seeing (ὁρῶν), too, that the reason of the κένωσις was nothing else than ourselves alone (whom it was necessary to free from corruption and sin and to snatch away from tyrannical hands (i.e. those of the devil)), he deems the mystery of the οικονομία with the flesh worthy of admiration. Hence he says: Κύριε .. (*Fragment on Hebr.* 2, 9, *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY III, 388, 11 ff.).



by the hagiographer in the course of a vision; the qualifying adjective *πνευματική* points to the fact that the realities themselves belong to the category of *τὰ πνευματικά* and that the human author's vision of them is to be ascribed on last analysis to aids given to him by the Holy Spirit.

§ 4. — *St. Cyril's views compared with those of exegetes new and old*

From the opinions held by modern writers concerning the spiritual sense that of St. Cyril differs chiefly in that he not only includes it in the horizon of the human author <sup>(1)</sup>, but also claims that the human authors were frequently conscious of it <sup>(2)</sup>. Again, while modern writers agree that the spiritual signification is a "*sensus Spiritus sancti*" they seem determined to admit very few instances of it in the concrete <sup>(3)</sup>, thereby contradicting Cyril's claim that God selected "countless" items of the Old Testament as enigmas, types and shadows of Christ's mystery <sup>(4)</sup>. We should not lose sight of the fact that the terminology of modern writers is not the same as that of St. Cyril. For them the distinction between the literal sense and the spiritual sense resides principally in the *modus significandi*; the literal sense is *derived immediately from the words*, whereas the spiritual sense is derived from *the things connoted by the words*. In the opinion of St. Cyril the distinction between both senses of Scripture resides chiefly *in the natures of the objects envisaged by them*; the objects of the literal sense are *τὰ αἰσθητά*, whereas those of the spiritual sense are *τὰ πνευματικά*. The reader will recall the numerous passages of which St. Cyril gives

<sup>(1)</sup> See the opinion of A. M. DUBARLE (p. 216).

<sup>(2)</sup> See the opinion of J. GUILLET (p. 217, note 1).

<sup>(3)</sup> C. SPICQ totally disagrees with the contention of A. M. Dubarle that the examples of typical exegesis, in which some of the writers of the New Testament indulge at times, are an invitation to others to imitate their lead (within the limits, of course, stipulated by Père Dubarle). "Mais nous ne sommes pas convaincus que l'usage allégorique de l'A. T. par s. Paul, par exemple, puisse fournir les éléments d'une règle herméneutique valable pour le bibliste... Certes l'interprétation spirituelle de l'A. T. par s. Paul fait autorité pour les textes déterminés où elle s'applique mais on n'en saurait tirer des règles générales". (*Bulletin de théologie biblique in Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, t. 32 (1948), p. 92).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 225 C. See p. 226.

only a spiritual interpretation <sup>(1)</sup>. The signification in question is spiritual because in St. Cyril's system the objects dealt with belong to the category of τὰ πνευματικά; in the instances in point the words of the hagiographer as well as the symbols employed by him have no *raison d'être* other than that of being the vehicle of these meanings. Modern writers, infinitely less interested than him in the problem of the different natures of things, would experience little difficulty in ascribing the designation "literal" to these explanations of St. Cyril <sup>(2)</sup>.

Comparing the points of view of Origen on the one hand with those of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the other, J. Guillet has tried to give a fresh presentation of the differences that separate the school of Alexandria from that of Antioch <sup>(3)</sup>. Both schools, this author claims, admit the typical character of the Old Testament. Yet they differ with regard to accent; for example, Antioch stresses the prophetic aspect of the types of the Old Testament, whereas Alexandria underlines their symbolical aspect and spiritual content <sup>(4)</sup>. Origen does not altogether neglect the prophetic aspect of the Old Testament. Withal, he regards prophecy more as a vision of Christ's glory than as a view of future things <sup>(5)</sup>. When interpreting types he is much more interested in the meaning they have in the total drama than the partial signification they possess at successive moments of biblical history <sup>(6)</sup>. This religious or mystical aspect of prophetic experience causes Origen to ascend to a spiritual plane on which the Old Testament is no longer a simple outline of the New Testament but is rather a realization, already commenced, of the Christian mystery <sup>(7)</sup>. On this plane concepts

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 220 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> See Père Dubarle's views on the literal sense (p. 37 note 5). The following opinion of another modern writer is quite relevant: ...Hinc provenit quod sensus realis *symbolicus* communiter ad sensum litteralem referatur, et ubi de sensu reali agitur ad solum typicum oratio contrahatur (SIMON-PRADO, *Praelectiones biblicae ad usum scholarum, Propaedeutica biblica...*, p. 204).

<sup>(3)</sup> J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche...*, pp. 257-302.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 287 f. See also H. DE LUBAC, *Histoire et Esprit*, pp. 261-267.

<sup>(6)</sup> J. GUILLET, *art. cit.*, p. 297.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291, n. 87.

and images are symbols which translate the mysteries of the divine action in a manner that is always deficient <sup>(1)</sup>. All the details of the Old Testament participate in the nature of types <sup>(2)</sup>. An altogether different approach to the Old Testament characterizes the Antiochians. Deeply interested in the realities of history, they are keen on delineating the physiognomy peculiar both to each successive scene and to the actors who play parts in it <sup>(3)</sup>. As well as reducing considerably the number of Origen's types <sup>(4)</sup>, they are inclined to regard those retained as indirect prophecies <sup>(5)</sup>. This tendency leads them to connect types in some way or other

(1) " Pour employer une image trop matérielle pour être juste, tandis que les exégètes d'Antioche, attentifs au déroulement horizontal du temps, voient dans la prophétie un devancement miraculeux de l'avenir, Origène y voit surtout une ascension spirituelle un dépassement vertical élevant l'homme jusqu'aux hauteurs de Dieu... Il faut retenir cet aspect religieux, sinon proprement " mystique " de l'expérience prophétique chez Origène. Nous sommes ici sur un plan spirituel, où les images et les concepts n'ont jamais qu'une valeur " allégorique " et traduisent de manière toujours déficiente les mystères de l'action divine. Néanmoins la pensée fondamentale d'Origène est nette : l'histoire du monde, et la destinée exceptionnelle d'Israël, représentant de toute l'humanité a pour centre unique la révélation du Christ " (J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche...*, p. 287 f.).

(2) " Que les prophètes aient eu, ou non, conscience de la réalité définitive que signifieraient les symboles qu'ils énonçaient, c'est pour Origène un sujet libre de discussion. Sur l'essentiel il n'y a aucun doute; tous les détails de l'Ancien Testament sont des figures du mystère chrétien " (J. GUILLET, *art. cit.*, p. 288, note 84).

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 297.

(4) "... Tout aussi convaincue qu'Alexandrie que Jésus-Christ est le centre de l'Ancien Testament, Antioche cependant ne se croit autorisée à le reconnaître qu'à des signes certains. Le nombre des types authentiques du Sauveur est chez elle restreint. Il n'y a typisme que s'il y a ressemblance marquée... Là où les analogies sont claires, le Christ est désigné. Mais si elles s'estompent, impossible de voir les types... " (*ibid.*, p. 275).

(5) "... La prophétie indirecte est pour Théodore le type véritable et le type joue dans son exégèse un rôle important. ... " (*ibid.*, 279). " La formule de saint Jean Chrysostome, qu'après la tradition consacrerait saint Thomas: *prophetia est typus in verbis... typus est prophetia in rebus* (KIHN, *op. cit.*, p. 510), traduit bien l'esprit d'Antioche. Le type est un espèce dans le genre prophétie, et son but est, comme celui de la prophétie, une manifestation... " (*ibid.*, p. 279, note 66).

with the consciousness of the hagiographer <sup>(1)</sup> and eventually entails that they stress questions of psychology when studying prophetic vision <sup>(2)</sup>.

The traits that describe Origen's symbolism recur again in the system of St. Cyril, save that the Patriarch expressly says that not all the details of the Old Testament participate in the nature of types <sup>(3)</sup> and he not infrequently reminds his readers that prophecy is a vision of the future <sup>(4)</sup>. These two modifications of the tenets of Alexandria bring St. Cyril's system somewhat nearer to that of the Antiochians. Less interested in psychological problems than they, the Patriarch of Alexandria generally contents himself with remarks bearing on the fact that in their visions the prophets were aided by the illumination of the Holy Spirit <sup>(5)</sup>. About the nature of this vision and the manner in which the pro-

<sup>(1)</sup> J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche...*, pp. 280-285. " ... Aussi l'école d'Antioche tendait-elle à doubler la ressemblance d'un minimum de conscience... " (*ibid.*, p. 299).

<sup>(2)</sup> "... Il y a dans cette analyse du prophétisme une étroitesse certaine. Trop attachée à son aspect apologetique, trop exclusivement soucieuse de psychologie elle en ignore trop l'aspect intérieur, le contact du prophète avec Dieu... " (*ibid.*, p. 286). On Origen's lack of interest in problems concerning the psychology of the prophets see H. DE LUBAC, *Histoire et Esprit...*, pp. 299-301.

<sup>(3)</sup> See pp. 367 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> Ἐπιτρέχει τῶν ἁγίων Προφητῶν ἐσθ' ὅτε τὸν νοῦν ἀκριβῶς τῶν ἐσομένων ἢ γνῶσις, ἐναστράπτοντος τὸ χρῆμα αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 236, 16 ff.); compare with PL 25, 919 B ff.). See and compare: PG 70, 309 C with PL 24, 144 A ff.; PG 70, 388 BC with PL 24, 165 B; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 14, 5 ff. with PL 25, 822 AB; *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 357, 3 ff. with PL 25, 984 B ff.; *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 368, 15 ff. with PL 25, 989 B ff.; PUSEY I, p. 256, 5 ff. with PL 25, 1088 AB; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 70, 12 with PL 25, 1275 B ff.; PUSEY II, 91, 14 ff. with PL 25, 1288 C ff.; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 160, 22 ff. with PL 25, 1330 B ff.; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 291, 5 ff. with PL 25, 1422 A ff.; *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 548, 7 ff. with PL 25, 1545 CD.

<sup>(5)</sup> Οἱ μακάριοι προφητῆται τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος θαλασσῇ τὸν τῆς διανοίας φαιδρύνοντες ὀφθαλμόν, οὐχὶ μόνην τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων εἰσδέχονται γνῶσιν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐσθ' ὅτε τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν θέαν οἵαπερ ἐν πίνακι γραφομένην ὁρῶντες, αὐτοὶ τε κατατεθήησιν, συνδιακείσθαι τε σφισὶν αὐτοῖς ἀναπειθουσι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, τὰς τῶν ὁράσεων δυνάμεις διατρανοῦν εἰ μάλᾳ σπουδάζοντες. (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 526, 6 ff.). See the texts referred to in the preceding note.

phets perceived the different objects presented to their gaze St. Cyril is rather reticent. In a few passages he seems to sponsor the opinion that the prophet's vision of spiritual objects occurs suddenly, and in a manner that interrupts his perception of objects pertaining to the realm of history <sup>(1)</sup>. Such a conception of prophetic vision clearly differs from the Antiochian conception proposed by Julian of Eclanum <sup>(2)</sup> and by St. Jerome <sup>(3)</sup>, which eschews violent changes of perspective and context and requires that two sets of objects be present simultaneously to the mind of the prophet of which the first is the medium through which he acquires knowledge of the second. We must remember, of course, that the opinion of St. Cyril applies, strictly speaking, to oracles which seem to have no signification other than the spiritual <sup>(4)</sup>. With regard to scriptural passages that admit of both a literal and a spiritual signification St. Cyril is still more elusive. He appears to connect the spiritual signification more intimately with the consciousness of the hagiographer than Theodore of Mopsuestia; the latter, as we have noted, restricts the hagiographer's role to a vague presentiment of the future <sup>(5)</sup>, whereas Cyril expressly speaks of his foreknowledge <sup>(6)</sup> and actually styles it vision <sup>(7)</sup>. We are unable to furnish particulars as to how knowledge of the spiritual signification is intimated to the hagiographer. In one passage, namely, apropos of the spiritual sense of *Mich.* 5, 2 St. Cyril notes: Σημαίνεται δὲ τὸ καθόλου καὶ διὰ τῶν μερικῶς οἰκονομουμένων, in other words, the spiritual sense in this instance is signified in terms of the objects of the literal sense <sup>(8)</sup>. However, this statement does not necessarily imply that the object of the spiritual sense was perceived through the medium of the object of the literal sense.

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 222 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 119 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> See p. 120.

<sup>(4)</sup> See pp. 220 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> See pp. 121 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> See pp. 228 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> In one passage at least St. Cyril uses the verb θεωρεῖν with reference to the spiritual signification: Θεωρεῖ δ' οὖν ὁ λόγος τὴν ἐκ δυοῖν εἰς ἓν τι συνδρομήν (PG 69, 560 C). See p. 242, note 3.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 674, 12 ff. The literal sense in this instance is the release of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity (*ibid.*, 613, 19 ff.).

It is difficult to determine the sources that influenced St. Cyril to pay attention to prophecy considered formally as a vision of things future. It seems certain that in this matter he is not dependent on St. Jerome, whose influence on the Patriarch of Alexandria is so marked in other ways. Inquiries made by us show that the Latin exegete offers no points of contact with the corresponding passages of St. Cyril's commentaries which refer to prophetic vision <sup>(1)</sup>. In addition, we must not forget that Cyril, apart from the fact that he prescinds altogether in his commentary from the specifically Antiochian conception of vision outlined by Jerome apropos of *Mal.* 1, 10 ff. <sup>(2)</sup>, seems to favour in other passages a theory of vision that is the direct opposite to the latter <sup>(3)</sup>. Perhaps it is not unwise to recall that all the Antiochians did not follow the selfsame system. According to J. Guillet, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus expounded sober views; on the contrary, Julian of Eclanum and

<sup>(1)</sup> See p. 237, note 4. Each reference to St. Cyril is followed by a reference to the corresponding passage in St. Jerome's commentaries. There is no point of contact between them.

<sup>(2)</sup> Compare PL 25, 1551 AB with *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 562, 15 ff. See also p. 120 f. This comparison yields the following conclusions: 1) Here Cyril neither refers to different prophetic perspectives nor affirms that Malachy does not forsake the present time when uttering oracles concerning the future. 2) Throughout the whole of chapter 1 it is clear that the Patriarch of Alexandria implies changes of prophetic perspective. Thus 1, 2 (PUSEY II, 548, 25 ff.), 1, 3 (550, 9 ff.), 1, 5 (554, 19 ff.) seem to be addressed to Israel in general. The oracles of 1, 6 f. (555, 21 ff.) and 1, 8 (559, 23 ff.) are devoted expressly to the priestly caste. On the other hand, 1, 10 foretells the "beauty of life in Christ" (562, 15 ff.). In 1, 10b ff. the speaker condemns the sacrifices of the Jews and predicts the advent of a period in which God will be honoured by spiritual sacrifices (564, 16 ff.). The prophetic perspective meanwhile changes, because the speaker in 1, 13 f. upbraids the priests (567, 14 ff.); 1, 14 contains a curse that is pronounced against those who offer sinful sacrifices (569, 18 ff.). All these changes of perspective are governed by the principle enunciated apropos of *Agg.* 20-22 (see p. 222). 3) It is not unlikely that Cyril depends on Jerome for the exegesis of *Mal.* 1, 9 (Compare 563, 29 ff. with PL 25, 1549 D ff.); the fact that both of them give practically the same interpretation of the Hebrew rendering of this verse is scarcely due to coincidence. While depending on Jerome for his exegetical opinions, Cyril differs from him with regard to his conception of prophetic vision.

<sup>(3)</sup> See pp. 222 ff.

St. Jerome made more daring statements concerning the vision of the New Testament by the prophets of the Old Testament <sup>(1)</sup>. Among the exponents of the school Chrysostom, in particular, is thought to have defended the idea of "sudden sallies on the realities of the New Testament". In the following texts he touches on ideas that are not altogether dissimilar from those which we have already encountered in St. Cyril's writings: Προφητείας δέ ἐστιν ἔργον, μέρη τινὰ ἀπολαμβάνειν καὶ περὶ τούτων διαλέγεσθαι. Διὰ δὴ τοῦτο οἱ προφῆται πανταχοῦ τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν· ὀλίγα τινὰ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐμβάλλοντες καὶ συσκιάζοντες ἀναχωροῦσι <sup>(2)</sup> and Εἰ δὲ μὴ δοκεῖ ἔξ αὐτῆς ἡρτησθαι τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ μέσῃ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν διακόψασα ἡ προφητεία ἐπεισῆλθε, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ καινόν. οὕτω γὰρ αἱ πλείους τῶν προφητειῶν ἐξεφωνήθησαν ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ, διὰ τὸ δεῖν αὐτὰς συσκιάζεται τέως, ὥστε μὴ καὶ τὰ βιβλία αὐτὰ ἐξαλειφθῆναι <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche...*, pp. 281 ff.; J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux testaments...*, p. 51.

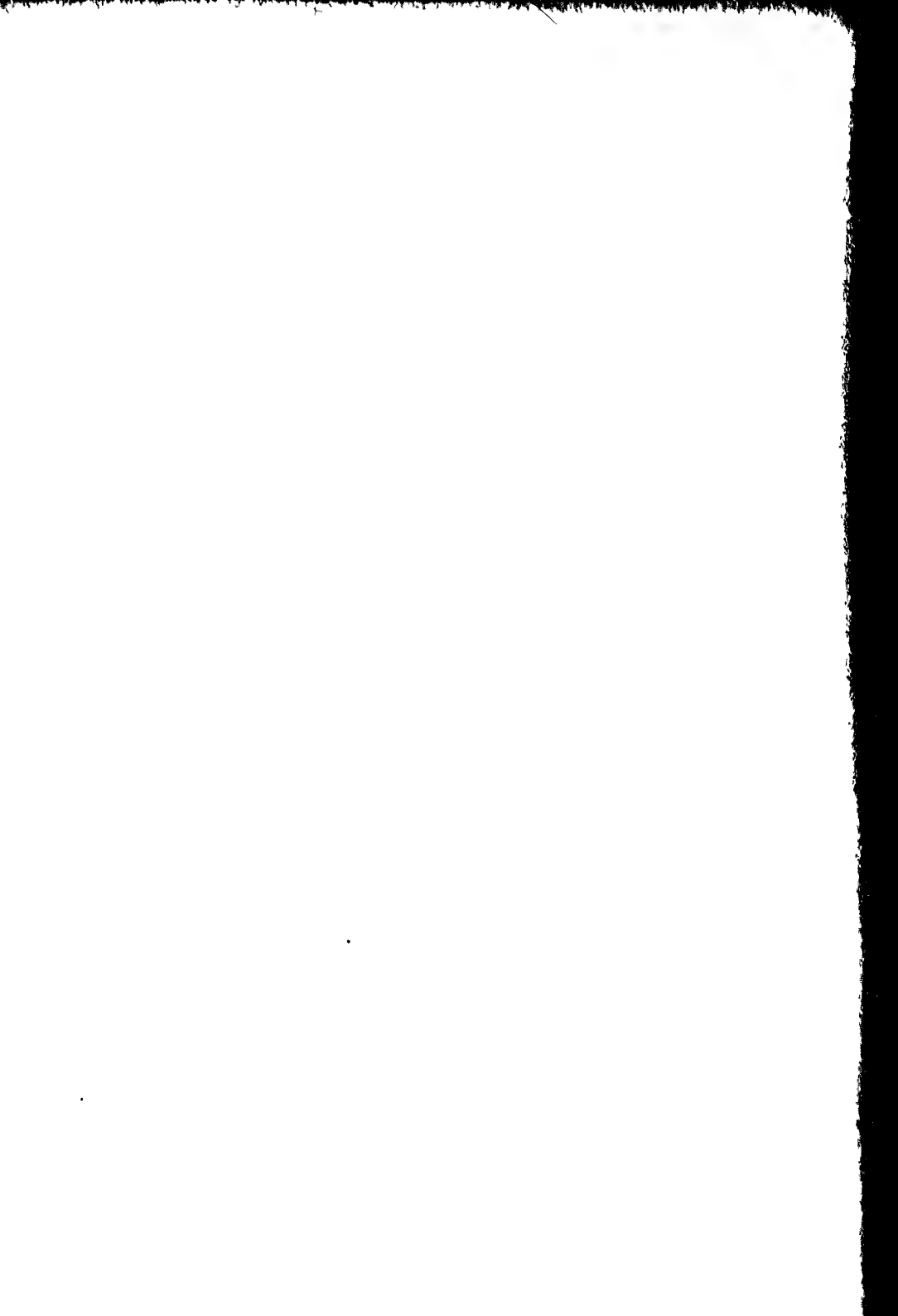
<sup>(2)</sup> PG 55, 187 (towards the middle).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 55, 335 (towards the middle). PADRE VACCARI reminds us, however, that there are other texts (PG 56, 34 und 76) which seem to indicate that Chrysostom voices a point of view not unlike that of Julian of Eclanum (*La ΘΕΩΡΙΑ antiochena...*, p. 26, note 1).

P A R T   I I

THE EPMHNEIA ITSELF :  
CONCRETE ILLUSTRATIONS  
OF ST. CYRIL'S EXEGETICAL METHOD





## CHAPTER I

### TRAITS OF ST. CYRIL'S EXPLANATIONS OF THE LITERAL SENSE

This chapter studies the salient features of St. Cyril's explanations of the literal sense. The exegetical norms followed by him are fully analysed and examples are quoted to illustrate his manner of working. The interpretations that he advances are sometimes weighed in the light of modern exegesis with a view to testing their value as contributions to the scientific study of the Bible.

#### Art. 1. — INTRODUCTION

##### § 1. — *The external vesture of the exegesis* <sup>(1)</sup>

In the sources studied by us the external dress in which Saint Cyril presents his explanations is not quite uniform:

a) In *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* the exegesis is presented in the form of a dialogue between Cyril and Palladius; there is complete absence of contradiction, for throughout the dialogue Palladius wholeheartedly sustains the explanations suggested by Cyril. The treatise is divided into seventeen λόγοι <sup>(2)</sup> each of which bears a title that enunciates a particular point of doctrine. Gene-

<sup>(1)</sup> This paragraph is applicable to the spiritual sense as well as to the literal sense.

<sup>(2)</sup> The expression λόγος was used by the ancients to denote either a book or part of it (BIRT, *Kritik und Hermeneutik nebst Abriss des antiken Buchwesens*, p. 275).

rally speaking, in the first part of each λόγος St. Cyril elaborates the doctrine outlined in the heading; in the second part the doctrine is thought out anew in terms of the Old Testament <sup>(1)</sup>. The texts commented on by him do not follow the order of the *Pentateuch*, but are assembled without any reference whatsoever to their sequence there.

b) *Glaphyra* purports to be an interpretation of specially chosen passages of the *Pentateuch*. Cyril follows the order of the books themselves; *Genesis* gets the lion's share of his attention; to it he devotes seven books; to *Exodus* he assigns three books; to *Leviticus*, *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy* one book each. Each λόγος is divided into sections to which he prefixes a title <sup>(2)</sup>; each section is subdivided into paragraphs which in the printed editions are numbered α', β', γ' x. τ. λ. The literal sense is expounded first; the spiritual sense is explained at much greater length <sup>(3)</sup>; the explanation itself is not continuous but is restricted to selected texts; each section is invariably concluded with a doxology <sup>(4)</sup>.

(1) In the first book of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* St. Cyril develops the doctrine mentioned in the title in PG 68, 145 C-149 D; this is presented anew in terms of the Old Testament in 149 D-208 A; the texts used by him for his moralizing interpretations occur in the following order: *Gen.* 12, 10; 12, 1 f; 12, 17; 4 *K.* 18, 31 f; *Gen.* 12, 1-3; *Gen.* 19, 15-23; *Gen.* 13, 1-3; *Ex.* 5, 1-3; *Ex.* 8, 26; *Ex.* 10, 8 ff; *Ex.* 12, 33 f. In the second book of the same treatise the doctrine is expounded in cc. 212 A-232 A; the moralizing explanations are found in cc. 232 B-261 C. The texts commented by him here occur in the following order: *Ex.* 3, 2 f; 3, 4; 3, 18; 24, 3; 3, 5; *Lev.* 2, 4; *Ex.* 3, 5 etc. etc. These examples sufficiently illustrate his method in this commentary.

(2) The titles of the first book devoted to *Genesis* are: "Ὅτι διὰ πάσας τῆς Μωσέως γραφῆς, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον αἰνιγματωδῶς σημαίνεται; Περὶ τοῦ Καὶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀβελ. Those of the second book are: Περὶ τοῦ Νῶε καὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ; Περὶ τῆς γυμνώσεως τοῦ Νῶε καὶ Χάμ; Περὶ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ. The titles show clearly that Cyril is dealing only with selected passages.

(3) Book 3 is an example taken at random: out of the thirty-two columns of Migne's edition scarcely seven are devoted to the literal sense, namely, PG 69, 113 D-124 B; 137 B-140 A; 148-149 B; in cc. 153 A-176 D the literal and spiritual senses are intermingled, but the latter has the lion's share.

(4) PG 69, 32 A; 49 B; 73 AB; 109 D; 137 B; 148 A; 153 A; 176 D; 189 D; 225 B etc.

c) The commentary on *Isaias* consists of five βιβλία some of which are divided into λόγοι <sup>(1)</sup> and others into τόμοι <sup>(2)</sup>. That on the *Minor Prophets* consists of twelve main divisions (corresponding to the number of prophets) subdivided into τόμοι <sup>(3)</sup>. Each prophecy is preceded by a prologue. The exegesis itself is continuous and is attached invariably to short passages of the scriptural text which are ostensibly taken to form complete sense in themselves. The external vesture of both commentaries is identical. St. Cyril first expounds the literal sense and then the spiritual sense.

## § 2. – Treatment of the literal sense

The sources used by us bear witness to an evolution which gradually influenced St. Cyril to give greater prominence to the literal sense. In *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* the literal sense is quoted only when it directly subserves our author's doctrinal purposes <sup>(4)</sup>; the respect that he professes for it is mainly theoretical, and proves little more than the fact that he does not associate himself with those who deny the historicity of Scripture. The prologue to *Glaphyra* announces our author's purpose to expound the literal sense *formally* <sup>(5)</sup>. That may seem to mark a step forward. Yet in the course of the exegesis, while Cyril frequently does homage to this principle, his treatment of the literal sense amounts to little more than merely quoting his texts *in extenso* without comment <sup>(6)</sup>, or to a short paraphrase <sup>(7)</sup>. Withal, he gives greater prominence to the literal sense here than in the other commentary on the *Pentateuch*. It is not unlikely that at the time that he composed *Glaphyra*, he was convinced of the fact that the historical texts of Scripture

(1) The first and fourth βιβλία are divided into six and five λόγοι respectively.

(2) The second and third βιβλία have five τόμοι each; the fifth has six. The Ancients used the term βιβλίον to denote a roll (BIRT, *Kritik*..., p. 262); τόμος meant a section (*ibid.*, p. 274).

(3) *Osee* contains seven τόμοι, *Joel* two, *Amos* four, *Abdias* and *Jonas* one each, *Zachary* six etc.

(4) PG 68, 192 B; 540 B, 544 C etc.

(5) PG 69, 16 A.

(6) PG 69, 540 A-541 A; 553 B-556 A; 645 AB; 652 AB etc.

(7) PG 69, 33 B-37 B; 73 B-76 D; 77 B-80 A; 81 C-83 C etc.

contained obvious meanings which practically rendered an interpretation superfluous <sup>(1)</sup>. Sometimes indeed, he ponders to consider problems suggested by the literal sense. For example, when summarizing the texts of *Genesis* dealing with the Creation and the Fall he discusses objections dealing with God's foreknowledge <sup>(2)</sup> and man's freewill <sup>(3)</sup>. Further on, when explaining *Gen.* 6, 1-4, he treats of a problem of textual criticism and excludes all mythical traits from the narrative <sup>(4)</sup>. The prominence accorded by our author to the literal sense is still more accentuated in his commentaries on the prophets. In these, the resolution formulated in the prologues <sup>(5)</sup> is effectively put into practice. Most of the auxiliary sciences of exegesis, namely, textual criticism, history, geography etc. are exploited by him.

### § 3. — *Eclectic character of St. Cyril's interpretations*

At times, the examples quoted by us to illustrate Saint Cyril's manner of working are such as necessitate comparisons with other writers of Antiquity. Points of contact then come to light, which are so striking that we think St. Cyril, without his saying so, is using other sources. Since this happens quite frequently, we think it well to say a few words here on the sources that St. Cyril probably utilized, lest readers should be confused later on by what might seem to be a meaningless intrusion of names and opinions.

The materials, on which our appraisal of St. Cyril's exegetical method rests, are mainly supplied by his commentaries on *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets*. It is remarkable that in the prologues prefixed to these works our author refers to the exegetical labours of those who preceded him in language which strongly suggests that his own efforts will be eclectic in character. Cyril surmises that the chief objection to be urged against his endeavours is their superfluosness: they merely repeat what others have already said <sup>(6)</sup>. To such criticism he replies: "I do not

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 47 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 21 B-24 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 C-25 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 53 A-56 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 9 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 9 B; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 17 ff.

rally to this point of view. Far from it. For I shall be mindful of Paul who says to his converts: 'To keep writing the same things to you is not irksome to me, as long as it is a safeguard to you (*Phil.* 3, 11)'. Consider how true this statement is. If a person is bent on acquiring knowledge of useful things, no damage whatsoever arises from the fact that many things have been written by several persons on the same subject. First of all hearers will benefit. For if the opinions of the commentators are in agreement with each other, surer knowledge is gained by those who love to hear. If each one says something new which is not correctly and blamelessly understood by so and so, what harm arises as far as the meaning of another is concerned? On the contrary, does not the comparison of the ideas become better, vaster and clearer? " (1). The impression created by these statements in the light of a better acquaintance with St. Cyril's method, is that they characterize discreetly his own contributions to exegesis. Though conscious of communicating something new at times especially with regard to *Isaias* (2), he seems to insinuate that in the main his works form an assemblage in which the opinions of others figure rather conspicuously.

Our knowledge of the literary output of Antiquity is unfortunately full of lacunae. In the list of Origen's writings compiled for the benefit of Paula, one of his correspondents, St. Jerome gives the following particulars concerning the Alexandrian's commentaries on *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets*: "Vultis nosse, quanta ingenii sui reliquerit monimenta? sequens titulus ostendit: scripsit in Genesis libros XIII... In Isaiam libros XXXVI, item in Isaiam excerpta, In Osee de Effraim librum I, In Osee commentarium, In Iohel libros II, In Amos libros VI, In Ionam librum I, In Micheam libros II, In Aggaeum librum I, In principio Zachariae libros II, In Malachiam Libros II..." (3). Jerome again refers to some of Origen's works in the prologues to his own commentaries

(1) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 1, 17 ff.

(2) PG 70, 12 A. With regard to the novelties promised by Cyril BARDENHEWER remarks: "Dieses Neue wird schwerlich in den Erörterungen des Verfassers über den Wortsinn zu suchen sein" (*Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Bd. 4, p. 38).

(3) *Epistula 33 ad Paulam* (CSEL, 54, 255, 10 ff.).

on *Isaias* <sup>(1)</sup>, *Osee* <sup>(2)</sup>, and *Zachary* <sup>(3)</sup>. The Latin exegete likewise makes mention of the following commentaries: Eusebius Pamphilus's fifteen volumes on *Isaias* as well as the eighteenth book of the Εὐαγγελικὴ ἀπόδειξις dealing with *Osee* <sup>(4)</sup>; the eighteen tomes on *Isaias* (from chapter 40 to the end) written by Didymus together with his commentaries on *Osee* and *Zachary* <sup>(5)</sup>; the

(1) Scripsit enim in hunc prophetam iuxta editiones quattuor usque ad visionem quadrupedum in deserto Origenes triginta volumina, e quibus vicesimus sextus liber non invenitur. Feruntur et alii sub nomine eius de visione τετραπόδων duo ad Gratham libri, qui pseudographi putantur; et vigin-tiquinque homiliae et Σημειώσεις, quas nos excerpta possumus appellare (PL 24, 21 A).

(2) Origenes parvum de hoc propheta scripsit libellum cui hunc titulum imposuit, περὶ τοῦ πῶς ὀνομάσθη ἐν τῷ Ὡση' Ἐφραϊμ, hoc est, *Quare appellatur in Osee Ephraim*, volens ostendere quaecumque contra eum dicuntur, ad haereticorum referenda personam. Et aliud volumen ἀκέφαλον καὶ ἀτέλειστον, quod et capite careat et fine (PL 25, 819 AB).

(3) With regard to *Zachary*: Scripsit in hunc prophetam Origenes duo volumina, usque ad tertiam partem libri a principio. (PL 25, 1418 A). Jerome notes in the sequel that Origen's exegesis was exclusively allegorical.

(4) Eusebius quoque Pamphili iuxta historicam explanationem quindecim edidit volumina (PL 24, 21 A). Montfaucon's edition of this commentary is reprinted by Migne in PG 24, 89-526. The complete commentary exists in manuscript form in the Laurentian library of Florence (*Cod. Laur. Plut.* XI 4). See A. MÖHLE, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, 33 (1934), pp. 87-89.

Concerning Eusebius's works on *Osee* JEROME notes: Et Eusebius Caesariensis in octavo decimo libro Εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως, quaedam de *Osee* disputat (PL 25, 819 A).

(5) ...Et Didymus, cuius amicitii nuper usi sumus, ab eo loco ubi scriptum est: *Consolamini, consolamini populum meum, sacerdotes: loquimini ad cor Ierusalem* (Is. 40, 1) usque ad finem voluminis, decem et octo edidit tomos (PL 24, 21 B.).

With regard to Didymus's commentary on *Osee* JEROME remarks: Unde ante annos circiter viginti duos, cum rogatu sanctae et venerabilis socrus, immo matris tuae Paulae (illud enim nomen caro, hoc spiritus est: quae monasteriorum et Scripturarum semper amore flagravat) essem Alexandriae, vidi Didymum, et eum frequenter audivi, virum sui temporis eruditissimum, rogavi eum, ut quod Origenes non fecerat, ipse compleret, et scriberet in *Osee* commentarios; qui tres libros, me petente, dictavit, quinque quoque alios in *Zachariam*. Nam et in ipsum duo tantum Origenes scripsit volumina, vix tertiam partem a principio libri usque ad visionem quadri-

treatises of Apollinaris of Laodicea on *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets* <sup>(1)</sup>; Pierius's tract on *Osee* <sup>(2)</sup>, and Hippolytus's work on *Zachary* <sup>(3)</sup>. It is not improbable that Saint Cyril had copies of the above-mentioned exegetical works in his library. Père Abel has shown that some of the commentaries of St. Jerome were probably kept there too <sup>(4)</sup>. It is equally probable that our author had at his disposal the little treatise on the vision of *Isaias*, which some modern scholars are inclined to assign to Theophilus, Cyril's uncle <sup>(5)</sup>. Perhaps St. Cyril had in his possession copies of other commentaries which have managed to reach us whole or in part, such as the expositions on *Isaias* written by St. Basil <sup>(6)</sup>,

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garum edisserens (PL 25, 819 Bf.). In his prologue to *Zachary* Jerome remarks: Et Didymus quoque explanationum libros, me rogante, dictavit, quos cum aliis tribus in Osee et mihi προσεφώνησεν sed tota eorum ἐξήγησις allegorica fuit, et historica vix pauca tetigerunt (PL 25, 1418 A).

<sup>(1)</sup> Apollinaris autem more suo sic exponit omnia, ut universa transcurrat, et punctis quibusdam atque intervallis, immo compendiis grandis viae spatia praetervolet: ut non tam commentarios quam indices capitulorum nos legere credamus (PL 24, 21 A f.).

Elsewhere JEROME notes: ...Apud Graecos reperi Apollinarem Laodiceum, qui cum in adolescentia sua breves et in hunc et in alios prophetas commentariolos reliquisset, tangens magis sensus quam explicans, rogatus est postea, ut in Osee plenius scriberet: qui liber venit in nostras manus; sed et ipse nimia brevitate ad perfectam intelligentiam lectorem ducere non potest (PL 25, 819 A).

<sup>(2)</sup> Pierii quoque legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio huius prophetae die vigiliarum dominicae passionis extemporali et diserto sermone profudit (PL 25, 819 B).

<sup>(3)</sup> Hippolytus quoque edidit commentarios... (PL 25, 14, 8 A). These, we are told, were allegorical in character.

<sup>(4)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique entre s. Jérôme et s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie...*, p. 96 ff. Jerome wrote his commentary on the *Minor Prophets* between 389 and 396 and that on *Isaias* between 408 and 410. Theophilus, Cyril's uncle, died in 412. In view of the fact that he was interested in exegesis and was rather friendly with Jerome, it is not unlikely that the latter sent a copy of the works just mentioned to Alexandria.

<sup>(5)</sup> The text was published by A. M. AMELLI in *S. Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri tractatus contra Origenem de visione Isaiae*, Monte Cassino, 1901. See B. ALTANER, *Wer ist der Verfasser des Tractatus in Isaiam VI*, 1-7, in *Theologisches Revue*, 42 (1943), pp. 147-151.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 30, 117-668. The authenticity of this work is questioned.



St. John Chrysostom<sup>(1)</sup>, and Theodoretus of Cyrrhus<sup>(2)</sup> together with the commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus on the *Minor Prophets*<sup>(3)</sup>. Perhaps he even consulted other exegetical works, of whose authors the very names have been lost. St. Cyril insinuates that a goodly number before him had tried to penetrate the thought of *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets*<sup>(4)</sup>.

Of course it is much easier to compile a list of the works which St. Cyril could have consulted than to point to concrete instances where he patently depends on identifiable sources. In the pages that follow many of the resemblances noted between St. Cyril and other exegetes should strictly speaking be described as interesting parallels rather than categorical proofs of his literary dependence on them. The fact that the writings of Origen and Didymus (to name but two authors on whom he must have depended) have been lost renders impossible a really satisfactory solution of the problem of St. Cyril's sources. Again, we must not prescind from factors such as our author's tendencies to treat his materials freely and to disguise their origin by the use of formulae which might leave the uninitiated under the impression that his remarks are entirely original; these naturally complicate the solution of a problem sufficiently intricate in itself. Briefly, the conclusion is that St. Cyril borrowed freely from various sources.

## Art. 2. — THE FORM OF TEXT USED BY ST. CYRIL

### § 1. — *St. Cyril as a witness to the Septuagint*

In deference to the traditions of his episcopal see, our author feels obliged to follow the Septuagint<sup>(5)</sup>. However, we are sure of the exact form of text used by him only in the *Minor Pro-*

(1) PG 56, 11-94. A more complete text is available in Armenian (published with a Latin translation by the Mechitarists of Venice). The authenticity of this commentary is not altogether certain.

(2) A. MOHLE, *Kommentar zu Jesaja (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens, t. 5, Berlin, 1932)*, PG 81, 216-493 (more fragmentary than the former edition).

(3) PG 66, 124-652; 81, 1545-1988.

(4) PG 70, 9 A; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 1, 3 f.

(5) *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 197, 21 f.; *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 385, 12 ff.

*phets*; the editions of his other commentaries on the Old Testament now available are not critical.

With regard to Cyril's text of *Isaias* Ziegler has been able to control Aubert's edition of Cyril's commentary (= Migne PG 70) with Ms. 384 of the Laurentian Library, Florence. In both of these the biblical text is divided into small passages (= λήμματα) which are prefixed to the exegesis properly speaking. In the latter the text is frequently repeated, so that the authentic text used by Cyril can be determined with a fair degree of precision. Generally speaking, the text quoted in the commentary itself agrees with the codices *Alexandrinus* and *Marchalianus* and the cognate *minusculae*; this represents the real text followed by Cyril, whereas the λήμματα resemble the later recensions, especially those of the *Hexapla* and of Lucian. Although Aubert's edition and the Florentine Ms. agree in essentials, the variants of the latter are numerous and betray the influence of Lucian. In regard to *Is.* 19, 10, it is Ms. 384 which gives the authentic reading of the Septuagint (= διαζομενοι). On the whole Cyril is a trustworthy witness to the Septuagint, though he has readings peculiar to himself such as γλυπτα (*Is.* 29, 10 = PG 70, 652 D, 653 B) and εξαρω (*Is.* 65, 9 = PG 70, 1412 A) <sup>(1)</sup>.

Pusey establishes his critical edition of Cyril's commentary on the *Minor Prophets* on the authority of a series of *Mss.* of unequal importance which he styles A, B, C, D etc. <sup>(2)</sup>. This commentary copies the external dress of that on *Isaias* and consists of λήμματα followed by the exegesis proper. Cyril frequently repeats the scriptural text in the commentary, thus affording us an opportunity of fixing with certainty the text used by him. As in the case of *Isaias* his text of the *Minor Prophets* agrees with the Alexandrian group A-Q and kindred *minusculae* <sup>(3)</sup>. In many places, however, Cyril goes against them. For example, he reads

<sup>(1)</sup> J. ZIEGLER, *Isaias. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum*, vol. XIV, Göttingen, 1939 p. 30-32.

<sup>(2)</sup> P. E. PUSEY, *Sancti Patris Nostri Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini in XII Prophetas post Pontanum et Aubertum edidit*, v. I, pp. viii ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> J. ZIEGLER, *Duodecim Prophetarum. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum*, v. XIII, Göttingen, 1943, p. 40.

ρηματι instead of ρημασι(v) (*Os.* 6, 4), ζητουντας instead of ζητησαντες (*Soph.* 1, 6), ο δεξιος αυτου for αυτου ο δεξιος (*Zach.* 11, 17), εορτον for εορτης (*Mal.* 1, 8) etc. <sup>(1)</sup>. As can be seen, most of these variants belong to grammar and style; they need not be ascribed to other textual traditions and are probably changes introduced by Cyril himself. Occasionally he shows an important reading of the uncials B-S etc.; εις πεδια (*Hab.* 3, 5) is a relevant example <sup>(2)</sup>.

Some of these readings owe their origin to faulty transmission. For example in *Os.* 1, 10 (2, 1) Pusey's *Mss.* B and D read και αυτοι κληθησονται (= 106) instead of κληθησονται και αυτοι. In *Os.* 2, 3 (= 5) B and F have ημεραι instead of ημερα (= Aeth., Arm). In *Os.* 7, 4 Cyril reads σταιτος instead of στεατος <sup>(3)</sup>. At times Cyril has variants which are found in a few *minusculae*. Examples are: *Os.* 6, 1 οταν θλιβωσιν (= 233-410, 534-538) instead of εν θλιψει αυτων; *Os.* 12, 11 (12) Γαλαλ (= C-534, 198, 233-410 and the Masoretic text) instead of Γαλααδ; *Os.* 14, 4 επιπτοι (= 198, 534, 764) instead of εφ' ιππον <sup>(4)</sup>. In three places in *Osee* Cyril has readings which agree with the Lucianic tradition: 2, 17 (18) (του στοματος instead of στοματος); 13, 2 (και before οσπερ) and 13, 9 (διασπορα instead of διαφορα). Later influences were at work in these instances <sup>(5)</sup>.

Ziegler claims that his review of the text of *Osee* used by St. Cyril proves that he is one of the important representatives of the Alexandrian text <sup>(6)</sup>. Care must be taken to sift the variants of the *Mss.* used by Pusey. F and B show the influence of the recension of Lucian. Pusey incorrectly introduces some of them into Cyril's biblical text: for example, *Os.* 10, 11 (καλλος

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47. These are only a few examples taken from those collected by Ziegler.

<sup>(2)</sup> J. ZIEGLER, *Duodecim...*, p. 47.

<sup>(3)</sup> Other examples in ZIEGLER *op. cit.*, p. 47-48.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>(6)</sup> "So zeigt diese Übersicht über den Cyr.-Text in *Os.* deutlich, dass Cyr. einer der wichtigsten Vertreter des alexandrinischen Textes ist. Die zahlreichen Sonderlesarten der einzelnen Hss. des Cyr. Textes, namentlich von "F", beruhen auf späterer Entwicklung und können hier nicht genauer untersucht werden" (*op. cit.*, p. 48 f.).

(= B F) instead of καλλιστον (= D)); *Soph.* 2. 3 (ζητησατε δικαιοσυνην ζητησατε πραοτητα (= B) instead of δικαιοσυνην ζητησατε (= D)) etc. (<sup>1</sup>).

§ 2. — *Cyril as a witness to the textual tradition of the Hexapla*

Though Cyril has little flair for textual criticism, he introduces now and then (four times in the commentary on *Isaias*, but more frequently in that on the *Minor Prophets*) variant readings borrowed from the *Hexapla*. From the strict point of view of textual criticism his remarks are of little value since, generally speaking, they are docketed with the vague formulae *οι ετεροι των ερμηνευτων εκδεδωκασιν* or *οι αλλοι ερμηνευται εκδεδωκασιν* (<sup>2</sup>). Whereas he fairly frequently adduces the *εκδοσις των Εβραιων*, only twice does he mention by name the later Greek versions: *Aquila* and *Theodotion* apropos of *Am.* 5, 26 and *Aquila* and *Symmachus* apropos of *Mich.* 1, 11. Of *Os.* 11, 3 and *Abdias* 20 he indicates translations which agree with the Latin Vulgate. On the whole, his information leaves much to be desired. Of this a palpable proof is his argument that *επεκεινα Βαβυλωνος* represents the Hebrew original of *Am.* 5, 26, because this expression happens to occur in the speech delivered by St. Stephen before the Sanhedrim (*Acts* 7, 43) (<sup>3</sup>).

Art. 3. — HOW ST. CYRIL EMPLOYS VARIANT READINGS IN EXEGESIS

Though unimportant from the point of view of textual criticism, the variant readings quoted by St. Cyril afford evidence of his desire to explain the literal sense of Scripture as faithfully as possible. With a view to throwing some light on the problem of his sources, we shall undertake a comparative study of the manner in which these variants are used by St. Cyril and St. Jerome; generally speaking, we shall discuss here examined examples not touched on by Père Abel in the articles devoted by him to the problem of St. Cyril's dependence on St. Jerome (<sup>4</sup>).

(<sup>1</sup>) *Duodecim* . . . , p. 83.

(<sup>2</sup>) PG 70, 260 A; 788 C; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 63, 27 ff.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 476, 21 ff. See also J. ZIEGLER, *Duodecim* . . . , p. 106.

(<sup>4</sup>) See p. 265, note 3.

§ 1. — *The variants of the "Hebrew edition"*

In *Contra Iulianum* Cyril rebuts the insinuation that the Hebrew language is vulgar, plebeian and common; on the contrary, it is a well-formed medium of speech containing nothing recondite and therefore eminently suitable to be the vehicle of utterances destined for great and lowly alike <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril himself was unacquainted with Hebrew: all his information rests on the authority of sources to which he vaguely alludes but never names <sup>(2)</sup>.

Sometimes the Patriarch of Alexandria draws attention to a variant without troubling to exploit it in his exegesis. Thus apropos of *Is.* 13, 21 he notes that the expression σαιγενης of the Septuagint corresponds to a word in Hebrew meaning γλαυξ (= an owl) <sup>(3)</sup>. In the present Hebrew text the expression that corresponds to σαιγενης is בְּנוֹת יְעִנָּה, which St. Jerome renders "struthiones" <sup>(4)</sup>; στρουθοκαμηλοι is the rendering given by Aquila and Symmachus; Theodotion translates θυγατρες στρουθων <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril's rendering in the instance is altogether singular and indicates a source which differs from those just named.

Now and again the Patriarch of Alexandria tries to harmonize the Hebrew text with the Septuagint, alleging that both readings either enunciate something true or give rise on last analysis to meanings that are similar. For instance in *Is.*, 9, 8 the Septuagint has θανατος, whereas the Hebrew and the other versions have λογος. According to our author these variants mean the same thing, because λογος signifies the sentence of condemnation and of punishment to be passed on the idolators envisaged by the oracle <sup>(6)</sup>. Apropos of *Zach.* 13, 1 St. Cyril manages to harmonize the divergence of the original and the Greek translation as follows: to the inhabitants of the spiritual Jerusalem "*every door will be opened (LXX)*", which is practically the same thing as to say "*in every place the water will gush forth (Hebrew)*". By the

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 76, 853 D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 167, 19 ff.; *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 273, 13 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 364 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 24, 215 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> See ZIEGLER'S *apparatus criticus* in h. l.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 260 A.

water is meant baptism, which will be of great advantage to believers<sup>(1)</sup>. St. Jerome makes no attempt to harmonize the Hebrew original with the Septuagint; however, into his interpretation of the Hebrew text he weaves an allusion to baptism<sup>(2)</sup>. Elucidating *Zach.* 12, 10, Cyril again explains away the discrepancies of the Hebrew text and the Septuagint: neither reading misses the mark since the Jews both insulted Christ (καθωρχήσαντο *LXX*) and pierced (ἐξεκέρησαν, Hebrew) him<sup>(3)</sup>. *Zach.* 14, 8 affords our author another opportunity of exercising his flair for resolving textual difficulties: it is regrettable that the Septuagint reads εαφ instead of χειμῶν (Hebrew); spring is a season which belongs to winter as well as to summer; if the expression εαφ be taken as signifying the winter period, the meaning then arising is neither improbable nor incorrect<sup>(4)</sup>. From harmonizations like these St. Jerome completely abstains. With regard to the last mentioned passage of *Zachary* he remarks quite bluntly that the rendering of the Septuagint "ad distinctionem aestatis non convenit"<sup>(5)</sup>.

The following examples throw further light on St. Cyril's use of variant readings:

*Os.* 6, 7

Opting for the reading ως Ἀδὰμ instead of ως ἀνθρώπος, St. Cyril claims that the prophet likens the sin of the Israelites to that of Adam, who had been given many privileges by God, but was subsequently deprived of them for having disregarded the precept that God had imposed on him. Briefly, the Israelites, by violating the covenant, deprived themselves of the countless benefits accruing to them from God's friendship<sup>(6)</sup>. It is remarkable that Ziegler makes no reference to this reading of the καθ' Εβραίους εκδοσίς in his *apparatus criticus* of the *Hexapla*. Jerome translates this passage as follows: "Ipsi autem sicut Adam transgressi sunt

(1) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 498, 9 f.

(2) PL 25, 1517 BC.

(3) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 483, 3 ff.

(4) *Ibid.*, 524, 8 ff.

(5) PL 25, 1527 CD.

(6) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 142, 24 ff.

pactum". His succinct exegetical note expresses neatly the same point at which St. Cyril labours in his more diffuse exposition <sup>(1)</sup>.

Os. 8, 1

The Alexandrian exegete tells us that the Hebrew original of this text is full of difficulties <sup>(2)</sup>. On the other hand, St. Jerome draws attention to the difficulties of the Septuagint but says nothing about those of the Hebrew text <sup>(3)</sup>. Moreover, Cyril punctuates his text differently from Jerome, since he attaches Os. 8, 1 to the last clause of 7, 17 <sup>(4)</sup>.

Os. 11, 3

Here St. Cyril interprets separately the variants of the Septuagint and the Hebrew. It is chiefly in terms of the clause which immediately follows that he interprets the reading of the Septuagint (συνεποδισα). The second interpretation based on the Hebrew reading (γεγονα ως τῷ θεῷ τῷ εφραϊμ) comes to this: the Israelites failed to recognize that God, their foster-father, worked in reality for their rehabilitation when he destroyed other peoples <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril quotes the Hebrew edition and οἱ σέβοι as the sources of this variant. According to the Syriac version of the *Hexapla* Symmachus reads παιδαγωγουν τον εφραϊμ whereas Theodotion has κατα ποδας τῷ Εφραϊμ. *Actually* Cyril's Hebrew variant corresponds to Jerome's "et ego quasi nutricius Ephraim", a reading that Ziegler seems to regard as peculiar to the Vulgate <sup>(6)</sup>. Jerome is therefore Cyril's source in this instance. The interpretation that Jerome proposes is not unlike the one which Cyril attaches to the variant of the Septuagint <sup>(7)</sup>.

Amos 1, 2

Although the Patriarch of Alexandria ostensibly interprets the Septuagint, he seems to prefer the Hebrew variant (ακουσατο

<sup>(1)</sup> PL 25, 869 D f.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 167, 19 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PL 25, 882 CD f.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 167, 16 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 228, 6 ff., 229, 14 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> See ZIEGLER's *apparatus criticus* in h. l.

<sup>(7)</sup> PL 25, 916 C.

or εβουχησατο) which he invokes in order to link better the second member of this verse with the first and thus justify his claim that the σκοπός of the whole prophecy of *Amos* is contained in this verse <sup>(1)</sup>. The variant attributed by our author to the Hebrew edition is found in Aquila and Symmachus also <sup>(2)</sup>. Jerome has the reading "rugiit" but his interpretation in no way resembles that of Cyril <sup>(3)</sup>.

*Amos* 1, 4

Cyril proposes three explanations of the epithet επικλητος which the Septuagint couples with the expression λαος Συριας: it can mean "famous", or "hired", or "called from outside" (μετοικος, that is to say, an alien who changes his abode). The Hebrew variant Κυρηνη is quoted in support of the last explanation. The Syrians, Cyril avers, are colonists of the Cyrenians <sup>(4)</sup>. Presumably he is of opinion that in the Hebrew text Κυρηνη stands in apposition to λαον Συριας. Moreover, the passage *4 K 16, 9* cited by him alludes to the devastation of Syria by Tiglath-pileser. St. Jerome translates Κυρηνη into the accusative: "et transferetur populus Syriae Cyrenen". Like St. Cyril he alludes to the *Fourth Book of Kings*; "Legimus enim quod Theglathphalasar rex Assyrius, interfecto Rasin regi Damasci, de quo et Isaias loquitur, omnem Syriae populum, qui appellabatur Aram, in Cyrenem transtulerit, et ob hanc causam esse nunc dictum" <sup>(5)</sup>. St. Cyril does not identify קירר with Cyrene.

*Amos*. 6, 2

Cyril rallies to the Hebrew text which mentions Χαλανη (omitted by the Septuagint), a locality which he identifies with the Persian town of Λυσισπη. Alleging that the Hebrew edition mentions the kingdom of the Persians, our author argues that the reading επεκεινα Βαβυλωνος mentioned by St. Stephen in his speech before the Sanhedrim (*Acts* 7, 43) represents the original Hebrew of *Amos*

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 379, 10 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> See ZIEGLER's *apparatus criticus* in h. l.

<sup>(3)</sup> PL 25, 993 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 384, 11 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PL 25, 995 C.



5, 26 <sup>(1)</sup>. More competent in the domain of textual criticism than Cyril, the Latin interpreter refuses to regard St. Stephen's "trans Babylonem" as reflecting the original reading of *Amos* 5, 26. To save the truth of Scripture he recurs to another principle: "Magis enim intelligentiam quam verbum posuit" <sup>(2)</sup>. It is with Ctesiphon that Jerome identifies Χαλανη <sup>(3)</sup>.

### *Amos* 9, 3

The whole verse emphasizes the idea that no planning or scheming avails to escape the rigours of God's wrath. One will be caught without fail, even though Hades or heaven or the top of Carmel be chosen as a hiding place. Should one take refuge in the sea, then one will become the prey of the δρακων or rather of the sea-monster (κητος), as the Hebrew text states <sup>(4)</sup>. Cyril is the only witness that Ziegler cites apropos of this text in his *apparatus criticus* of the *Hexapla*. Jerome's translation of the Hebrew reads: "...Ibi mandato serpenti, et mordebit eos..."; his rendering of the Septuagint reads: "Ibi mandabo draconi, et mordebit eos..." <sup>(5)</sup>.

### *Amos* 9, 7

Cyril accepts the Hebrew variant Κυρηνη but writes a geographical note on the situation of Cyrene in order to justify the Septuagint variant βοθρος <sup>(6)</sup>. As usual Jerome refrains from such harmonizations <sup>(7)</sup>.

### *Mich.* 1. 1

Cyril follows the Hebrew as well as the other versions and reads τον μοσθινην, which denotes the locality (situated in Judaea) from which Micheas hailed; he expressly notes that the term contains no reference to the name of the prophet's father <sup>(8)</sup>. Je-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*. PUSEY I, 481, 2 ff. Compare with 476, 21 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PL 25, 1056 B.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1059 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 529, 22 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PL 25, 1087 C.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 538, 1 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> PL 25, 1091 A. See F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique...*, p. 222.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 602, 9 f.

rome, in his prologue, rallies to a similar opinion; he takes greater pains, however, to fix the precise situation of *Morasthi* <sup>(1)</sup>.

*Zach.* 6, 12

Cyril prefers βλαστημα to ανατολη, ostensibly because this reading makes the following clause easier to understand <sup>(2)</sup>. Jerome's translation of the Hebrew reads: "Ecce vir, Oriens nomen eius, et subter eum orietur..." <sup>(3)</sup>. In his interpretation Jerome refers to other anonymous variants: "Qui idcirco Oriens, id est, ανατολη, vel αναψη, sive βλαστημα, nuncupatur, id est germen..." <sup>(4)</sup>. Cyril too refers to the anonymous variants βλαστημα <sup>(5)</sup> and αναψη <sup>(6)</sup>, though earlier in his explanation he expressly ascribes βλαστημα to the Hebrew edition <sup>(7)</sup>. Actually Symmachus is the author of the latter variant and Aquila that of the former <sup>(8)</sup>.

*Zach.* 8, 10

Cyril accepts without reservation the indications of the Hebrew which has the past tense instead of the future; history, too, our author argues, confirms the truth of this reading <sup>(9)</sup>. Cyril and Jerome are the only commentators quoted by Ziegler in his *apparatus criticus*. Cyril's remark sounds suspiciously like the following observation of Jerome: "Septuaginta ad futurum tempus omnia retulerunt, sed melius ad praeteritum, ut in hebraico habetur, et expositionis veritas approbabit" <sup>(10)</sup>.

§ 2. — *The variants of the στεροι ερμηνευται*

Apart from three or four instances such as *Is.* 38, 10 <sup>(11)</sup>, *Os.* 5, 8 and 12 <sup>(12)</sup> and *Soph.* 2, 5 <sup>(13)</sup>, where they are mentioned merely

<sup>(1)</sup> PL 25, 1151 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 363, 24 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PL 25, 1455 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1456 A.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 367, 6 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 367, 17 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 363, 24 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> See ZIEGLER'S *apparatus criticus* in h. l.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 389, 4 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> PL 25, 1469 AB.

<sup>(11)</sup> PG 70, 788 C.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 125, 2 and 10; 130, 14 f.

<sup>(13)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 197, 21.

for the sake of completeness, all the variants of the other translations quoted by St. Cyril are woven into his explanations:

*Is. 60, 18*

Instead of γλυμμα Aquila reads υμνησις; Symmachus has αινεσις and Theodotion has καυχημα<sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril says that οἱ τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν read τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Moreover, he approves of this rendering on the ground that we possess Christ as a "wall" and as "gates"<sup>(2)</sup>. In the textual tradition there is no trace of the equation γλυμμα = τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Eusebius and Jerome mention that the Hebrew word for saviour reads "Jesus"; on the strength of this each gives a short spiritual interpretation<sup>(3)</sup>.

*Os. 2, 14*

Instead of πλανω Aquila (according to the Syriac version of the *Hexapla*) reads θελω. Cyril informs us that some translators read ἰδου ἐγὼ ἀποφερω αὐτήν; others have οὐ ἀπατῶ αὐτήν. In his opinion both readings express at greater length the idea conveyed by πλανω, the variant of the Septuagint<sup>(4)</sup>. St. Jerome offers no parallel.

*Os. 5, 13*

According to Ziegler instead of Ἰαριμ, *Ms. 86* and the Syriac version of the *Hexapla* testify that Aquila reads δικασομενον. Jerome says that Aquila and Theodotion read "iudicem", whereas Symmachus reads "ultorem". According to the above-mentioned Syriac version Symmachus reads φωνα (or φωνευτήν) whereas Theodotion reads κρισεως. Cyril remarks: Ἰαριμ, τουτεστιν ἐδικονητοὶ ἐδικητήν<sup>(5)</sup>. Perhaps Cyril's ἐδικητήν is a reminiscence of Jerome's "ultorem"? Our interpreter makes the expression ἐδικον/ἐδικητήν an epithet describing Tiglath-pileser to whom Achaz appealed for help against Syria and Samaria; Judah, however, did not then escape God's anger, nor did the help given him

<sup>(1)</sup> See ZIEGLER'S *apparatus criticus* in h. l.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 1345 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 24, 496 D; PL 24, 396 CD.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 63, 27 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PL 25, 864 C.

by Assyria cause all his sorrows to cease <sup>(1)</sup>. Jerome develops his explanation along different lines <sup>(2)</sup>.

*Os. 10, 5*

Cyril invokes the variant του μωσχοῦ βαιθλ with a view to identifying οἶκος ὧν with Bethel, the sanctuary in which Jeroboam had set up the statue of Apis <sup>(3)</sup>. In this context Jerome offers no parallel with our author <sup>(4)</sup>.

*Amos 1, 1*

Cyril quotes the variant of οἱ εἰσφοῖ, who read ἐν τοῖς κτηνοτροφοῖς instead of ἐν νακκαρίμ, to prove that Amos exercised his ministry among his fellow-shepherds before venturing to preach in Samaria <sup>(5)</sup>. Jerome, as usual, follows the Hebrew which omits Accarim; he notes, however, "In eo loco ubi Septuaginta transtulerunt in Accarim, Theodotio ipsum verbum hebraicum posuit: in nocedim (נָקֵדִים), quod Aquila vertit ἐν ποιμωτροφοῖς, id est, in pastoralibus; Symmachus et quinta editio ἐν τοῖς ποιμῆσιν, id est, in pastoribus. Et puto propter dalet et resh litterarum similitudinem hic quoque deceptos, pro nocedim, quasi nocerim: et exinde Accarim posuisse sermonem, quamquam in principio nominis nun littera nullam excusationem relinquat erroris. Accarim autem usque in praesentiarum hebraicum esse non legi" <sup>(6)</sup>. Ziegler draws our attention to the fact that according to the Syriac version of the *Hexapla* Aquila reads ἐν τοῖς ποιμῆσιν <sup>(7)</sup>.

*Amos 1, 4*

Cyril tells us that οἱ λοιποὶ read τῶν ματαιῶν instead of ὧν. Jerome notes: "Campum autem idoli quod hebraice dicitur aven (אֵבֶן), et Septuaginta et Theodotio interpretati sunt ὧν: Symmachus et quinta editio transtulerunt, iniquitatem: Aquila, ἀνωφελοῦς, id est, inutilem, ut ostenderet vana idolorum auxilia, cum

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 132, 22 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PL 25, 864 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 208, 16 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 25, 905 B f.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 368, 9 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> PL 25, 991 C.

<sup>(7)</sup> See his *apparatus criticus* in h. l.

populus Damasci Assyrio veniente, capietur" (1). Cyril interprets this text as follows: the word *ων* means *ματαια* as well as Bethel; the idolatrous worship was first confined to Bethel but spread afterwards throughout the whole countryside; the expression *πεδιον ματαιων* denotes Samaria, whose inhabitants, as the prophet foretells, will be dispersed (2). Jerome's explanation in no way resembles Cyril's.

### *Amos 1, 6*

In this instance St. Cyril prefers the Septuagint which reads *αχμαλωσιαν του Σαλωμων*. However, he proposes an interpretation of the variant warranted by *οι λοιποι*, who here read *απηρτισμενην ητοι τελειαν*: Gaza not only devastated Judah but also captured a number of prisoners who were handed over to the Idumaeans. This interpretation envisages one or other of the campaigns organised by the confederates of Gaza, Azotus and the rest against the cities of Judea (3). St. Jerome's interpretation is not altogether dissimilar: "Quid fecit Gaza, ut ad iracundiam atque vindictam Dominum provocaret? Transtulit captivitatem perfectam populi Iudaeorum, et concludit eam in Idumaea, ut Idumaeis venderet, quos ceperat ex Iudaeis" (4).

### *Abdias 20*

Concerning this verse St. Jerome has the following note: "Ubi nos posuimus Bosphorum, in Hebraico habetur Saphared (ספרד): quod nescio cur Septuaginta Εφραθα transferre voluerint, cum et Aquila, et Symmachus et Theodotio cum hebraica veritate concordent. Nos autem ab Hebraeo, qui nos in Scripturis sanctis erudit, didicimus Bosphorum sic vocari: et quasi Iudaeus, ista, inquit est regio, ad quam Hadrianus captivos transtulit..." (5). On the merits of this translation Jerome voices the following opinion: "Possumus autem locum quemlibet regni Babylonis intelligere, quamquam et aliud arbitrer. Nam consuetudinis prophetarum est, quando loqu-

(1) PL 25, 995 B.

(2) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 384, 1 ff.

(3) *Ibid.*, 385, 11 ff.

(4) PL 25, 998 A.

(5) PL 25, 1115 A ff.

untur contra Babylonem, Ammonites, Moabitas, Philistiim, et caeteras nationes, multis sermonibus linguae eorum abuti, et servare idiomata provinciarum. Quia ergo lingua Assyriorum *terminus*, qui hebraice vocatur gebul (גבול) dicitur Sapharad (ספרא), hunc sensum esse conicio: Transmigratio Ierusalem, quae in cunctis terminis regionibusque divisa est, urbes Austri, id est, tribus suae recipiet". St. Cyril in this verse forsakes the Septuagint and rallies to the variant *μεχρι βοσπορου* (which he expressly ascribes to *οι ερετοι*). Since the variant reading "Bosphorus" is peculiar to the Vulgate, Cyril's dependence on St. Jerome is incontrovertible here. In explaining this expression, however, the Alexandrian exegete differs from the Latin: *βοσπορος*, he avers, denotes the most southern parts towards the east; the expression "the lands of the Negeb" is a reference to the Indian nations whose territories were found in the south. Briefly, our author is of opinion that the oracle as a whole predicts that the regions to the north, south, east and west will be peopled with Jews <sup>(1)</sup>.

*Mich. 1, 11*

The Patriarch of Alexandria accords equal probability to the readings of the Septuagint, Aquila and Symmachus. If the Septuagint is preferred, the prophet is to be interpreted as referring to Senaar, a flat country in Jewish territory whose cities and villages are inhabited by the *αλλοφυλοι*. If Aquila's reading is adhered to, Micheas is to be regarded as envisaging Senan, an important town in Egypt. Cyril feels that the flourishing state of the last-mentioned town justifies the etymological signification of *ευσθρουσσα*, the reading given by Symmachus <sup>(2)</sup>. St. Jerome offers no parallel <sup>(3)</sup>.

*Hab. 2, 11*

Our exegete seems to be certain that the general meaning of this verse emphasizes the fact that the ruins of the cities desolated by the Babylonians will denounce their cruelty. Of the ex-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Abdias*, PUSEY I, 556, 10 ff. THEIS holds that Sepharad of the Massoretic text is the capital of Lydia, styled Cvarda in the Lydian tongue (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 154).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. in Mich.*, PUSEY I, 617, 10 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PL 25, 1160 A.

pression κανθαρος ἐξ ξυλου he offers two explanations: *a*) it signifies the beetles or the moths, which after the lapse of years have eaten into the wood of the fallen roofs and ceilings; *b*) deducing from the variant ενδεσμος ξυλου the hypothesis that in Antiquity the expression κανθαροι denoted the junctures of houses and the contrivances used to fasten planks of wood together, he suggests that the prophet has in mind the props on which the roofs rested <sup>(1)</sup>. In the same context St. Jerome notes that the translation of Theodotion, the Fifth Edition, and Symmachus agree with his own rendering: "...Et lignum quod inter iuncturas aedificiorum est, respondebit...". The Hebrew word יָבֵב, which he renders "iuncturae" denotes "lignum... quod ad continendos parietes in medio structurae ponitur; et vulgo apud Graecos appellatur ἱμάντωσις. Haec est ergo iuxta historiam quod prophetalis sermo significat: lapides parietum qui a te destructi sunt, et ligna eorum ambusta tuam crudelitatem sonabunt" <sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril justifies the reading of the Septuagint by attaching to the expression κανθαρος practically the same meaning that Jerome gives to the corresponding Hebrew word. Cyril's dependence upon St. Jerome is very likely.

### *Hab. 2, 15*

St. Cyril quotes a legend of the Jews concerning Nabuchodonosor and claims that the variant την γυμνωσιν refers to it <sup>(3)</sup>. Ziegler notes that Aquila has this reading <sup>(4)</sup>. Jerome adduces only the variant of Symmachus and the Fifth Edition ("ut videret ignominias eorum"); his own translation reads "ut auspiciat nuditatem eius", of which he gives a metaphorical explanation. He mentions the legend quoted by Cyril but dismisses it as ridiculous <sup>(5)</sup>.

### *Zach. 6, 13*

Apropos of this verse Jerome makes the following remark: "Cumque illud extruxerit, ipse quoque portabit gloriam, id est,

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 104, 10 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PL 25, 1296 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 110, 6 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> See his *apparatus criticus* in h. l.

<sup>(5)</sup> PL 25, 1300 C ff.

coronam alteram, quae hebraice hoc (כִּיָּן), et ab alio επιδοξότης: ab alio ευπρεπεια: ab alio αρετη: ab alio δοξα scribitur, quae vel inclytum, vel decorem, vel virtutem, vel gloriam sonant" (1). Ziegler in his *apparatus criticus* has identified the provenance of these variants. Cyril invokes δοξαν (Symmachus) and ευπρεπειαν (Theodotion) to elucidate the reading αρετην of the Septuagint (2).

### *Concluding remarks*

The foregoing examples permit us to formulate the following conclusions:

1. - St. Jerome is Cyril's immediate source for the readings noted by him apropos of *Os.* 11, 3 and *Abdias* 20. On this point there can be no doubt. The readings in question are peculiar to the Vulgate.

2. - Once a single instance of Cyril's dependence upon Jerome is satisfactorily proved, the fact that he consulted the Latin exegete in other cases becomes highly probable. Accordingly, Cyril is very probably dependent on Jerome for variants found in the *Hexapla* that are common to both of them. The degree of probability is greater in instances such as *Os.* 6, 7, *Os.* 11, 1, *Amos* 1, 6, *Amos* 4, 7, *Hab.* 2, 15 and *Zach.* 8, 10, where the accompanying explanations expounded by Cyril resemble those of Jerome (3).

3. - In all probability Cyril borrowed the variants not mentioned by Jerome either from the *Hexapla* or some commentary that treated of problems of textual criticism. *Os.* 2, 14 and *Amos* 9, 3 are pertinent examples.

4. - The source from which Cyril derives the information that the expression σειρενες of *Is.* 13, 21 corresponds to a Hebrew word meaning γλαυξ, is neither Jerome nor the *Hexapla*.

(1) *Ibid.*, 1456 B.

(2) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 364, 1 ff.

(3) The problem of St. Cyril's dependence upon St. Jerome in connection with variant readings of *Os.* 1, 4, *Amos* 1, 1, 6, *Amos* 3, 7, *Amos* 4, 7, *Agg.*, 2, 14 and *Zach.*, 6, 3 is discussed by PÈRE ABEL in his articles *Parallélisme exégétique...*, p. 214, pp. 218, 219, 221, 222.



## Art. 4. — CHANGES IN THE GREEK TEXT SUGGESTED BY ST. CYRIL

§ 1. — *Remarks in respect of ἡ τῆς λέξεως συνθήκη*

In Greek rhetoric συνθήκη has practically the same meaning as σύνθεσις and can be adequately defined as: "the due arrangement of words into sentences, and of sentences into periods; the art of constructing sentences and of writing prose or verse" <sup>(1)</sup>. Our author occasionally draws attention to the difficulties of meaning arising from the unsatisfactory συνθήκη of the Greek text of Scripture followed by him: Δυσχερὲς μὲν λίαν ἡ τῆς λέξεως συνθήκη. In most instances the faulty συνθήκη is due to the fact that the text is loaded with allusions likely to puzzle the ordinary reader. St. Cyril tries to make the meaning of the text clearer by supplying comments intended to awaken the reader's interest in the wealth of detail contained in the text and by suggesting appropriate lexicographical changes. A few examples will illustrate his method:

1. In the opinion of our author *Is.* 7, 17 seems to sum up the history of the southern and northern kingdoms. The misfortunes of both are rapidly reviewed by him: the defection of the ten tribes, the setting up of the kingdom of Samaria, its adversities culminating in its total destruction, the disasters brought upon Judah by the Edomites, Moabites and Philistines. However, all these hardships pale into insignificance when compared with the immense trials which Judah will experience at the hands of Nabuchodonosor. On the strength of these remarks our author paraphrases the rendering of the Septuagint as follows: Ἡμέρας τοίνυν, φησὶν, ἐπάξει Θεός, ὃν ἴσαι οὐπω γεγόνασιν, ἥτοι ἀφίκοντο καθ' ὑμῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ καιροῦ, ἀφ' οὗ ἀφεῖλεν, ἥτοι ἀπέσπασεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἐφραΐμ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα <sup>(2)</sup>.

2. A legend of the Hebrews describing the circumstances which led to Israel's parting with the golden bull authorizes Cyril

<sup>(1)</sup> See RHYS ROBERT's edition of the treatise *On Style* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, glossary, p. 326 and ERNESTI, *Lexicon technologiae Graecorum rhetoricae*..., p. 331.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 553, 12 f. See also PG 70, 208 B; 448 A; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 403, 25 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 208 D.

to replace παρωκῆσουσιν with either μετωκῆσουσιν or μετωκισθήσονται in *Os.* 10, 5. This change renders clearer the reference to the transfer of the idol to Babylonia, a thing in which Menahem had been forced to acquiesce as part-payment of the help given him against Syria. Our author points out other details of the legend alluded to by the text: *a*) the sorrow of the people on account of the loss of the idol <sup>(1)</sup>; *b*) the exasperation felt by the idol on account of the dishonour implied in allowing it to go to Babylonia <sup>(2)</sup>; *c*) the hopes, afterwards deluded, which Israel fondly entertained that Apis, their idol, would gain new adorers as a result of going to a more populated region <sup>(3)</sup>.

3. St. Cyril claims that *Is.* 18, 5 f. is couched in terms of an expedient to which vine-cultivators frequently recur: at the opportune moment they remove superfluous foliage and such small bunches as they chance to discover in order to ensure that the large bunches will improve their quality. The oracle intimates that it is precisely in this manner that God will deal with the Assyrians or the Egyptians. Our author takes care to note that it is by no means clear which of these nations is envisaged by the oracle. If the vineyard denotes the Assyrians, then the large bunch represents the Assyrian king who managed to escape and did not perish with the rest of the army that had encircled Jerusalem, and the small bunches signify the soldiers (killed by the destroying angel) whose corpses were subsequently the food of the wild beasts and the birds of the air <sup>(4)</sup>. On the other hand, if the Egyptians are envisaged, it is foretold that the Assyrians will not exterminate them completely but will only wipe out a few villages (signified by the small bunches cut off by the vine-cultivator) <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 210, 19 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 210, 21.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 210, 23 f. Cyril practically forces his text to yield these nuances. The Massoretic text alludes only to the fear and grief of the people occasioned by the departure of the idol.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 448 A.

<sup>(5)</sup> Modern exegetes show less indecision than St. Cyril with regard to the purpose of this prophecy. The whole of chap. 18 is a speech delivered by the prophet Isaias to the emissaries of king Tiraka of Egypt who had come to Jerusalem to persuade Ezechias to join forces with them against Assyria. In vv. 3-6 the ambassadors are politely requested to inform

4. *Os.* 11, 7 adds another reason to those mentioned in 11, 5 and 6 to explain why Ephraim was vanquished by the Assyrians. The text depicts him as "*hanging from the Assyrians and being desirous of leaving his own land for theirs*", — not that Ephraim was eagerly desirous of suffering, St. Cyril remarks, but that he wilfully persisted in sin in defiance of the warnings issued by God. Accordingly his misfortunes must be attributed to his own foolish choice <sup>(1)</sup>. The expression τίμια refers to the kings and leaders of the people, who shared the same ignominious fate as the subjects they seduced and ensnared <sup>(2)</sup>.

5. *Os.* 13, 14 intimates to us that despite its guilt, God has found a way to rehabilitate the human race; v. 14 b should be read as a question: who could be so foolish as to say that a means of consolation exists of which God is ignorant? <sup>(3)</sup>.

6. Cyril thus paraphrases *Hab.* 2, 18: τί ὠφελεῖ τὸ γλυπτὸν ὅτι ἔγλυψαν αὐτό; τί δὲ ὠφελεῖ ὁ πλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ πλάσμα αὐτοῦ ὅτι πέποιθεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ <sup>(4)</sup>; He leaves the reader free to choose between two explanations advanced by him: either God derides the foo-

their sovereign that Yahweh himself without the aid of Egypt will block the progress of the Assyrians at the opportune moment (See L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte bible...*, v. 7, p. 78 f).

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 233, 4 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 234, 2 ff.

The Massoretic text of *Os.* 11, 7 is practically unintelligible. The following rendering, based on the LXX but retaining as many consonantal elements of the Hebrew original as possible, gives a more plausible meaning than that advocated by St. Cyril:

"My people will be hanged near their own dwellings,

They will cry to Baal,

But he will not hear them".

Briefly, the oracle predicts that the Assyrians will subject the Israelites to impalement. Actually inscriptions have been found which show that they sometimes inflicted this punishment on their vanquished foes (See A. POHL, *Historia populi Israel...*, p. 23\*).

<sup>(3)</sup> The Massoretic text seems to contain a threat framed in the form of an indignant question: "*Shall the desire of vengeance hide itself from my eyes?*" If this is the true text, the meaning of it is very different from that extracted from the Greek text by St. Cyril (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 273, 3 ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 114, 6 ff.

lishness shown by the Babylonian magicians when they called on their false gods for help against Cyrus <sup>(1)</sup>, or he alludes to the senseless attitude of the Babylonian monarch, who, as Daniel narrates (*Dan* 3), commanded his statue to be adored by all peoples, but suffered indescribable calamities afterwards <sup>(2)</sup>.

7. *Zach.* 9, 1 f. is construed by our author as an oracle that is directed against the land of Sedrach (a district lying to the east of Damascus), Damascus (the metropolis of Phoenicia and Palestine) and Emath (known also as Ἐπιφάνεια beyond that of Antioch) because of the unfair treatment which their inhabitants meted out to the Israelites in the past. The oracle says that "*God is resting in them*", that is to say, he is reposing there after punishing the population for the misdemeanours formerly committed against Israel <sup>(3)</sup>. A similar meaning, St. Cyril claims, must be ascribed to the verb ἀνέπαισαν in *Zach.* 6, 8.

8. *Mal.* 1, 4, in St. Cyril's opinion, should be regarded as a kind of dialogue: in the first part the Edomites boast that they will eventually rebuild the cities and villages which the Israelites will destroy; the second part contains God's answer to their vain-glorious statement "*they will build, but I shall cast down*". The expressions "*the borders of wickedness*" and "*a people against whom the Lord has set himself for ever*" are appellations given the Edomites on account of their wickedness <sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 114, 10 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> The Massoretic text yields the following meaning: it is sheer nonsense for a man to trust in idols seeing that they are things of his own making (A. VAN HOONACKER, *Les douze petits prophètes...*, p. 485 f). This somewhat rejoins the first interpretation mentioned by Cyril.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 403, 25 ff. VAN HOONACKER corrects the Massoretic text as follows: "His dwelling will be in the lands of Hadrach and Damascus, because the towns of Aram and all the tribes of Israel belong to Yahweh". The original text, therefore, predicted that Yahweh's future kingdom will include the towns of Syria, Phoenicia and Philistia; however the Hebrew expression נִחַם hardly suggests the nuance of a "state of repose after having exacted atonement", which is so prominent in St. Cyril's interpretation.

On the other hand, this nuance is present in *Zach.* 6, 8: God satisfies his anger, i. e. his justice by exacting punishment is appeased (See ZORELL, *Lexicon...*, p. 504).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 553, 12 ff. Cyril's explanation rejoins the meaning of the Massoretic text, which, as well as expressing God's resent-

§ 2. - *Lexicographical changes*

Intermittently our author glosses his text in order to simplify it. Modern exegetes would hardly approve of all his suggestions.

1. In *Is.* 30, 18 he substitutes καταλειφθήσεται for καταλείψετε, justifying the change on the grounds that Scripture is indifferent to the expressions which it uses <sup>(1)</sup>. The whole verse is construed as a reproof blaming Israel for underestimating the glory which the fact of being God's chosen people conferred on him <sup>(2)</sup>.

2. The expression λήφονται of *Os.* 4, 8 according to our author means προσκομιῶσι τῷ Θεῷ <sup>(3)</sup>. To the verb λαμβάνεσθαι he attaches a technical meaning, namely, "to offer sacrifice", and contends that such an usage is warranted by *Num.* 9, 2 (λαβέτωσαν) and *Lev.* 14, 3 f. (λήφονται) <sup>(4)</sup>. In the light of these explanations the oracle is turned into a warning reminding the priests of their duty in times of widespread wickedness to offer their own souls as a spiritual oblation to God, by striving to live good lives and behaving in a manner that befits priests <sup>(5)</sup>. For failing to do so, they will be deprived of their dignity and will be subject to the same punishments as the people <sup>(6)</sup>.

ment, proclaims the utter failure of the future attempts of the Edomites to restore their lost fortunes (A. VAN HOONACKER, *Les douze petits prophètes...*, p. 707).

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 677 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> The clause referred to by Cyril is not found in the Massoretic text. It is omitted by the *Hexapla*, the recension of Lucian and by Theodoretus.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 102, 22 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 103, 7 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 103, 10 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> The Massoretic text of *Os.* 4, 8 reads:

" They eat the sins of my people,  
They condone their iniquities ".

Cyril's interpretation of the second member of this verse is completely foreign to the Hebrew, which contains no reference to sacrifice at all.

It is doubtful too that the Hebrew expression קָבַץ (which the LXX translates λαμβάνω in the texts of *Num.* and *Lev.* quoted by Cyril) has a technical sacrificial meaning. See F. ZORELL, *Lexicon...*, s. v.; BROWN-DRIEVER-BRIGGS, *Hebrew and English Lexicon...*, s. v.; DELLING in KITTEL's *Theologisches Wörterbuch...*, III, p. 6.

3. For the word συγκλεισμός in *Os.* 13, 7 Cyril substitutes ἀσφάλεια, which means "daring". Warriors, whose daring is shattered, inevitably succumb to fear. This is the purport of the prophet's prediction: the ferocity of the Assyrians, resembling that of a hungry bear bereft of her young, will make cowards of the Israelites<sup>(1)</sup>.

4. *Amos* 4, 6, according to St. Cyril, shows the enormous perversity of the Israelites: they even promised to offer to idols the voluntary sacrifices which the law left to one's free choice. He here regards ἐπεκαλέσαντο as the equivalent of ἠϋξάντο or ὑπέσχοντο<sup>(2)</sup>.

5. In *Amos* 5, 6 Israel is invited to seek God before he sets fire to the house of Joseph; ἀναλάμψαι stands for ἐμπρεσθῆναι<sup>(3)</sup>.

6. Instead of ἐν πύλαις in *Amos* 5, 10 Cyril suggests ἐναργῶς, ἀναθανδόν, ἐν παῖδι ἡσῖα<sup>(4)</sup>. A similar remark is made apropos of *Agg.* 2, 14<sup>(5)</sup>.

(1) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 268, 6 ff.

The LXX gives an incorrect rendering of the Hebrew expression חֲבִי וְנִפְּחָה which means "breast". Cyril's explanation is far-fetched. The original text represents Yahweh in the act of jumping on the Israelites and biting them.

(2) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 443, 7 f. Apropos of this text JEROME writes: Ultroneum autem sacrificium ad laetitiam pertinet: quod latine epulam possumus appellare. Cumque hoc feceritis, impietatem vestram omnibus nuntiate: ut non solum fecisse, sed et alios docuisse videamini. Haec autem praecipio, et imperativo modo loquor, ut vestrae satisfaciam voluntati, quia sic egistis et sic voluistis, filii Israel, dicit Dominus Deus... (PL 25, 1027 B) Jerome's explanation may have suggested to Cyril the thoughts written by him here.

(3) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 457, 15.

JEROME gives an explanation which may readily have suggested the remarks that Cyril makes here: In eo enim quod quaerunt Dominum, vivere incipiunt; sin autem non quaesierint eum, et idcirco non vixerint, statim succendetur ut ignis domus Ioseph, quam propter Ieroboam, qui de tribu Ephraim et de domo Ioseph fuit, decem tribus sentire debemus, quae appellabantur Israel, et ex maiore populi parte nomen pristinum possidebant... (PL 25, 1040 C).

The Massoretic rendering of this clause is unsatisfactory. Of the emendations suggested by KITTEL-KAHLE (*Biblia hebraica*) the last, which, when translated into English, reads: "lest he set the house of Joseph on fire" fits in best with the interpretation given by St. Cyril.

(4) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 460, 27 f.

(5) *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 274, 7.

The Hebrew text refers to the gates of the town where public affairs were discussed, and conveys a more concrete connotation than ἐναργῶς.

7. The expression τὸ ἁγίασμα in *Amos* 7, 12 denotes ἀνάθημα, or ἀναθήματος τόπος; this gloss is justified by the fact that King Jeroboam dedicated (= ἐνέθηκεν) the golden bull in the locality mentioned in the text <sup>(1)</sup>.

8. Commenting upon *Zach.* 6, 1 ff., our author recalls a remark which he made when interpreting *Amos* 3, 6: the expression κακία stands for κάκωσις. God may not be regarded as the author of moral evil (κακία) but he is the cause of the chastisements inflicted on sinners with a view to bringing home forcibly the need of turning over a new leaf (κάκωσις) <sup>(2)</sup>.

9. In Cyril's opinion *Soph.* 2, 4 envisages the inhabitants of Palestine <sup>(3)</sup>. On the other hand, *Soph.* 2, 5 contains a threat directed against the cities of Phoenicia, especially those found along the coast; these are the πάροικοι τῶν Κρητῶν (whom he identifies with the Lybians). The expression πάροικοι stands for ἄποικοι and μετανάσται <sup>(4)</sup>. The text also styles these Χαναάν, because the inhabitants of Phoenicia were originally ἄποικοι of the Cretans <sup>(5)</sup>.

10. With regard to the expression ἐν χειρὶ of *Agg.* 1, 1 Cyril writes: Τὸ δὲ ἐν χειρὶ νοήσεις, ἀντὶ τοῦ, διαχειρίζοντος, ἡγουν διακο-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 504, 20 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 358, 10 ff. and *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 424, 1 ff.

St. JEROME remarks apropos of *Amos* 3, 6: Malum autem quod Dominus facit in civitate, non contrarium est virtuti, sed afflictio et cruciatus, de quo legimus: "Sufficit diei malitia sua" (*Matth.* 6, 34), id est, tribulatio et angustia... (PL 25, 1016 D). Once again Cyril's thoughts could have been inspired by this remark of Jerome's.

VAN HOONACKER paraphrases the Hebrew text of *Amos* as follows: "Quand on sonne le clairon dans la ville, il y a lieu pour la population de s'alarmer, elle est menacée d'un danger: - du moment que la voix du prophète s'élève, c'est qu'il est temps d'avertir le peuple que l'heure est proche. La calamité que le prophète annonce aura Jahvé pour auteur; tel est le sens de la seconde question formulée au v. 6" (*Les douze petits prophètes...*, p. 227).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 196, 5 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 196, 8 ff. and 197, 14 f.

Cyril's identification of the Philistines with the Lybians and the shades of meaning ascribed to πάροικοι (= an alien without civil rights?) and ἄποικοι (= colonists) etc. are hardly justified by the Hebrew text.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 197, 16 ff.

νουμένου τοῖς παρὰ θεοῦ λόγοις, καὶ τὴν τῆς προφητείας λειτουργίαν ἐκπράττοντος <sup>(1)</sup>).

11. Cyril recommends us to read ἀφοριῶ instead of διασελῶ in *Mal.* 3, 10. God promises to arrange that each crop will have the time required to grow and become ripe; all possible injuries will be successfully warded off <sup>(2)</sup>).

## Art. 5 — PECULIARITIES OF SCRIPTURAL USAGE

### § 1. — Grammar

The only grammatical usage peculiar to Scripture which our author singles out for special mention is its indiscriminate use of tenses <sup>(3)</sup>. For example in *Is.* 50, 6 (a text in which Christ himself is the speaker) and in *Is.* 53, 7 (in which Isaias describes Christ) all the verbs are in the past tense <sup>(4)</sup>. The innuendo is that they should be expressed in the future. Again the clause ἐκπορνεύουσα ἐκπορνεύσει ἡ γῆ of *Os.* 1, 2 (expressed in the future tense) should in reality read πεπόρνευκεν ἡ γῆ <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril is induced to substitute the past tense for the future for the following reason: the text

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 244, 8 f.

See BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Hebrew and English Lexicon...*, p. 391 for examples which illustrate this usage of נָעַם.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 611, 11 ff. The Hebrew text seems to allude to the cessation of a locust plague. Cyril is working on a faulty text. POWIS-SMITH claims that the verb διασελῶ = נָרַעַתִּי or נָרַעַתִּי (*Comment. on Malachi...*, p. 75).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 1324 A; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 24, 7 f.; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 106, 21 f.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Os.*, PUSEY I, 24, 10 ff.

In the Hebrew of *Is.* 50, 6 the verbs are in the perfect tense. With regard to *Is.* 53, 7 the verbs of the first member refer to the past, while the participle and verbs employed in the second member (which is really a comparison) refer to the present. See E. KÖNIG, *Das Buch Jesaja...*, p. 411 and 435. The form *qatal* in these texts are instances of the prophetic perfect. See P. JOÜON, *Grammaire...*, p. 299.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Os.*, PUSEY I, 24, 17 ff.

The clause ἐκπορνεύουσα ἐκπορνεύσει of the LXX is an attempt to render the Hebrew infinitive absolute followed by the imperfect tense. The expression envisages continuous action in the present. See P. JOÜON, *Grammaire...*, p. 302.



shows that the prophet's marriage with a harlot has a spiritual signification; that being so, it is to fornication already committed that the clause alludes<sup>(1)</sup>. *Hab.* 2, 14 is an instance where Scripture represents future events as if they were already accomplished; the Greek text has ἐνεπλήσθη instead of ἐμπλησθήσεται<sup>(2)</sup>. In Cyril's opinion the prophet speaks about the exhaustive knowledge of God's dealings with the Chaldeans, which future generations will have when they weigh carefully what their defeat by Cyrus will imply<sup>(3)</sup>.

## § 2. — Terminology peculiar to Scripture

It is St. Cyril's constant care to explain Scripture in terms of Scripture. In this paragraph we shall study usages which he commonly classifies under the formula ἕθος... τῇ θεορνεύσῳ Γραφῇ<sup>(4)</sup>. Generally speaking, these are terms having meanings that are found only in Scripture; they recur so frequently that acquaintance with them is imperative. Though agreeing perhaps with the general signification which Cyril attaches to certain expressions, modern exegetes do not approve of the nuances that he finds in his examples.

1. When commenting on *Os.* 10, 3 f. our exegete states that the word διαθήκη means αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι; in the text under discussion it denotes the lying promises made to the Israelites by their kings concerning the security that the false gods would infallibly afford them<sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 24, 23 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> The Hebrew equivalent, קָטַף is in the imperfect tense and refers to the future.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 106, 21 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 1137 C. See also *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 207, 24 f.; *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 488, 1 f.; *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 160, 22 ff. etc.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Os.*, PUSEY I, 207, 24 f.

In the language of the Septuagint διατίθεσθαι διαθήκην means "to issue a decree", "to come to an arrangement". Διατίθεσθαι διαθήκην μετὰ τινος or ἀνὰ μέσον τινός καὶ τινος (or τινι or πρὸς τινα) means "to conclude a contract between two parties". See BEHM in KITTEL'S *Theologisches Wörterbuch*, II, 105, 32 ff. who, however, does not include unilateral promises under διαθήκη. Moreover, *Os.* 10, 4 f. seems to refer to the political arrangements made with the great powers like Assyria, Babylon and Egypt

2. The term ἔκστασις (and cognate words) has several acceptations: in *Jer.* 2, 12 (= ἐξέστη) and *Jer.* 5, 30 (= ἔκστασις) it means amazement (= κατάπληξις) <sup>(1)</sup>, a connotation which is found also, he claims, in *Is.* 7, 2 <sup>(2)</sup> and *Os.* 11, 10 b <sup>(3)</sup>. However in 2 *Cor.* 5, 6 (= ἐξέστημεν) ἔκστασις signifies a change from an earthly to a spiritual outlook and way of living <sup>(4)</sup>. In *Hab.* 3, 14 a it denotes the outlook and conduct of the Scribes and Pharisees; they forsook true love of God by refusing to attach themselves to Christ and by killing him, although they admitted that he was the heir <sup>(5)</sup>.

3. The verb ἔστη is applied to an act which has reached its completion. According to Cyril if ἔστη be predicated of a deed or word, it means that it is finished and completed (= ὥρισθη καὶ πέπρακται) <sup>(6)</sup>. *Ex.* 4, 25 is a relevant example: the text does not mean that the flow of blood stopped but that the act of circumcision had

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and not, as Cyril claims, to promises made by the Israelite kings to their subjects (See W. R. HARPER, *A Critical Commentary on Amos and Hosea*..., p. 345).

(1) *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 156, 7 ff.

(2) PG 70, 193 C.

(3) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 239, 14 f. In the Hebrew rendering of *Jer.* 2, 12 and 5, 30 ἐξέστη and ἔκστασις correspond respectively to שׁוּב (imperative) and שׁוּב the root meaning of which = "to wonder at", "to be astonished" etc. In *Is.* 7, 2 ἐξέστη = שׁוּב (i. e., his heart trembled, was seized with panic.). In *Os.* 11, 10 b ἐκστήσονται corresponds to the Hebrew שׁוּב. The meaning of this clause is: at God's invitation the exiles will approach joyfully (See F. ZORELL, *Lexicon*..., p. 267). In three instances out of four Cyril's examples are quite apposite. Frequently the LXX introduces into the Greek translation theological and anthropological views which are absent from the primitive text. See the articles by OEPKE and BERTRAM in KITTEL'S *Theologisches Wörterbuch*..., 2, 447 ff. and 457 ff.

(4) OEPKE thinks that St. Paul here alludes to an eccentric use of his apostolic authority (KITTEL'S *Theol. Wörterbuch*..., 2, 457). B. ALLO holds that ἐξέστημεν refers to extraordinarily energetic deeds accomplished by Paul in favour of the Corinthians at times when he was more conscious than usual of the absolute nature of his mission (*Saint Paul. Second épître aux Corinthiens*..., p. 163 f.).

(5) The translators of the new Latin psalter recommend that the Hebrew text be corrected as to read שׁוּב instead of שׁוּב: "with your spears you pierced the heads of great warriors". In view of this emendation Cyril's interpretation has little to recommend it.

(6) *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 135, 7 ff.

been completed and the objective in view had been attained <sup>(1)</sup>, namely, the warding off of death <sup>(2)</sup>. In *Hab.* 3, 6 ἔσται means that Christ fulfilled everything concerning him and appeared to those on earth <sup>(3)</sup>.

4. Our author tells us that "Scripture frequently likens the nations and a countless multitude to seas and waters" <sup>(4)</sup>; *Is.* 11, 9 (ὡς ὕδωρ πολὺ κατακαλύψαι θαλάσσας) <sup>(5)</sup>. *Dan.* 7, 2, 3 (εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεγάλην... ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης) <sup>(6)</sup> and *Ps.* 103, 25 f. (αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα ἡ μεγάλη) <sup>(7)</sup> are cases in point.

In *Zach.* 14, 8 f. the expressions ἡ θάλασσα ἡ πρώτη and ἡ θάλασσα ἡ ἔσχατη denote respectively the believing Israelites and the Gentiles to whom the Spirit will be distributed in equal measure in the last age <sup>(8)</sup>.

5. Κέρας means either dominion and power or arrogance <sup>(9)</sup>. In *Ps.* 74, 5 f. it signifies the proud thoughts entertained

<sup>(1)</sup> The Massoretic text of *Ex.* 4, 25 reads: "you are a bridegroom in blood, because of the circumcision". On the history of the exegesis of this text see C. ZALALIS, *Sponsus sanguinum*, *Ex.* 4, 24-26, *Roma*, 1947.

<sup>(2)</sup> We infer this from what Cyril says in PUSEY II, 135, 26 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PUSEY II, 136, 8 ff. The new Latin translation of the *Psalter* reads: "When he stands he makes the earth tremble". This verse refers to the terror that God's advent in judgement will cause.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 523, 1 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> The meaning of the Hebrew text of *Is.* 11, 9 is: disorder will disappear, because knowledge of God will be diffused throughout the whole land of Canaan. The clause "as the waters cover the sea" is only a simple comparison in which the words retain their literal meaning.

<sup>(6)</sup> "La grande mer agitée par les vents n'a aucune signification spéciale; elle forme, pour ainsi dire, le fond du tableau symbolique des quatre bêtes" (L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, v. 7, p. 675). The expression certainly has not the figurative meaning ascribed to it by Cyril.

<sup>(7)</sup> In *Ps.* 103, 25 ff. the sea together with its animals and the ships that sail on it are classed among the things made by God. Once again the term יָם is to be taken in its literal sense.

<sup>(8)</sup> In the tableau of the Messianic times water will stream forth from Jerusalem to the east and west, winter and summer, i. e., incessantly, in contrast to the natural streams of the country which are usually dry in summer (See A. VAN HOONACKER, *Les douze petits prophètes...*, p. 689). According to ZORELL, the expressions הַיָּם הַמֵּתִים וְהַיָּם הַחַיִּים and הַיָּם הַחַיִּים וְהַיָּם הַמֵּתִים denote the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea respectively (*Lexicon...*, p. 313).

<sup>(9)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 130, 26 f.

by sinners, whereas in *Lk.* 1, 69 and *Ps.* 111, 9 it means power <sup>(1)</sup>.

6. *Κράμα* means observance of the Mosaic law <sup>(2)</sup>; *Os.* 12, 6 is a relevant instance of this usage <sup>(3)</sup>.

7. At times Scripture compares Jerusalem to the Lebanon <sup>(4)</sup>. Cyril thinks that this usage is explained by the fact that the inhabitants of Jerusalem (who are always thinking of heavenly things and are completely enveloped with the beauty of religion) are like cedars that hold their crests up high. *Ps.* 103, 16 f. corroborates this point of view <sup>(5)</sup>. The expression "*I will cover the ungodliness of Lebanon*" (*Hab.* 2, 17) refers to God's intention to avenge the burning of the temple and the insults with which the Chaldeans treated the priests <sup>(6)</sup>.

8. The dove (*ἡ περιστέρα*) is the symbol of graciousness. In the *Canticle* the bridegroom styles the bride *περιστέρα* (2, 10). Sophonias calls Jerusalem *ἡ περιστέρα* on account of the glories that accrued to her from the fact that she worshipped the true God and practised righteousness <sup>(7)</sup>.

9. Expressions such as *ποταμοί*, *ὁδοί* and *τείχοι* denote God's commandments. *Jer.* 6, 16 and *Ps.* 118, 32 are examples quoted

<sup>(1)</sup> Cyril's examples are quite apposite. See BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Hebrew and English Lexicon...*, p. 902.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 248, 21 f. According to HERNTRICH (in KITTEL'S *Theol. Wörterbuch...*, 3, 928) *κράμα* generally connotes the observance of the commandments considered as part of an effort to attain to religious and ethical perfection.

<sup>(3)</sup> The meaning of the Hebrew coincides with that of the LXX.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 112, 8 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ps.* 103, 16 ff. far from envisaging the inhabitants of Jerusalem, is a description of the good effects accomplished by God's gift of rain: trees are watered and as a result of the flourishing condition which ensues, the birds can build their nests there.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 112, 21 f. The Hebrew text of *Hab.* 2, 16 ff. contains a threat which warns the Chaldeans to expect retaliation for the violence done to the Lebanon. Here the word is used in its ordinary sense. BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS mention only one instance, namely, *Jer.* 22, 6, in which Lebanon is used as a symbol of the royal house of Judah.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.* PUSEY II, 211, 12 ff. The Hebrew text of *Soph.* 3,1 styles Jerusalem an "*oppressing city*". The LXX mistook the feminine participle of *ἔπνι* (= to oppress) for the substantive *ἡ πνι* (= a dove). See F. ZORELL, *Lexicon...*, p. 315.

by Cyril <sup>(1)</sup>. In *Hab.* 3, 7 πορείαι αἰώνιοι are thep receipts of the gospel which the rulers of the Jews regarded as burdensome, although Christ taught them that they were not <sup>(2)</sup>.

10. Ποτήριον signifies the destiny or lot which falls to a person whether good or bad. In *Ps.* 10, 7, it denotes the punishment prepared by God for those who ignore him, whereas in *Ps.* 115, 1 it denotes the salutary cup for the righteous man, namely, knowledge of God and confidence in him <sup>(3)</sup>. In *Is.* 51, 22 f. ποτήριον denotes Jerusalem's present plight and unhappiness; these have been inflicted on her inhabitants in order to persuade them to depart from their sinful ways and to do what is pleasing to God <sup>(4)</sup>.

11. The expression πούς is used enigmatically to denote conduct <sup>(5)</sup>. *Prov.* 4, 26 and *Ps.* 118, 59 are quoted as illustrations of this usage <sup>(6)</sup>.

12. Ράβδος has many acceptations <sup>(7)</sup>. It can mean dominion (*Ps.* 44, 7), strength (*Ps.* 109, 2), the care bestowed by shepherds on their charges as well as the knowledge befitting them (*Mich.* 7 14 <sup>(8)</sup>). In *Zach.* 11, 7 the rods signify the knowledge which befits Christ the good shepherd and the two methods of education employed by him, namely, the law and the gospel <sup>(9)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 139, 24 f. Cyril is happy in his choice of these examples.

<sup>(2)</sup> The new Latin translation of the canticle of *Habacuc* v. 60 ff. reads:

"The eternal mountains are shaken,

The ancient hills bow down,

On which he treads since the beginning".

The Hebrew expression מַלְאָכָיו denotes the paths travelled by God on his way to judge the world (F. ZORELL, *Lexicon...*, p. 191).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 1137 CD.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.* Cyril's examples are quite apposite. ZORELL quotes *Ps.* 116, 13 (Hebr.) and *Is.* 51, 17-22 as examples of the figurative use of כּוֹס (*Lexicon...*, p. 350).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 76, 988 C.

<sup>(6)</sup> Both examples are quite relevant.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 455, 23 f.

<sup>(8)</sup> All three examples are apposite. See BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Hebrew Lexicon...*, p. 987 (רֻבֵּעַ = *Mich.* 7, 14 and *Ps.* 45, 7) and p. 641 (מִשְׁעָה = *Ps.* 110, 2).

<sup>(9)</sup> The staves alluded to in *Zach.* 11, 7 seem to denote the merciful

13. Σπουδή means the approach of tribulations<sup>(1)</sup>. In *Soph.* 1, 18 the expression intimates that the adversities, which had been foretold, will come to pass in a short time<sup>(2)</sup>.

14. Στάσις and cognate terms such as ἑστάναι κ. τ. λ., when applied to the angels, emphasize the fact that their minds never slacken but are erect and do not become weak — in a word, they stand before God<sup>(3)</sup>. *Ez.* 1, 7, *Jer.* 38, 21 (= στῆσον σεαυτὴν Σιών), *Ps.* 39, 3 (ἔστησεν ἐπὶ πέτρῳ) and *Zach.* 3, 7 (ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἑστηκότων) illustrate this usage<sup>(4)</sup>.

dispositions which Yahweh retains for his own in spite of everything. See A. VAN HOONACKER, *Les douze petits prophètes...*, p. 672.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 190, 27 ff.

(<sup>2</sup>) The Hebrew of this text is: מִי־כָלָה אֶךְ נִבְחָלָה יַעֲשֶׂה אֱלֹהִים. The substantive כָּלָה means "an act of complete destruction" (F. ZORELL, *Lexicon...*, p. 358). The noun נִבְחָלָה means "something sudden" (F. ZORELL, *ibid.*, p. 97). In this clause "the verb takes two accus., or the first acc. is so closely welded to and identified with the vb. that the combined expression is treated as a verb and takes the obj. in the acc.". (POWIS SMITH, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Zephaniah*, Edinburgh, 1912, p. 211). In this instance Cyril's interpretation is in keeping with the Hebrew text.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 319, 5 ff.

(<sup>4</sup>) Cyril is unhappy in this choice of illustrations: 1) *Ez.* 1, 7 literally means "and their feet were an upright foot". It is generally admitted that the living creatures depicted in the theophany are symbols of strength. It is hard to see what special signification the fact of standing can have. 2) *Jer.* 38, 21 (Hebr. = 31, 21) states that the return from exile must be duly prepared by going back on the path taken by Israel as he went into exile and by marking it afresh. The Greek expression στῆσον σεαυτὴν corresponds to נָעַץ in the Hebrew text. This is a transitive verb which is followed by a direct object: "Set up waymarks for yourself, make guide-posts for yourself..." See L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, v. 7, p. 336. 3) In *Ps.* 40, 2 the expression "he placed my feet on a rock" is a metaphor describing the Psalmist's present state of health, which is contrasted with his former sickness. 4) *Zach.* 3, 7 (according to the Hebrew text) reads: "And I will give you free access to those who stand". Apropos of this clause VAN HOONACKER remarks: "Nous préférons l'explication suivante analogue à celle proposée par Hitzig. Jehoschoua aura rang parmi les anges; aux yeux de Jahvé il sera censé marcher parmi eux, parce que comme eux, il sera revêtu d'autorité pour la direction des hommes, à savoir pour la direction spirituelle de sa communauté" (*Les douze petits prophètes...*, p. 609). Cyril thinks that the text confirms a promise made to Joshua pledging the restoration of pristine glory of his house, if he turns out to be a faithful observer of the

15. ὕβρις means pride or disdain (ὕπεροψία) <sup>(1)</sup>. In *Amos* 6, 8 ὕβρις denotes concretely the contempt the Israelites showed God by adoring false gods and by refusing to listen to the prophets <sup>(2)</sup>.

16. Φυλακίη (or ἀκοή) means the alertness with which the prophets received knowledge of future things from the Spirit <sup>(3)</sup>. *Hab.* 2, 1 (ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς μου στήσομαι), *Abdias* 1 (ἀκοὴν ἤκουσα παρὰ Κυρίου), *Ps.* 84, 9 (ἀκούσομαι ...) are in our author's opinion apposite instances of this usage. In *Hab.* 3, 16 ἐφυλαξάμην stresses the fact that the prophet held fast to the meaning of what had been told him <sup>(4)</sup>.

17. Χεῖρ denotes power and authority. In *Zach* 4, 10 ἐν χειρὶ Ζοροβάβελ predicts that Christ will be vested with the power that is characteristic of Zorobabel <sup>(5)</sup>. Scripture not infrequently styles God's creative powers his "hands". *Ps.* 118, 73, 94, 5, 101, 26 exemplify this usage <sup>(6)</sup>. In *Is.* 49, 16 f. the expression "hands"

law: the angels themselves will co-minister with him whenever he performs his priestly functions (PUSEY II, 318, 25 ff.).

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 488, 1 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> *De facto* the Hebrew text has זָבַד, which means "pride".

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Habacuc*, PUSEY II, 160, 22 f.

<sup>(4)</sup> With regard to *Hab.* 2, 1 the corresponding Hebrew expression is יִשְׁמַעְשִׁימֵעַ. The text alludes directly to the place purposely chosen by the prophet to receive the vision. It indirectly refers to the tension experienced by him during the vision (F. HORST, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 174). *Abd.* I should be corrected so as to read: "I have heard an audition from Yahweh". The prophet speaks of the revelation received by him (See BEWER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Abdias...*, p. 20). *Ps.* 84, 9 in the Hebrew text reads: "Let me hear what the Lord will speak". Very probably the Psalmist alludes to a revelation. The Hebrew of *Hab.* 3, 16 yields the following meaning: "When I heard, I trembled". On hearing the description of the terrible judgement, the prophet trembles, but tranquilly hopes in God in the midst of evils.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 343, 3 f. Cyril's explanation may be an attempt to answer an objection formulated by JEROME (PL 25, 1445 B). On the figurative use of יָד see BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Hebrew Lexicon...*, p. 390 f. In *Zach.*, 4, 10 יָד is taken in its proper sense. Reference is made to the frontal stone of the temple which Zorobabel carried in his own hand.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 1065 C. These texts illustrate Cyril's point of view quite appositely.

seems to signify the peculiar strength conferred on Sion as a consequence of Christ's passion <sup>(1)</sup>.

18. A usage of Scripture, invoked by St. Cyril with regard to the interpretation of prophetic texts, is the fact that it does not distinguish between the Assyrians and the Babylonians. It regards both as belonging to the same nation, since they were subject to the same sceptre and belonged to the same kingdom <sup>(2)</sup>.

The explanations elaborated by St. Cyril are, generally speaking, completely independent of the corresponding interpretations of St. Jerome. The few points of contact with the Latin *exegete* mentioned in the footnotes should not be pressed too far; they merely suggest that some of the changes introduced by Cyril into his Bible may have been occasioned by the fact that in these instances he chanced to consult the corresponding passages of Jerome.

#### Art. 6. — ST. CYRIL'S ANTI-MYTHICAL LEANINGS <sup>(3)</sup>

Another feature of St. Cyril's exegesis, which demonstrates how highly he esteems the literal sense, is his determination to exclude from Scripture everything that savours of a myth <sup>(4)</sup>. Equally strong is his aversion to Greek myths which he characterises as old women's tales inviting only ridicule and derision <sup>(5)</sup>. Both of these tendencies asserted themselves in Alexandrian exegesis at an early date. According to Philo, the mark which distinguishes the Bible from the religions of the Ἑθνη is the fact that the latter rest on myths whereas the former is grounded on real history <sup>(6)</sup>;

<sup>(1)</sup> In *Is.* 49, 16 f. the expression יְהוָה is an anthropomorphism. Yahweh is as mindful of his promises to Israel, as if the name of Sion were inscribed on the palms of his hands.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 443, 5 ff. This remark of St. Cyril is quite justified. See L. FONCK in HAGEN'S *Lexicon biblicum*..., I, 429.

<sup>(3)</sup> See STAEHLIN, art., μῦθος in KITTEL'S *Theologisches Wörterbuch*..., 4, pp. 769-803.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 76, 632 B; 645 A.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 616 C; 632 B.

<sup>(6)</sup> Compare *De confusione linguarum* 3 (COHN, *ed. min.*, 2, 219, 6 ff.) with *De gigantibus*, 7 (COHN, *ed. min.*, 2, 44, 12 ff.) and *De opificio mundi*, 2 (COHN, *ed. min.*, 1, 1, 10 ff.).



Philo's exegetical method, even when his allegorical leanings are most pronounced, never loses sight of this <sup>(1)</sup>. Controversy led the exponents of Christian exegesis, notably Clement and Origen, to indulge in mordant criticism of the Greek myths. Clement avows that he cannot stand them <sup>(2)</sup>; their atheistic colouring disgusts him <sup>(3)</sup>. Origen dislikes their immorality and historical untrustworthiness <sup>(4)</sup> and their inseparability from polytheism <sup>(5)</sup>; nor does the application of the allegorical method change their nature — they remain what they are, myths <sup>(6)</sup>. In St. Cyril's time the revival of interest in the works of Julian the Apostate, shown by some Egyptian circles, made the problem of the relations existing between the Bible and myths a burning question once more. The manner in which Julian disparages the histories recounted by the Bible, affords Cyril an excellent opportunity of stating anew the tenets fixed by his predecessors. Replying to Julian's frontal attack, which places incidents recounted in the opening chapters of *Genesis* on a par with fables of patently mythical character, Cyril enunciates principles that challenge the right of anybody to make such comparisons: the doctrines of the Bible bear no resemblance whatsoever to myths; Moses, the prophets and the apostles recognize and adore but one God; they exhort their followers to do the same, prescribing for them a pure form of life which repudiates the obscenities inculcated by myths <sup>(7)</sup>. In his lengthy discussion of Julian's objections Cyril constantly aims at two objectives: 1) to expose the mythical character of the stories which his adversaries may be tempted to compare with the narratives of Scripture; 2) to establish the historicity of the latter. Let us see him at work:

1. A few lines from Hesiod's *Theogony* <sup>(8)</sup> suffice to show the incomparable superiority of Moses's account of Creation in which

(1) *De migratione Abraham*, 16, 93 (COHN, *ed. min.*, 2, 277, 31 ff.).

(2) *Protrepticus*, 2, 2 (GCS, 12, 2, 1 ff.).

(3) *Ibid.*, 13, 5 (GCS, 12, 12, 15 ff.).

(4) *Contra Celsum*, 1, 16 (GCS, 2, 68 f.) and 1, 23 (GCS, 2, 73 f.).

(5) *Ibid.*, 8, 66 (GCS, 3, 282 f.).

(6) *Ibid.*, 5, 38 (GCS, 3, 41 f.).

(7) PG 76, 568 C.

(8) Lines 107-110; 126 ff.; 134 ff.; 372; 378; 137.

heaven is not styled Jupiter, nor the earth Demeter, nor the moon Χρυσήλατος κελαιδινή, namely, Artemis<sup>(1)</sup>. The cosmogony of Scripture bears the hall-mark of accuracy (ἀκριβεία). Moses does not regard matter as something coeternal with God; he states that it was brought from non-existence into existence by God's will<sup>(2)</sup>. The opening verse of *Genesis* briefly expounds the origin of the whole universe; the verses which follow describe how it was arranged and how each single creature came into existence<sup>(3)</sup>. When everything in the universe was made and nothing subserving man's utility was lacking, God decided to call man into existence; since man bears God's image and likeness, God devoted special care to his creation, causing divine deliberations to precede it<sup>(4)</sup>. Cyril insists that Scripture represents the Creator himself as determining the physical laws which govern each creature; the fact that each has such an existence is ascribed by Scripture to God's wishes<sup>(5)</sup>. After a digression devoted entirely to the views of Julian's co-religionists, who hold that the whole universe was called into existence at God's command<sup>(6)</sup>, Cyril shows that *Gen.* 1, 26 f. by reason of the importance attached to the formation of man, (who is described as made according to God's image and likeness), is superior to the δημιουργία of Plato, of which Julian vaunts so much<sup>(7)</sup>. Of Plato, too, Cyril has some words of criticism. First of all the philosopher fails to achieve his purpose, namely, of delineating the character of God and of putting becoming words into his mouth<sup>(8)</sup>. By stating that God handed over to false

(1) PG 76, 582 C ff.

(2) *Ibid.*, 584 AB.

(3) *Ibid.*, 584 C - 585 B.

(4) PG 76, 585 BC.

(5) PG 76, 585 CD.

(6) *Ibid.*, 585 D - 588 D. Cyril quotes from the discourses of Hermes to Asclepius (W. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, I, p. 547) and to Tat (*ibid.*, 547) and another fragment which Scott publishes on p. 549. Cyril also quotes from PLATO, *Timaeus* 28 BC (HERMANN'S ed., 4, 332) and 30 B (*ibid.*, 334).

(7) PG 76, 589 B-592 B. JULIAN expresses his admiration of Plato's δημιουργία in the objection formulated in 576 A. See NEUMANN'S reconstruction of the order of the fragments conserved by Cyril (*Iuliani impetatoris contra Christianos quae supersunt* . . . , p. 109).

(8) PG 76, 592 BC. The passage which Cyril criticizes is *Tim.* 41 ABC. Cyril takes Plato's statements literally and misses the fine point of his alle-

gods the power of creating the three tribes of mortals, Plato derogated from God's glory, because the power of calling beings into existence belongs to God alone <sup>(1)</sup>; nowhere does Scripture say that God gave this power to anybody <sup>(2)</sup>. The testimony of Hermes is invoked in support of this doctrine <sup>(3)</sup>. Hitting directly at the views expressed by Plato in the passage under examination, Cyril asks why God should not interest himself in [the creation of the three mortal races. The only motives which could influence him not to do so are laziness, indifference or envy — all of which are foreign to God's nature, which even Plato describes as good <sup>(4)</sup>. Nor is it unbecoming that God should create beings which are subject to death and corruption. Actually nothing is incorruptible or immortal or indissoluble κατ' ἰδίαν φύσιν. God using his own exclusive power assigns to each being its own concrete φύσις <sup>(5)</sup>.

gory. A modern commentator of Plato comments this passage as follows: "This assertion of the δημιουργός that whatsoever immediately proceeds from him must be immortal is, I think, not without its metaphysical significance. The creation of the universe by the δημιουργός, we take it, symbolizes the evolution of absolute intelligence into material nature *i. e.*, into the perceptions of finite intelligences. Now this evolution, the manifestation of supreme thought in the material world, is *per se* eternal — it is an essential element in the being of eternal thought. But, the evolution once given, the things that belong to it as such are all transitory. Considered as making up the sum total of phenomenal nature the infinite series of phenomena is eternal; but the phenomena themselves belong not to eternity but to γένεσις. In other words the *existence* of time and space is part [of the being of absolute intelligence: the apprehension of things in time and space pertains to finite intelligences. Therefore, as phenomena apprehended in time and space do not directly pertain to absolute intelligence, so in the allegory mortal things are not directly the work of the δημιουργός". (R. D. ARCHER-HIND, *The Timaeus of Plato...*, p. 139 f.). [On the myths of Plato see STAHLIN, *art. cit.* in KITTEL's *Theologisches Wörterbuch...*, 4, p. 780 ff. and P. FRIEDLAENDER, *Platon. Eidos, Paideia, Dialogus*, pp. 228-230.

(1) PG 76, 596 C-597 A.

(2) *Ibid.*, 593 B.

(3) *Ibid.*, 597 B. The passage quoted by Cyril belongs to *libellus 14* of the *Corpus hermeticum* (W. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, I, p. 258, 26-260, 5).

(4) PG 76, 593, BC.

(5) *Ibid.*, 597 A-B. Apropos of the clause "The Spirit of God was borne over the waters" Cyril writes, "Moses teaches that the nature of the elements has not of itself the power to escape corruption; in order to exist it needs the hand of the Being who holds it together. Because the Spirit of God

2. In Julian's opinion the mythical character of doctrines, such as the planting of paradise by God and the creation of Eve as Adam's helpmate, is proved by the fact that, far from helping Adam, Eve was the cause of his downfall. How could God be unaware that Eve, whom he made as a helpmate, would become an occasion of evil? <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril is quite certain that episodes of Hesiod's *Theogony*, with which the Mosaic narratives are compared, are only "fooleries and stammerings befitting old women". It is vain to claim that they are regarded only as literary artifices devised by poets in virtue of a poetic licence. Persons whom the Greeks hold in high esteem, such as Herodotus and Plato, seem to give them full credence <sup>(2)</sup>.

Cyril next establishes the historicity of the incidents attacked by Julian. These are his conclusions:

a) Eve was created not to be Adam's counsellor but to enable him to procreate children <sup>(3)</sup>.

b) In order to implant in Adam a favourable disposition towards Eve, God subtracted a small portion of his body and made a creature of it which was fully endowed with the characteristics of man's nature and was accepted by him spontaneously <sup>(4)</sup>.

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(who is life *κατὰ φύσιν* inasmuch as he is from the life of the Father) animates all things. Every being needs the Spirit in order to remain what it is" (*ibid.*, 584 D f.). In his *Contra Celsum* Origen refers to the insufficiency of Plato's teaching compared with that of the prophets (*lib.* 6, *chap.* 5, GCS, 3, 75, 16 ff.). In another place Origen shows how Plato's idea of God is excelled by that of the Scriptures (*lib.* 6, *chap.* 17, GCS, 3, 87, 18 ff.).

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 76, 613 B (= NEUMANN, *Juliani imperatoris...*, pp. 167, 6-168, 2).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Theogony*, lines 104, 134, 510, 571, 573 and 585. St. Cyril's refutation of Julian can be usefully compared with ORIGEN'S rebuttal of Celsus who singles out the biblical narration of Eve's creations as a myth deserving of ridicule. Origen retorts by quoting Hesiod's description of the formation of Pandora (*Works and Days*, 11, 53-82); these lines, Origen notes, penned by a man, whom Celsus regards as inspired, are even better fitted to excite laughter (*lib.* 4, *chap.* 38 (GCS, 2, 309, 4 ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 76, 613 B-617 B. St. Cyril quotes HERODOTUS, *Historiae* 2, 54 (KALLENBERG'S edition I, p. 155) and PLATO, *Republic* 2, 365 de (HERMANN'S edition, 4, p. 44) and *Tim.* 40 E-41 A (*ibid.*, 4, 344). These passages are also quoted by EUSEBIUS in his *Praeparatio evangelica* 13, 1, 1 (DINDORF'S edition, 2, p. 163, 23 ff.) and 13, 14, 5 (*ibid.*, 2, 224, 15 ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 76, 613 Df.

c) Actually Eve did become an evil counsellor. That, however, was due to the fact that she was not created immoveable and fixed of purpose, but as a rational creature capable of governing herself by means of voluntary tendencies either towards good or evil <sup>(1)</sup>. Julian errs by claiming that God did not achieve his purpose in creating Eve. God conferred an immense benefit on her by endowing her with free will. Even Julian's teachers, Porphyry and Alexander, confess that the bestowal of so great a gift is worthy of all praise <sup>(2)</sup>.

d) Contrary to what Julian claims, the precept imposed by God on Adam and Eve was a source of the greatest benefit to them. They were permitted to eat of the fruit of all the trees in the garden with the exception of that planted in the centre. The command itself was useful in that it afforded the first pair an occasion of practising obedience and of exercising self-restraint. The fact that it was placed in the middle of the garden reminded them both of the existence of the precept and of the excellence of the lawgiver. Yet another benefit could have been derived from obeying the precept: obedience would have filled the first couple with the desire of seeing God (θεοπρία). Even pagan writers, such as Alexander, admit that the latter is a source of supreme happiness <sup>(3)</sup>. Accordingly, Julian wrongly finds fault with God's arrangements that the precept concerning the tree should have placed θεοπρία within the reach of Adam and Eve <sup>(4)</sup>.

e) These considerations show that, as far as God's purpose was concerned, man suffered no injury when woman was given him as a companion. God knows all things and he permits human affairs to run with the stream, because free will is a factor which must be reckoned with. His wisdom and the manner in which he

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 76. 620 A-C.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 618 D and 620 D.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 620 C-621 C. Cyril quotes from the Πρὸς Νημέριον of PORPHYRY (unidentifiable) and the Περὶ προνοίας and Περὶ εἰμασμένης of ALEXANDER (neither passage can be identified).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 76, 628 A-629 B. The passage quoted from Alexander cannot be identified. On this author see K. PRAECHTER, *Friedrich Ueberwegs Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie...*, I, 564.

directs individual beings cannot be grasped by our finite intellects. To this even Porphyry bears witness <sup>(1)</sup>.

3. Concerning the serpent-tempter Julian asks: "What language did it speak when addressing Eve? Was it a human language? How does this story differ from the μύθοι of the Greeks?" Surmising that Julian will forestall an objection by avowing that the Homeric parallel of Xanthus, Achilles's horse, was only a μυθολογία ποιητική, Cyril invites him to be consistent and to confess openly that his own masters, who write such things, are teachers of lies <sup>(2)</sup>. To back up his contention, our author quotes a passage from Porphyry's life of Pythagoras in which the river Caucasus is stated to have greeted the philosopher <sup>(3)</sup>. Philostratus, too, writes in a similar strain: at the command of Thespesian, the head of the naked sages, an elm saluted Apollonius articulately with a voice resembling that of a woman <sup>(4)</sup>. Again, the oak of Dodona is credited with having a human voice and Isigonus of Citium says that the bull of Rhodes had speech like ours <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril completes his review of these legends by remarking that only rational beings can speak and that both Pythagoras and the naked sages were sorcerers. He infers that "the playthings of sorcerers show quite plainly that there is something in the nature of demons capable of producing voices not only in the instance of animals endowed with senses but also in the instance of water and wood which have neither voice nor senses" <sup>(6)</sup>. On the strength of these remarks Cyril appraises the narrative of *Genesis* as follows: the serpent being neither rational nor intellectual did not converse with Eve in virtue of its own natural powers; it was Satan who assumed the serpent's person (πρόσωπον) since he wished to despoil man of the gift of

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 76, 629 B-632 A. The passage of Porphyry cannot be identified.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 76, 632 C-633 A. Cyril quotes the *Iliad*, 19,420 (DINDORF-HENZE's edition 2, p. 156) and 19,407 (*ibid.*, p. 155).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 76, 633 A-C (= NAUCK, *Vita Pythagorae*, p. 31-12 and pp. 34, 16-35, 2).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 76, 633 D f. (= CONYBEARE, *Life of Apollonius*, 6, 10, vol. II, p. 30),

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 76, 636 A. On the oak of Dodona see PAULY-WISSOWA, 3, 162 and 5, 1260 f. On Isigonus of Citium see PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, 9, 2082.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 76, 636 B, Cyril quotes CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (GCS, 15, 44, 5 ff.) and PORPHYRY (NAUCK, *Vita Pythagorae*, pp. 34, 16 ff.) to prove that Pythagoras was a sorcerer.

immortality conferred on him; Julian misinterprets the episode because he fails to see that the details supplied by Scripture condemn the designs of the devil <sup>(1)</sup>.

4. Julian urges that it is the height of folly to claim that God forbids the creatures formed by him knowledge of good and evil. "Who", he asks, "is more stupid than one who is incapable of knowing good and evil? Such a person will neither flee from evil nor do good. Accordingly, God forbade man to taste the consummation of prudence, which is the most precious thing he could possess" <sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril's lengthy reply can be reduced to the following points: 1) In Scripture the expression "to know good and evil" has a special connotation of which Julian is ignorant; it means knowledge acquired by experience <sup>(3)</sup>. 2) Adam and Eve were originally endowed with such knowledge as befitted their state; their knowledge of good and evil was similar to that of the angels <sup>(4)</sup>. 3) However, on deserting their primeval condition, their knowledge of good and evil became clearer as a result of their experience <sup>(5)</sup>.

5. Julian also criticizes the circumstances of man's expulsion from paradise. He writes: "Unless each of these incidents is a myth with a secret lesson, I think that these statements are blasphemous" <sup>(6)</sup>, because the things imputed by *Genesis* to God characterize him as envious and jealous <sup>(7)</sup>. Anxious not to cause

<sup>(1)</sup> The story of Eve's temptation by the serpent affords Celsus another opportunity of expressing ridicule. ORIGEN replies by quoting Socrates' words concerning Eros (PLATO, *Conviv.* 23, p. 203 B-E) and remarks: "The present, however, is not the proper time for explaining either the myth of Plato or the story of the serpent and the paradise of God, and all that is related to have taken place in it, as in our exposition of the book of *Genesis* we have especially occupied ourselves, as best we could, with these matters" (*lib.* 4, *chap.* 39, GCS, 2, 311, 14 ff.; 313, 3 ff.).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 76, 636 C (= NEUMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 162, 5-14).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 76, 636 D and 640 CD.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 641 B-C.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 641 D.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 76, 644 A (= NEUMANN, *Iuliani imperatoris...*, p. 168, 14-169, 11).

This statement of JULIAN applies to all the texts of *Genesis* quoted by him so far. See NEUMANN'S reconstruction of the fragments (*op. cit.*, pp. 105-108).

<sup>(7)</sup> From *Genesis* JULIAN infers that: 1) God was unaware that Eve would be the occasion of Adam's sin. 2) He forbade them to acquire knowledge of good and evil, a thing that is indispensable for the regulation of

tedium, Cyril refrains from repeating the answers to this difficulty contained in his previous replies. He contents himself with noting that the prohibition to eat the fruit of the tree of life, far from being an act of envy and jealousy, was one of marvellous condescension. Had Adam and Eve partaken of it after the Fall, they would have been permanently fixed in their wickedness and would have been constrained "to live a life removed from and hateful to the All-Holy God, as the unclean spirits do" <sup>(1)</sup>. The punishment of bodily death ensured in reality that man should not remain wicked for ever and stimulated hope in eventual rehabilitation <sup>(2)</sup>. Two passages from Porphyry are cited in support of the claim that edath really confers benefits on man <sup>(3)</sup>.

6. Of *Gen.* 6, 1-4 Julian gives an interpretation which calumniate the angels: they became so degraded that they rushed upon beautiful women and were disgracefully involved in carnal unions absolutely repugnant to their nature <sup>(4)</sup>. A variant of the LXX reads οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ; Julian's text has οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, which he makes the equivalent of οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ on account of the presence of the expression γίγαντες in this context; these, he urges, were superhuman beings, the progeny of immortal fathers and mortal mothers <sup>(5)</sup>. In his reply Cyril insists that the true reading of the Septuagint is οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. This expression denotes the descendants of Enos (surnamed θεός because he was the guardian of righteousness and every virtue <sup>(6)</sup>), who retained this appellation as long as they remained righteous and avoided intercourse with the sinful race of Cain, the members of which were styled "the children of men". In the course of time the two races mingled and iniquity became widespread. As a chastisement for their sexual excesses God decreed that their women-folk should give birth to γίγαντες <sup>(7)</sup>; these were stout and robust per-

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human conduct. 3) He was afraid that they would eat of the fruit of the tree of life and thereby become immortal (644 AB).

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 76, 644 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 644 C-D.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 645 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 953 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 945 BCD (= NEUMANN, *op. cit.*, 215, 1 ff.).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 956 C. Cyril quotes *Gen.* 4, 28.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 956 CD.



sons whose bodies were disfigured with ugliness. "Unlike the poets of the Greeks, we do not say that they were exceedingly big or that they were so tall that they were able to snatch islands from the midst of the sea and hurl them at the heavens. They had ugly faces, and were monsters endowed with great strength, but not beyond the limits of human nature as the poets falsely claim" <sup>(1)</sup>.

7. Since there are religious bigots who claim that the biblical records concerning the Flood and the tower of Babel are only empty myths, Cyril resolves to expose their inconsistency by quoting from Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus <sup>(2)</sup>, both of whom refer to these events, though their statements are not free from censure <sup>(3)</sup>. Of course their inexactitude should not cause us surprise, because "they did not participate in the divine light nor did they behold with the eyes of the mind the august beauty of the truth" <sup>(4)</sup>.

8. From the biblical recital of the Flood Julian draws conclusions derogatory to God's claim to be the God of the universe; He is not the Creator of the whole world, but exercises a limited power over a single race and should therefore be ranked promiscuously with the other gods <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril invokes the testimony of passages which prove that the Flood was a chastisement inflicted on all the inhabitants of the world who are depicted as sharing universal depravity. It is inconceivable that a being of limited power was capable of pouring down the cataracts of heaven on all mankind and of covering the whole earth with water. Besides, if

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 76, 957 A and PG 69, 53 B; 56 A. This opinion resembles that held by THEODORETUS (PG 80, 152 A-B). On the *Gigantes* of Greek Mythology see NETTLESHIP and SANDYS's edition of SEYFFERT's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, p. 253.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 76, 513 C-516 D.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 513 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 516 B. See the articles written on these historiographers in *Encyclopedia italiana*, TRECCANI, I, p. 345 and PAULY-WISSOWA, I, p. 129 respectively. It is probable that Cyril borrowed these quotations from Eusebius's Chronicle (See P. REGAZZONI, *Il "Contra Galilaeos" dell'imperatore Giuliano et il "Contra Iulianum" di San Cirillo Alessandrino, (Didaskaleion*, 6 (1928), p. 93). Origen answers Celsus's objections to the biblical version of the Flood in bk. 4, chapters 41 and 42 (GCS, 2, 314-315). Origen's treatment of the problem offers no point of contact with Cyril.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 76, 652 D f.

God were only a national god, why did not the other gods protect their followers by opposing him? God is neither a particular god nor one of the false gods. Moses shows that he is the Creator and Lord of the whole world. It is true that he made a chosen race of Abraham's descendants, whose principal prerogative consisted in teaching knowledge of the true God to all the others <sup>(1)</sup>.

9. Julian opines that the scriptural version of the tower of Babel resembles the Homeric myth of the Aloidae <sup>(2)</sup>. Since Christians think that Scripture is true, they should logically accept the delineation of God implied in it, namely, that he was afraid of the fact that men spoke one single language and that he confused their speech in consequence <sup>(3)</sup>. Cyril's long rebuttal insists on the following points: 1) The enterprise was frankly an impossible undertaking, even if the builders disposed of bricks supplied by the whole earth. 2) God's intervention, far from being an act of fear, was really a favour in disguise, since it effectively put an end to vain and purposeless labours and influenced the builders to resume their normal and useful occupations <sup>(4)</sup>. 3) The comparison with the myth of the Aloidae makes Cyril discriminate between the elements of the recital of *Genesis* which he accepts literally and those which he interprets figuratively (ἐν παραδείγματι). For instance, he experiences no difficulty in admitting that young men of powerful bodily strength and arrogantly contemptuous of God really existed. However, the design of building a tower reaching to heaven, which Moses ascribes to them, is really a figure of hyperbole which means little more than that they wished to make heaven accessible to themselves <sup>(5)</sup>. The fact that Homer was mistaken about these things and presented them in the guise of a myth or otherwise

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 657 C-660 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 76, 708 AB. St. Cyril quotes *Odyss.*, 11, 316. With regard to the biblical account of the tower of Babel Celsus claims that Moses perverted the story of the sons of Aloeus. Origen rejoins: "We must remark that I do not think any one prior to the time of Homer has mentioned the sons of Aloeus, while I am persuaded that what is related about the tower has been recorded by Moses as being much older not only than Homer, but even than the invention of letters among the Greeks" (*lib.* 4, *chap.* 21, GCS, 2, 290-291).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 76, 708 B-C (= NEUMANN, *Iuliani imperatoris...*, p. 181).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 709 B-C.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 712 B.

because it furnishes motives for believing in what God has done, but because it reminds unbelievers that their own historians do not reject narratives of this kind <sup>(1)</sup>.

#### Art. 7. — ST. CYRIL'S USE OF BIBLE HISTORY

A modern exponent of biblical hermeneutics writes: "To understand a book correctly, it is very important to know the date of its composition, and, if the facts related do not date from the time of the author, to be informed with regard to their period. Each epoch has its characteristic events, its special ideas, its particular habits, its peculiar preoccupations and so forth. Exact information concerning the chronological *milieu* of the hagiographer and his work is absolutely necessary for an interpreter since it is on such information that the historical *milieu* (which must be known) depends" <sup>(2)</sup>. With this rule St. Cyril is conversant; he writes, "The times in which each of the prophets delivered his message must necessarily be recorded so that we may accurately know in what circumstances God's words came to them" <sup>(3)</sup>. In his commentary on *Isaias*, the first of his exegetical works dealing with the prophets, he alludes to this norm of interpretation, and lest readers might be tempted to become oblivious of its utility, he recalls it: "... Somebody may ask what profit readers derive from a subtle examination of the kings just named, namely, Ozias and Jeroboam. To this we answer: the inquiry is necessary because it is the key to the understanding of the subject-matter of the prophecy" <sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Jonas*, PUSEY I, 578, 17 ff. H. DE LUBAC seems to imply that in answering Julian's railleries concerning the biblical account of paradise Cyril borrowed from the interpretation of Origen (See *Origène. Homélies sur la Genèse*..., p. 11). The investigations made by us do not confirm this claim; there is no evidence of Cyril's dependence either on *Contra Celsum* or on the fragments of the *Ἐκλογαί* now extant (see R. DEVRESSE, *Anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque* (*Revue biblique*, 44 (1935), pp. 174 f.).

<sup>(2)</sup> P. CRUVEILHIER, art. *Herméneutique sacrée* in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supplément, 3, 1486.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 7, 8 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 12 A. See also *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 371, 6 ff. and 546, 4 ff.

### § 1. — *The prologues*

An analysis of the prologues, which Cyril prefixes to each of his commentaries, shows the care he takes to place the books themselves in their correct historical setting:

#### 1. *The historical introduction to the prophetic writings*

To his commentary on the *Minor Prophets* Cyril prefixes a general introduction purporting to explain names such as Ephraim, Israel, Samaria, Judah and Benjamin, which occur frequently in the prophetic writings <sup>(1)</sup>. In a rapid review of history Cyril shows how Solomon succumbed to the idolatrous practices introduced by his wives <sup>(2)</sup> and was punished by being warned of the future division of his kingdom <sup>(3)</sup>. Disintegration took place during the reign of his immediate successor, Roboam; ten tribes and half of the tribe of Ephraim revolted <sup>(4)</sup>, Judah and Benjamin alone remaining loyal to Jerusalem <sup>(5)</sup>. The schismatics fixed their headquarters at Samaria <sup>(6)</sup>; fearing reprisals on the part of Roboam, they appointed as their king and general, Jeroboam, an officer of Solomon who had taken refuge with king Sesak of Egypt <sup>(7)</sup>. The latter, in order to ensure that nobody would be tempted to return to his former allegiance, had two golden calves set up in Galgala and Dan and encouraged his subjects to embrace the worship of Egypt <sup>(8)</sup>. The religious conditions of those who remained faithful to Jerusalem were better, generally speaking, than those of their northern brethren; withal, they, too, were guilty of idolatry at times <sup>(9)</sup>. Prophets belonging to one or other kingdom preached messages destined for the inhabitants of both realms indiscriminately <sup>(10)</sup>. Both kingdoms had separate rulers until the time of the last captivity; those who returned with Cyrus's permission dwelt

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 2, 27 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 1 ff. Cyril quotes 3 K. 11, 1-10.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 14 ff. He cites 3 K. 11, 11-13.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 5, 3 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 15 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 17 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 55, 19 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 19 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 7 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 21 ff.

at Jerusalem and owed allegiance only to one ruler, the former division being removed <sup>(1)</sup>.

In the light of this conspectus Cyril hopes that his readers should realize that in the language of the prophets "Israel" or "Ephraim" mean those subject to Samaria, whilst "Judah" and "Benjamin" denote those who remained faithful to Jerusalem <sup>(2)</sup>.

Modern readers perhaps may regret that St. Cyril's historical exposition omits important nuances. For instance, it would have been more in keeping with the facts to have emphasized that Solomon's main fault resided in his having permitted the worship of strange gods. Apart from sporadic sacrifices to one or other god, he was not guilty of apostasy and scarcely deserves the strictures passed on him by Cyril <sup>(3)</sup>. While it is true that for a considerable period the fortunes of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasses were conjoined, it is inaccurate to adduce *Gen.* 48,5 as a proof of their fusion <sup>(4)</sup>; this text emphasizes the high esteem which Jacob showed Joseph by giving his favourite son two tribes among his descendants; it would have been wiser for Cyril to quote from Jacob's testament (*Gen.* 49), in which Ephraim and Manasses are included under the name of Joseph <sup>(5)</sup>. Our author is guilty of yet another inaccuracy by assigning only two tribes to Jerusalem <sup>(6)</sup>; there are modern scholars who claim that Jerusalem exercised suzerainty over five tribes <sup>(7)</sup>. Faulty, too, is his summing up of the affair of the golden calves as abandonment of worship of the true God <sup>(8)</sup>; Jeroboam intended these to be symbols, not of Egyptian deities, as Cyril insinuates <sup>(9)</sup>, but of the true God, who was repre-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 26 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 17 ff. Of the commentators of Antiquity only JULIAN OF ECLANUM (PL 21, 959 C ff.). THEODORETUS OF CYRRHUS (PG 81, 1545 B ff.) and Cyril have a preliminary prologue to the *Minor Prophets* taken as a group. None but Cyril touches on the reign of Solomon and its sequel.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 4, 5 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY, I, 5, 6 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> J. MILLAR, art. *Ephraim* (HASTING'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, p. 727).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 5, 15.

<sup>(7)</sup> L. HEIDET, *Notes de géographie biblique* (*Biblica*, 7 (1926), pp. 83-86).

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 5, 27 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 2.

sented by the image of a bull in an earlier period <sup>(1)</sup>. The Massoretic text as well as the Septuagint name Bethel and Dan as the places in which the statues were set up; Cyril mentions Γάλαλα instead of Bethel, either because that name was furnished him by his Bible or because he erroneously identified the sanctuary chosen by Jeroboam with the shrine of which the *First book of Kings* makes frequent mention <sup>(2)</sup>.

## 2. *The prologues to particular books*

Since St. Cyril handles his materials in the prologues to the individual books on practically the same lines as in the general introduction, there is little point in quoting him *in extenso*. The following points sum up the sometimes rather prolix considerations of our author:

1. With regard to *Isaias* Cyril selects episodes from the lives of the kings mentioned in the inscription, with a view to illustrating the religious conditions that prevailed in each reign <sup>(3)</sup>.

2. The inscription of *Osee* is accepted at its face value; Cyril lodges the prophet's ministry within the reigns of the kings mentioned there <sup>(4)</sup>. With a view to being complete, he outlines the biographies of certain kings who ruled in the northern kingdom <sup>(5)</sup>.

3. Invoking the authority of the Hebrew Bible, Cyril makes Joel a contemporary of *Osee* <sup>(6)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> S. LANDERSDORFER, *Die Bücher der Könige*, Bonn, 1927, p. 86.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 6, 4. See F. M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris, 1938, 2, pp. 336 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 12 A-13 A. With regard to the authenticity of the inscription of this prophecy see E. J. KISSANE, *The Book of Isaiah*, Dublin, 1941, I, p. 8. and pp. XXVI-XXXVII.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 8, 7 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 10, 6 ff. In their respective prologues to *Osee* ST. JEROME (PL 25, 820 D f.), JULIAN OF ECLANUM (PL 21, 962 D f.), THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (PG 66, 128 A ff.), THEODORETUS OF CYRRHUS (PG 81, 1552), touch on the historical events that Cyril develops at such considerable length. A remark made by Cyril (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 13, 16 ff.) offers analogies with statements made by both JEROME (PL 25, 821 B) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1552 C).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 287, 4 ff. Like our author JULIAN OF ECLANUM (PL 21, 1035 A), THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (PG 66, 212 B) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1833 A) mention that Joel was a contemporary of *Osee*.

4. Amos's message was addressed to both the northern and southern kingdoms <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril, as usual, gives full credence to the inscription of the prophecy <sup>(2)</sup> and links up the threats pronounced against Syria, Damascus and the neighbouring nations that bordered Judaea with events which happened during the reigns of Ozias and Jeroboam <sup>(3)</sup>. The mention of "*two years before the earthquake*" urges our author to quote texts dealing with the leprosy of Ozias <sup>(4)</sup>.

5. Abdias was a contemporary of Joel and preached a similar message <sup>(5)</sup>. Peculiar to Cyril is mention of a defeat inflicted by the Jews on the Idumaeans in the valley of Josaphat. He is of opinion also that *Joel*, 3, 1-3 contains an allusion to the same battle <sup>(6)</sup>.

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In his prologue Jerome indicates the order of the twelve prophets in both the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible. Cyril's order, however, differs from Jerome's who states that the order of the Hebrew is: *Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas* etc. (PL 25, 947 A). Many modern commentators assign the book of *Joel* to the post exilic period (*Initiation biblique*..., p. 150). THEIS, however, claims that Joel exercised his ministry before 765 (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*..., p. 89).

(1) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 367, 9 ff.; 368, 20 ff.

(2) *Ibid.*, 371, 6 ff.

(3) *Ibid.*, 371, 15 ff.

(4) *Ibid.*, 378, 1 ff.; 375, 25 ff. Cyril quotes 2 *Par.* 26, 1-8 and mentions on the strength of it that Ozias was ejected from Jerusalem. Actually he seems to have been isolated in his palace at Jerusalem (CURTIS, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 453). Neither in their prologues nor in their explanations of the opening verses of the prophecy of *Amos* do JEROME (PL 25, 989 A; 993 A f.), JULIAN of ECLANUM (PL 21, 1056 C; 1057 D; 1059 B f.), THEODORE of MOPSUESTIA (PG 66, 241 A f., 248 B f.), THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1664 B f.; 1665 A f.) allude to the historical events treated by Cyril. Worthy of note is the fact that JEROME (PL 25, 992 A) and JULIAN of ECLANUM (PL 21, 1058 C) refer to the earthquake.

(5) *Comment. on Abdias*, PUSEY I, 546, 4 ff. St. JEROME's preface makes no reference to the historical situation envisaged by Abdias (PL 25, 1097 A f.). Both THEODORE of MOPSUESTIA (PG 66, 305 B) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1709) make brief allusions to the events that Cyril, as usual, describes at length.

(6) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 345, 19 ff.; 346, 30 ff. St. Cyril claims that the valley in question lies not many stadia east of Jerusalem. The hostilities were caused not only by the envy aroused on beholding the

6. Jonas exercised his ministry in the times of Osee, Amos, Micah and others <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril identifies him with the Jonas who predicted the military successes of Jeroboam <sup>(2)</sup>; this book contains a record of some of his utterances and describes certain episodes of his life <sup>(3)</sup>.

7. Micah exercised his mission in the times of Joatham, Achaz and Ezechias whose reigns Cyril outlines <sup>(4)</sup>.

8. Nahum, of Elkesai, a village situated in the land of the Jews <sup>(5)</sup>, wrote during the exile for the captives in Babylonia as

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Jews rebuild the walls of Jerusalem but also by the fact that they had sent back their foreign wives to their former homes at the request of Esdras (*ibid.*, 346, 5 ff.). Cyril finds a reference to this victory in 1 Esdr. 4, 7-10 (*Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 348, 25 ff.). This interpretation is based upon an incorrect reading of the Septuagint. According to the Massoretic text the Jews themselves complain that their strength is giving way before the fatigue resulting from the task of clearing away the rubbish on the site of the former walls. The tradition concerning the valley of Josaphat, to which Cyril appeals, is scarcely a reliable source of historical knowledge. No expositor of Antiquity countenances these views.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Jonas*, PUSEY I, 560, 4 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 560, 12 ff.; 578, 27 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> JEROME (PL 25, 1119 B) refers to a tradition of the Hebrews which claims that Osee, Amos, Isaias and Jonas were contemporaries. Like Cyril he identifies the author of this prophecy with the person of the same name mentioned in 4 R. 14, 25 ff. (*ibid.*, 1118 BC). Neither THEODORE (PG 66, 317 C-328 B) nor THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1720 A-1724 A) refer to the historical situation envisaged by this prophecy. Among modern commentators opinion is much divided with regard to the precise nature of this book. Many Catholics regard it as a kind of parable (*Initiation biblique...*, p. 153). Quite recently A. FEUILLET has pronounced against its historicity (I. *Les sources du livre de Jonas*; II. *Le sens du livre de Jonas* in *Revue biblique*, 54 (1947), pp. 161-186; 340-361).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 600, 23 ff. THEODORE (PG 66, 345 BC) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1741 B) make Micah the contemporary of Osee, Amos etc. and claim that he exercised his ministry in the times of Joatham, Achaz and Ezechias. JEROME is more interested in the place occupied by the book in the Greek and Hebrew bibles than in the historical context of the prophecy (PL 25, 1151 C f.). Among modern scholars there seems to be general agreement that Micah was a contemporary of Isaias (*Initiation biblique...*, p. 154).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 3, 23. ST. JEROME also regards the expression Ἐλκεσάι as a place-name: ... Cum Elcesi usque hodie in Galilaea viculus sit, parvus quidem et vix ruinis veterum aedificiorum indicans



well as for those who, though managing to evade the Babylonians, became dispersed among the neighbouring nations and followed their idolatrous practices <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril erroneously claims that the destruction of Niniveh, predicted by Nahum, was accomplished by Cyrus <sup>(2)</sup>.

9. Habacuc delivered his message before the Babylonians began their incursions into Palestine <sup>(3)</sup>.

10. Sophonias, a prophet of illustrious lineage, exercised his ministry in the times of Josias <sup>(4)</sup>. In order to convince his readers that the chastisements fulminated by this prophet were richly deserved, Cyril outlines the conditions that prevailed in the kingdom of Judah before and after the times of Josias <sup>(5)</sup>.

11. Aggeus lived in the period following the return from Babylonia; he endeavoured to instil a proper outlook into the

vestigia; sed tamen notus Iudaeis, et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus (PL 25, 1232 A).

(1) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 2, 4 ff. Without making explicit reference to the times in which Nahum exercised his ministry, St. JEROME (PL 25, 1231 AB), THEODORE (PG 66, 402 A) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1788 B ff.) imply that the prophecy was uttered before the fall of Niniveh.

(2) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 3, 7 ff. See A. H. SAYCE, *Niniveh* in HASTING'S *Dictionary of the Bible*..., 3, 553 f.

(3) *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 69, 14 ff. Neither THEODORE (PG 66, 424 C-425 C) nor THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1809 A-1812 A) allude to the historical circumstances of Habacuc's mission. JEROME seems to favour the opinion that Habacuc wrote during the Babylonian captivity and that he is to be identified with the person of the same name mentioned in the book of *Daniel* (PL 25, 1274 C ff.).

(4) *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 167, 10; 169, 11 f.

(5) *Ibid.*, 168, 18 f. JEROME's prologue mentions more than the fact that Sophonias prophesied during the reign of Josias (PL 25, 1339 A); he quotes a tradition of the Hebrews which claims that Sophonias's father and grandfather were prophets (*ibid.*, 1338 BC). THEODORE notes that Sophonias laboured "not long after Habacuc... and during the reign of Josias" (PG 66, 449 B). Resembling Cyril's outline more closely in this respect, THEODORETUS recalls briefly the reigns of Ezechias, Manasseh, Amon and Josias (PG 81, 1837 A). In his prologue to *Zachary* CYRIL regards Zachary as a contemporary of Sophonias (PUSEY II, 282, 8 ff.). This is surely a slip. Pusey in his *apparatus criticus* asks: "*Legendum est 'Αγγαῖος?*" A further interesting parallel must be noted: both CYRIL (PUSEY II, 241, 8 ff.) and THEODORE (PG 66, 473 D) review on entirely independent lines the activities of the prophets from Osee onwards. Modern exegesis seems inclined to

people who were more intent on their own private interests than God's glory.

12. Malachy was a contemporary of Aggeus and Zachary or lived shortly after them. Cyril combats the opinion which holds that he was an angel who assumed a human body and appeared to the Israelites in the guise of a prophet <sup>(1)</sup>. He likewise discards the opinion which identifies Malachy with Esdras <sup>(2)</sup>. The prophet's exertions were aimed at obtaining a purer observance of the laws concerning cult and marriage.

Generally speaking, St. Cyril's handling of the appropriate historical situation connected with each book compares quite favourably with the reconstructions presented by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Julian of Eclanum and Theodoretus. It is to be noted that his views on *Nahum* are inferior to those of his contemporaries. The parallels noted with St. Jerome do not exactly prove Cyril's dependence upon him. They do suggest, however, that Cyril constantly consulted Jerome. Thus, Cyril's rejection of the opinion that Esdras is the author of *Malachy* seems to be a criticism of Jerome.

Modern exegetes frequently advance opinions totally different from those advocated by our author. For example, they are not inclined to take the inscriptions of the various prophecies at their face value. *Osee* <sup>(3)</sup> and *Amos* <sup>(4)</sup>, they claim, were addressed to the northern kingdom exclusively. Apart from admitting that *Abdias* envisages the Idumaeans, modern exegetes will find little else of value in Cyril's presentation of the case. From the

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credit the value of the inscription of *Sophonias* (*Initiation biblique...*, p. 156; H. JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 62 f.) and to approve of the claim that Aggeus and Zachary exercised their ministry after the return from captivity (*Initiation biblique...*, p. 156 f.).

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 544, 14 f.; 546, 3 f. Such a view is also rejected by St. JEROME (PL 25, 1541 B).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 547, 2 ff. On the other hand St. JEROME espouses this opinion (PL 25, 1541 Cff.). St. Cyril, THEODORE (PG 66, 597 AB) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1960 C ff.) are agreed that the historical context of Malachy is that of Aggeus and Zachary. On this point modern scholarship agrees with them (*Initiation biblique...*, p. 159, H. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 195).

<sup>(3)</sup> J. LIPPL, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, pp. 7; 23.

<sup>(4)</sup> J. THEIS, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, pp. 108; 113.

resemblances existing between *Joel* and *Abdias* Theis concludes that the former depends on the latter<sup>(1)</sup> and places Abdias's ministry in the last year of Joram of Judah<sup>(2)</sup>. Other points in which modern exegesis differs from Cyril have been noted in the footnotes.

Cyril's reconstruction of the various historical contexts is based solely on biblical sources. In the main, he adheres to them fairly closely. Now and again, however, he makes some slips. For instance, he erroneously claims that Sellum was descended from Jehu<sup>(3)</sup>; the latter's dynasty became extinct at the death of Zachary (= Cyril's Azarias)<sup>(4)</sup>. Our author is unaware of the fact that Pul is the Babylonian name of the Assyrian Tiglat-pileser II (745-727), and he interprets too literally the expression ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (2 K. 15, 19)<sup>(5)</sup>. However, it would be unfair to expect from Cyril the historical accuracy of an Assyriologist. Again, Cyril's version of the unfriendliness existing between Israel and Judah during the reign of Joatham is not quite exact; it was not Israel but Syria which urged Jerusalem to join the anti-Assyrian league and threatened Joatham with deposition in the event of a refusal<sup>(6)</sup>. Moreover, contrary to what Cyril states<sup>(7)</sup>, war was not declared against Judah during Joatham's lifetime<sup>(8)</sup>; hostilities broke out during the reign of Achaz, who, according to 2 *Chron.* 28, 5 f., suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Syria. Cyril regards Salmanasar as the destroyer of Samaria<sup>(9)</sup>; Scripture, however, only says that he laid siege to Samaria<sup>(10)</sup>; we know from profane sources that it was Sargon who razed it to the ground<sup>(11)</sup>. Our author does not challenge the likelihood that the figure 185,000 represents the number of Sennacherib's followers who were killed by the destroy-

(1) J. THEIS, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 114.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 148. Other commentators ascribe a post-exilic origin to the book (*Initiation biblique...*, p. 152).

(3) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 10, 17.

(4) S. LANDERSDORFER, *Die Bücher der Könige...*, p. 192.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 194.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 196 f.

(7) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 12, 2 ff.

(8) S. LANDERSDORFER, *Die Bücher der Könige*, p. 196.

(9) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 12, 27.

(10) 2 K. 17, 5; 18, 7.

(11) S. LANDERSDORFER, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

ing angel <sup>(1)</sup>; some commentators find that it is excessive <sup>(2)</sup>. These observations only concern the prologue to *Osee*; the historical materials of the other prologues are, on the whole, handled with greater accuracy; a few of the more glaring errors discovered in them are noted in the footnotes.

## § 2. — *Explanation of particular texts in the light of Bible History*

Our author's desire to give a faithful rendering of the literal sense frequently urges him to recall the historical situation envisaged by particular texts <sup>(3)</sup>. Here are some examples:

1. *Is.* 7, 8. — Cyril reviews events related in 4 *K* 16, 9; 17, 1, 6, 24 and claims that the oracle predicts the destruction of the kingdoms of Syria and Ephraim by Tiglat-pileser and Salmanasar respectively <sup>(4)</sup>.

2. *Is.* 7, 18. — The reigns of Josias, Joachaz, Eliachim, Jechonias and Sedecias are outlined, particular stress being laid on the circumstances leading to the invasion of Judaea by the Egyptians and the Babylonians <sup>(5)</sup>. The metaphors "flies" and "bee" denote the Egyptians and the Assyrians; both will come and rest in the ravines of the whole land, in the clefts of the rocks, into every hollow, cave and wood. Nobody who is hiding will manage to elude them <sup>(6)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 13, 13 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> S. LANDERSDORFER, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

<sup>(3)</sup> Τοῖς διατραινούν ἐθέλουσι τὰ ἐν τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ Γραφῇ, χρεῖα δὴ πάντως καὶ ἀφηγήσεως ἱστοριῶν, ἵνα πανταχόθεν τὸ ἀληθὲς τοῖς θεοῖς ἔπηται λόγοις (PG 70, 197 C). This formula is typical of St. Cyril's usage in these instances.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 197 C. It is interesting to note that JEROME, without explicitly invoking an exegetical principle, deals with practically the same historical materials as Cyril (PL 24, 103 B ff.). Modern exegetes do not see eye to eye with St. Cyril. As well as challenging the Massoretic rendering of the present verse they are of opinion that the general meaning of the passage seems to imply that Syria and Israel will be unable to extend the traditional limits of their territories (See E. J. KISSANE, *The Book of Isaiah*..., I, p. 84 and L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible*..., 7, 43 f.).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 209 C.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 210 AB. St. JEROME offers a striking parallel: Legamus Regum et Paralipomenon libros, et inveniemus ab Aegyptiis caesum sanctum

3. *Is.* 9, 8-10. — The Hebrew text and the other translators read λόγος instead of θάνατος. However, both renderings aim at the same σκοπός<sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril summarizes the vicissitudes of both the northern and the southern kingdom from the times of Jeroboam to Ezechias<sup>(2)</sup>. The "death" alluded to by the present oracle denotes the burning and destruction of Samaria by Sennacherib while he was on his way to Judaea and Jerusalem<sup>(3)</sup>. After experiencing such a disaster the survivors should have been careful not to offend God again. Instead, they indulged in frivolous boastings and refused to ask God to help them<sup>(4)</sup>.

Cyril erroneously claims that Sennacherib destroyed Samaria; it was demolished by Sargon during the reign of Achaz. The description of the fall of Samaria during the reign of Ezechias which is found in 4 *K* 18, 9-12 is not in its proper place and is the work of a later redactor<sup>(5)</sup>.

4. *Is.* 16, 14. — According to our author this oracle recalls the history of the northern kingdom from the time of the schism

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regem Iosiam, et populum Israel potestati Aegyptiae subiugatum; ita ut regem illis constitueret. Et post non multum temporis, venit Nabuchodonosor cum innumerabili multitudine bellatorum, captaque Ierusalem, et caeteris Iudaeae urbibus dirutis, incendit templum, et habitatores Assyrios posuit in Iudaea (PL 24, 112 AB). JEROME'S exegesis of the passage has certain resemblances with that of Cyril; significant is the fact that both exegetes draw attention to the fact that Isaias here employs metaphors (*ibid.*, 111 D f.). With regard to the opinions of modern exegetes see L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, v. 7, p. 47 and E. J. KISSANE, *The Book of Isaiah...*, p. 93. The latter is of opinion that the two clauses which qualify the expressions "fly" and "bee" are glosses. This may be taken as certain as regards the first clause, for nowhere does Isaias ascribe the fall of Judah to an Egyptian invasion.

(1) PG 70, 260 A.

(2) *Ibid.*, 260 B ff.

(3) *Ibid.*, 261 D f.

(4) *Ibid.*, 261 C f. By modern exegetes the passage seems to be regarded as a reproof addressed to the Israelites on account of their pride. The expressions used by the prophet, i. e., "bricks", "hewn stones", "sycamores", "cedars" are probably proverbial ones that describe the proud independent spirit of the northern kingdom. If they allude to any historical event at all, it is probably to the separation of the north from the south in Roboam's time (E. J. KISSANE, *op. cit.*, p. 118).

(5) S. LANDERSDORFER, *Die Bücher der Könige...*, p. 207.

to its destruction by Salmanasar (described as one whom God hired to execute his purposes) <sup>(1)</sup>.

5. Is. 17, 12 f. — Cyril summarizes the narrative of 4 K. 18 and 19 concerning the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib. The oracle foretells the ruin of the Assyrians <sup>(2)</sup>.

6. Is. 23, 1. — Isaias alludes to an historical incident narrated by Ezechiel (29, 18 f.): the ships of Carthage are invited to bewail the fall of Tyre, the metropolis in which they took pride, because nobody will come any longer from the "land of the Kitians". The latter place denotes either the Hellenic (or Macedonian) islands or Cyprus, the inhabitants of which maintained commercial relations with Tyre <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 417 D f. Of this passage JEROME offers two explanations: the oracle alludes to a defeat inflicted on Moab either by the Assyrians or by the Chaldeans (PL 24, 173 C f.). Both exegetes offer interesting parallels. A little difference separates them: Cyril ascribes the abduction of the captives to Salmanasar; Jerome ascribes it to Sennacherib. Of modern exegetes let us hear the opinion of E. J. KISSANE: "In fact, it is impossible to find a historical situation which meets the requirements of the text better than the Assyrian invasion in the time of Sargon" (*The Book of Isaiah...*, I, p. 184).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 433 ABC. In his explanation of this verse JEROME writes: Nos autem coeptum sequimur ordinem, et historica fundamenta historico culmine protegimus... (PL 24, 177 C). Here the Latin exegete expressly invokes an exegetical principle. While omitting the historical summary given by St. Cyril, he gives an interpretation which is practically the same as the latter's. In modern exegesis the oracle of Isaias is thought to deal with the fall of Assyria; scholars are not likely to approve of the nuances that Cyril discovers in it (E. J. KISSANE, *op. cit.*, p. 203).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 521 BCD. Once again St. JEROME offers a significant parallel: Manifestius et plenius Ezechiel propheta et subversionem Tyri, et causa subversionis exponit dicens... Jerome quotes passages from Ez. 26 and 29 (PL 24, 200 B ff.). Cyril's views concerning the Kitians may readily have been inspired by the following remarks of St. JEROME: ...Quamque plerique nostrorum, et maxime Machabaeorum principum, Cethim Italiae Macedoniaeque insulas arbitrentur... (PL 24, 201 B). The Latin exegete notes also that some interpreters identify *Cethim* with Cyprus (*ibid.*). With regard to this passage of *Isaias* an exponent of modern exegesis writes as follows: "As regards the fulfilment of the prophecy, the fall of the island fortress of Tyre took place only in the time of Alexander (333). In the earlier sieges in the time of Sennacherib (701), Asharhaddon (671), Assurbanipal (665) and in the thirteen year's siege by Nabuchodonosor (585-572) only the city in the mainland was captured. The island succeeded in holding out" (E. J. KISSANE, *The Book of Isaiah...*, I, p. 237).

7. *Is.* 29, 1 ff. — The prophet alludes to the blind and lame defenders of Jerusalem who resisted David and perished miserably (2 *K.* 5, 6 ff.). Cyril regards this incident as a type of the resistance that the Jews showed Christ <sup>(1)</sup>.

Yet other examples can be quoted to illustrate St. Cyril's flair for quoting history when elucidating the literal sense, namely *Is.* 30, 6 ff. <sup>(2)</sup>, *Os.* 7, 11 f. <sup>(3)</sup>, *Os.* 9, 9 <sup>(4)</sup>, *Mich.*

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 645 D f. Apropos of this passage JEROME writes: Si igitur legerimus: "*quam expugnavit David*", ad illud tempus referamus, quando cepit David arcem Sion, repugnantibus caecis et claudis, et primus Ioab domatum excelsa conscendit... This is certainly a striking parallel; the Latin exegete, however, makes no reference to the typological signification of this incident (PL 24, 328 D). According to E. J. KISSANE the oracle describes the impending siege and fall of Jerusalem; the expression "Ariel" is used to emphasize the sacred character of the capital (*The Book of Isaiah*..., I, p. 324).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 669 Dff. St. JEROME's interpretation incorporates materials that resemble those used by Cyril (PL 24, 341 Bff.). Of this prophecy E. J. KISSANE writes: "The prophecy is probably a little later than those in xxviii and xxix, but still belongs to the early phase of the rebellion which led to the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib" (*op. cit.*, p. 336).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 161, 18 ff. Once again St. JEROME offers the following remarkable parallel: Ephraim autem columba insipiens, et non habens cor, intantum brutae mentis ostenditur, ut Aegyptum invocans, ad Assyrios perrexerit. Qui enim deprecatus Aegyptiorum auxilium est, ab Assyriis captivus abducitur (PL 25, 878 D). St. Cyril furnishes greater details concerning Ephraim's dealings with Egypt. A modern exegete expresses himself apropos of this passage of *Osee* as follows: "Diese Scheltrede des Propheten könnte durch die unter Phakee unternommenen Versuche veranlasst sein, Ägypten für einen Bund der Weststaaten gegen Assyrien zu gewinnen; sie könnte sich aber auch auf das fortwährende Schwanken der israelitischen Politik zwischen Assyrien und Ägypten zur Zeit des letzten Könige Osee beziehen. Vielleicht hat aber der Prophet überhaupt nicht bestimmte Ereignisse, sondern allgemein das Ringen der politischen Parteien in der letzten Periode des israelitischen Reiches im Auge, in der die einen den Anschluss an Assyrien und die anderen ein Bündnis mit Ägypten empfahlen" (J. LIPPL, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*..., p. 54).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 193, 9 ff.; 194, 20, especially 195, 20 ff. In regard to the expedition of Joas see LANDERSDORFER, *Die Bücher der Könige*..., p. 189. St. JEROME alludes to the crime of the Benjaminites and imputes the same guilt of impurity to the adorers of the golden calves (PL 25, 895 B). On the other hand, Cyril pays more attention to the fratricidal war which ensued as a result of the crime; he regards the latter as a chastisement meted out

7, 4 a <sup>(1)</sup>, *Soph.* 2, 4 <sup>(2)</sup>, *Zach.* 9, 1 f. <sup>(3)</sup>, *Mal.* 3, 7 ff. <sup>(4)</sup>. The frequent points of contact between St. Cyril and St. Jerome are scarcely due to chance; the presumption is that the Egyptian constantly consulted the Latin exegete. Yet, as in other instances already encountered by us, the points in which they differ show that St. Cyril considered himself free either to follow or to abandon his sources as he pleased.

to the whole of Israel for failing to protest against the idolatry of Dan: In like manner the civil war between the northern kingdom and the southern kingdom was a punishment imposed for worshipping the golden calves. Compare Cyril's explanation with that of LIPPL: "Osee redet nicht von Nachstellungen die ihm selbst und den Propheten überhaupt bereitet wurden (Sallin u. a.), sondern von den schlimmen Zuständen, die im Volke herrschten. In zusammenfassender Kennzeichnung vergleicht sie Osee mit den Ri 19-24 berichteten Freveltaten der Benjaminiten, die ihren Stamm dem Untergang nahe brachten" (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 62).

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 714, 8 ff., 20 ff., 715, 15 ff. In this context St. JEROME does not refer to the Gabaa incident. Cyril's identification of Gabaa with *σχομιά* is due to the fact that he was misled by the LXX into thinking that the expression *καὶ σχομιά* in 3 K. 15, 22 was an "epexegetical" commentary on the preceding term *πᾶς βοωνὸς Βενιαμίν*. The Hebrew text speaks of two place names, i. e., Gabaa Benjamin and Maspha respectively (see F. ZORELL, *Lexicon...*, p. 139 and p. 466). Apropos of *Mich.* 7, 4 LIPPL remarks: "'Der Tag deiner Späher' in v. 4 wird Glosse zu 'Heimsuchung' sein. Sie wollte den Zeitpunkt derselben als den Gerichtstag kennzeichnen, den die Propheten, die auch sonst z. B., Jr 6, 17; Ez 3, 17 als Späher bestimmt werden, längst vorausgesehen hatten. Jene Glosse hat ferner die Lesung 'deiner' (statt 'ihrer') Heimsuchung verursacht" (*op. cit.*, p. 218).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 194, 15 ff.; 195, 20 ff.; 196, 16. Compare with H. JUNKER *op. cit.*, p. 77. St. JEROME thinks that the punishment alluded to was the defeat inflicted on these peoples by Nabuchodonosor (PL 25, 1358 D ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 403, 25 ff.; 405 18 ff. H. JUNKER thinks that the oracle deals with the end of time rather than with a definite event in history; in the eschatological period all the lands of the pagans will come under the direct sway of God (*Die zwölf kleinen propheten...*, p. 160).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 608, 16 ff. St. JEROME recalls the same historical situation and gives practically the same interpretation of the LXX (PL 25, 1569 ABC and 1570 CD).



# Art. 8. — ST. CYRIL'S USE OF HISTORICAL SOURCES OUTSIDE THE BIBLE

## § 1. — *Josephus*

A review of St. Cyril's use of historical sources would be incomplete without a brief reference to his use of Josephus, whom he styles ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος καὶ σοφός<sup>(1)</sup>. Our exegete discovers a prediction of the victories of the Maccabees over the Syrians and Greeks in *Is.* 9, 11 f. "Josephus", Cyril remarks, "narrates their history in a book dedicated to them"<sup>(2)</sup>. When expounding *Is.* 19, 18, Cyril jots down information obtained by him from "others", namely, that Josephus in his writings recalls that a certain Onias, a member of the family of Levi who had exercised the high-priesthood, took possession of the five cities which border the land of the Canaanites. He left his own country either because he had quarrelled with his relatives or because he was subjected to persecution. Forcing a large number of Jews to accompany him, he dwelt in the city called Asedek, that is to say, of justice. Cyril's sources ascribe to this incident the fact that the five Egyptian cities bordering Palestine speak the language of the Canaanites<sup>(3)</sup>. Our exegete expressly alludes to Josephus's history of the *Jewish War* in his exegesis of *Is.* 9, 19 f.<sup>(4)</sup>, *Zach.*, 11, 1 f.<sup>(5)</sup> and *Zach.*

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 455, 17.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 265 A. St. Jerome makes no reference to Josephus. (PL 24, 129 B ff.). In point of fact, contrary to what Cyril opines, Isaias seems to refer to the defensive wars waged by Israel against the Philistines and the Syrians in the period following the division of the kingdom of Israel (E. J. KISSANE, *The Book of Isaiah* . . ., I, p. 118).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 468 D f. Jerome relates this anecdote and draws attention to the fact that Josephus claims that the prophecy of Isaias was fulfilled when Onias built the temple in imitation of that of Jerusalem (PL 24, 186 B). At all events Jerome is not Cyril's source. This, as Cyril notes (= φασί (PG 70, 469 A)), recurs to Josephus to explain why the five Egyptian cities like to speak the language of the Canaanites.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 276 B. In reality Isaias alludes to the social chaos and civil strife which obtained in the northern kingdom (E. J. KISSANE, *The Book of Isaiah* . . ., p. 120). This is the opinion which St. Jerome sponsors (PL 24, 132 B).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 446, 7 f.) Jerome holds that this prophecy alludes to the destruction of the temple by Vespasian and Titus

11, 6, 7 <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril's interpretation of *Zach.* 12, 11 f. contains a short quotation from Τὰ τῆς Ἀλώσεως βιβλία; this is the only explicit citation of the Jewish historian found in all his commentaries <sup>(2)</sup>.

Apropos of *Is.* 45, 1 Cyril, ostensibly on his own initiative <sup>(3)</sup>, narrates an anecdote concerning Cyrus, which is really derived from Josephus <sup>(4)</sup>. St. Jerome mentions Josephus but alters the latter's testimony, by making the decree of *Esdr.* 1, 3 an explicit profession of faith in the God of the Jews, whereas Josephus himself regards it merely as a step towards monotheism <sup>(5)</sup>; Père Abel thinks that in this instance St. Cyril depends both on Josephus and St. Jerome <sup>(6)</sup>. A little further on, when expounding *Is.* 48, 15 f., Cyril recounts the same incident at greater length <sup>(7)</sup>, invoking the authority of a source which he does not name (καθὸ φησι). Jerome, in this context, does not refer to this episode; it is unlikely that he is Cyril's source, since he expressly ascribes the prophecies concerning Cyrus to Isaias <sup>(8)</sup>, whereas Cyril's authority attributes them to the prophets in general <sup>(9)</sup>.

## 2. — *The legends of the Jews*

Another trait of our exegete, which classifies his method with that of Origen and differentiates it from that of the school of

(PL 25, 1498 C ff.), but does not mention Josephus. The oracle seems to be a metaphorical description of the chastisement meted out to the unfaithful shepherds.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 455, 15 ff. Compare with Jerome: Legamus Iosephum et septem Iudaicae captivitatis libros, et hanc prophetiam esse completam, historiae veritate cernemus (PL 25, 1501 C). It is difficult to determine the prophet's real meaning; this allegory (11, 4-17) has received the most diverse interpretations (See L. DENNEFELD, *Messianism* in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 10, 1, 1487).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 496, 4: Κορμοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν παταγῇ, οἰμωγαὶ δὲ διαπρύσιοι, καὶ θρήνος ὑγκέλευστος (= *De bello iud.*, II, 1). Jerome does not allude to Josephus.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 949 D: Ταύτη φαμέν... Is this reading authentic?

<sup>(4)</sup> *Antiq.*, XI, 1, 2.

<sup>(5)</sup> PL 24, 441 B and 442 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Parallélisme exégétique*..., p. 117.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 70, 1028 A-C.

<sup>(8)</sup> PL 24, 442 A.

<sup>(9)</sup> The Jews living in Babylon informed Cyrus that God had spoken concerning him in the prophets (PG 70, 1028 B).

Antioch, is his rather frequent use of the *ιστορία* or *παράδοσις* of the Jews <sup>(1)</sup>. To judge from the formulae with which he introduces them, St. Cyril seems to be convinced that knowledge of these legends is indispensable for "a more accurate interpretation" of a biblical text <sup>(2)</sup>; indeed, he says quite categorically at times that a passage cannot be interpreted unless the appropriate *ιστορία* be duly expounded beforehand <sup>(3)</sup>. Père Abel has made a comparative study of St. Cyril's use of these traditions and has come to the conclusion that St. Cyril availed himself of the works of St. Jerome <sup>(4)</sup>; information, which the Latin exegete represents as something personal, is utilized by St. Cyril in his turn. Of course, we must take into account the likelihood that both authors are borrowing from a common source such as Origen. Yet, even in the case of elements which are patently derived from Origen, the absence of a basis of comparison and St. Cyril's habit of paraphrasing the materials handled by him render it impossible to determine whether he is borrowing from Origen directly or through St. Jerome. Père Abel is under the impression that St. Jerome in most instances is nearer the source; it is significant, too, that the legends are found in the same places in the commentaries of both writers, even in instances where the Septuagint (which Cyril follows) has nothing in common with the Jewish haggada. Obeying the literary usage of his times, Cyril never cites his source; he leaves his readers under the impression that they are dealing with one who is thoroughly conversant with this litera-

(1) "L'école critique d'Antioche estimait qu'il n'était pas nécessaire de recourir à des récits légendaires pour faire de l'exégèse historique littérale et pour mettre quelque chose de positif à la place de l'allégorie. Lorsqu'il reprochait à Jérôme l'usage des 'traditions fabuleuses des Juifs' Julien d'Eclane était l'écho du savant près duquel il avait trouvé un refuge. Théodore de Mopsueste, qui blâmait l'auteur de la Vulgate de s'être livré à certains Hébreux terre à terre". (F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique*..., p. 118 f.).

(2) Πρὸς διασάφησιν τῶν προειρημένων ἀκριβεστέραν. (*Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 110, 6 f.).

(3) Ἱστοριῶν ἔσθ' ὅτε τινῶν ὁ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν διαμένηται λόγος, ἃς εἴπερ τις ἔλοιτο σιωπᾶν, οὐδ' ἂν δύνοιτο διατρανοῦν τῶν εἰρημένων τὸν νοῦν. (*Comment. on Os.*, PUSEY I, 147, 4 ff.); see also *ibid.*, 155, 4 f.; 209, 9 ff.; *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 56, 9 ff.).

(4) *Parallélisme exégétique*..., p. 107.

ture, whereas in reality his acquaintance with it is altogether second-hand <sup>(1)</sup>).

With a view to formulating an independent judgement of our own and to exemplifying St. Cyril's treatment of these materials we shall review some examples on which Père Abel has not touched:

1. Is. 1, 22. — Eusebius explains this text as follows: "Their silver was worthless because (when they had become fornicators and murderers) they pretended to announce the word of true religion and to interpret the divine Scriptures, whereas in reality they devised mythical traditions. Their teachers adulterated doctrine; they are rightly styled tavern-keepers since they mixed wine with water, namely, the pure and astringent meaning of the inspired Scriptures with comments, (their mythical and silly traditions) which cause it to dissolve into water <sup>(2)</sup>. A relevant saying of the Targum of Jerusalem proclaims: "You have so disfigured the laws of the Torah, which is pure wine, that it has become like watered wine" <sup>(3)</sup>. Clinging closely to the Hebrew text, as is his wont, St. Jerome translates: "*Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam... caupones tui miscent vinum aqua*". Et est sensus: *lex Dei pura atque sincera, et (ut ita dicam) mera veritate subnixa, violata est traditionibus Pharisaeorum*" <sup>(4)</sup>. Into his lengthy exposition St. Cyril incorporates all these materials. The worthless silver is the badly formulated doctrine of the Scribes and Pharisees which was full of abominations and more liable to injure hearers than to do them good <sup>(5)</sup>. These teachers were like tavern-keepers who mixed wine with water; they divided a counterfeited and adulterated explanation of the law, into which they weaved their own fancies; they tried to introduce cold diluted meanings into a substance that refuses to mix with elements inferior to itself; they utterly failed to expound the pure intention of the legisla-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Parallélisme exégétique...*, p. 117.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 24, 97 CD.

<sup>(3)</sup> Quoted by L. GINZBERG in his article *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern*. VI, *Der Kommentar des Hieronymus zu Jesaja in Jewish Studies in memory of George A. Kohnt* edited by SOLOM BARON and ALEXANDER MARK, New York, 1935, p. 280.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 24, 38 BC.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 52 C.

tor<sup>(1)</sup>. Of the three Christian exegetes Eusebius is closest to the Targum, since he does not apply his remarks to the Scribes and Pharisees of Christ's time. Both Cyril and Jerome do that, the former with greater insistence than the latter. It is difficult to say from what precise source Cyril draws, since the clues are lost because of his meanderings.

2. *Is.* 5, 2. — The Targum gives an allegorical interpretation of this verse: "And I erected my sanctuary in their midst and I gave them my altar in order to atone for their sins"<sup>(2)</sup>. And the Tosephta ascribes the following sentence to the Rabbi Jose: "He built a tower, therein, namely, the temple, and he dug a winepress, namely, the altar"<sup>(3)</sup>. Eusebius writes in a similar strain: "He dug a trench for the whole people and entrusted it to the custody of the angels. He dug round it in yet another way, inasmuch as he sustained them with the prophets and the saints. Indeed, he planted the vineyard Sorec which Symmachus translates "chosen". What was this vineyard but the inspired Scripture, the word of religion or the Word of God?... From him the first people receive the planting of the divine teachings. In it he dug a receptacle for the wine, namely, the altar before the temple"<sup>(4)</sup>. In Jerome's opinion the metaphor of the vineyard denotes the Jewish people: "Quem sepsit angelorum auxilio... Et plantavit eam Sorec... Aiunt enim Hebraei Sorec genus esse vitis optimaе, quod uberes fructus faciat atque perpetuos... Aedificavit quoque turrin in medio eius, templum videlicet in media civitate: et torcular exstruxit in ea, quod quidam altare significari putant"<sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril must needs be more diffuse than each of these writers. God surrounded Israel with a hedge, namely, the angelic powers and the heavenly aids. The poles surrounding the vineyard denote the Mosaic law which deflects the mind from things earthly, since it effectively raises it aloft. That the vineyard was really first-class is proved not only by the fact that it was planted in a fertile place but also by the name Sorec which, as the Hebrews think, signifies a beautiful and

(1) *Ibid.*, 53 A.

(2) L. GINZBERG, *Die Haggada...*, p. 283.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) PG 24, 116 D.

(5) PL 24, 76 BC.

most excellent vineyard. The famous temple, that was erected in Jerusalem was God's tower and dwelling place; a winepress was dug, too, in which were placed the altar and the *κορβάν*, namely, the treasury destined to receive the offerings of visitors<sup>(1)</sup>. In short, the Egyptian exegete amalgamates elements which exist separately in Eusebius and Jerome, adding of his own initiative the mention of the *κορβάν*, a detail that seems somewhat irrelevant.

3. *Is.* 5, 6. - The Targum paraphrases the expression *הַעֲבִים* as follows: "And I shall command the prophets to prophecy nothing to the Jews"<sup>(2)</sup>. An echo of this exegesis is found in Eusebius: "He styles the prophets 'clouds' on account of the purity and excellence of their lives. It is through their instrumentality that the heavenly word is distributed to the Jews"<sup>(3)</sup>. In his commentary on *Ecclesiastes* Jerome notes explicitly "In *Isaia*... mandabo nubibus... Nubes igitur sunt prophetae"<sup>(4)</sup>; this exegesis is implied in the corresponding annotations on *Isaías*<sup>(5)</sup>. Our exegete improves on the others: the "clouds" denote either the prophets or the angelic powers who are commanded not to pour down spiritual rain on the vineyard. Here Cyril seems to be closer to Jerome than to Eusebius, since, like the Latin exegete, he voices the opinion that the prophetic oracle of *Isaías* was only fulfilled after Christ's passion<sup>(6)</sup>. Cyril's remarks about the condition of the exiled Jews in Babylonia and Egypt state less clearly than Jerome's that the prophets exercised their ministry throughout this period; the impression created by this comparison is that the Egyptian's observations are a clumsy adaptation of the Latin's.

4. *Is.* 6, 2. - According to *Sifre* one of the seraphim suffices to burn the whole world<sup>(7)</sup>. Eusebius says nothing about the etymology of this word. Concisely as usual Jerome remarks: "Seraphim autem interpretantur *ἐμπρησταί*, quod nos dicere possumus incendentes, sive comburentes, iuxta illud quod alibi legimus:

(1) PG 70, 137 AB.

(2) L. GINZBERG, *Die Haggada...*, p. 283.

(3) PG 24, 117 A.

(4) PL 23, 1102 B.

(5) PL 24, 78 A ff.

(6) PG 70, 141 A ff.

(7) L. GINZBERG, *Die Haggada...*, p. 284.

'*Qui facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos ignem urentem*' (Ps. 103, 5)''<sup>(1)</sup>. With unwonted succinctness Cyril notes: Διεσσηνεύεται δὲ Σεραφείμ ἔμπροσθαὶ ἥτοι θερμαίνοντες. He remarks that nothing savouring of coldness is found in the heavenly spirits, especially in those who stand near God<sup>(2)</sup>. The etymology resembles that given by Jerome, but the subsequent applications of the two exegetes differ considerably.

5. *Is.* 10, 28. — With regard to the clause "*At Machmas he will deposit his vessels*", Cyril quotes a Hebrew tradition which recounts that the Assyrians, fearing an attack, left all their heavy baggage at Machmas; they were sure that the Israelites were pursuing them<sup>(3)</sup>. Eusebius and Jerome are silent about this legend. The verses which follow immediately afford Cyril an opportunity of exploiting to the full the rabbinical lore at his disposal. Already apropos of *Is.* 10, 19 he had cited the legend which gives ten as the number of those who survived the slaughter inflicted by the angel on the Assyrian hosts<sup>(4)</sup>. Cyril thinks it advisable to repeat it once more, filling in details that are relevant to the present context: "Accompanied by a few, they returned to their native land. They disturbed all the villages and towns on their route and made their own journey unbearable on account of their flight and cowardice"<sup>(5)</sup>. Once again Eusebius and Jerome say nothing about this legend<sup>(6)</sup>.

6. *Is.* 22, 15. — According to a Jewish tradition quoted by Eusebius, Shebnah, although high-priest, was self-indulgent and so wicked that he wished to betray the people and to flee to Sennacherib<sup>(7)</sup>. Jerome improves on this notice and mentions that Shebnah actually betrayed the city: "*Referebat mihi Hebraeus, praesentem visionem non pertinere ad illud tempus, quo Nabuchodonosor Jerusalem cepit... sed ad Sennacherib tempora, quando Sobna pontifex magnam partem prodidit civitatis, et tan-*

<sup>(1)</sup> PL 24, 93 CD.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 173 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 301 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 292 C. Jerome quotes this tradition (PL 24, 138 B). See F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique...*, p. 116 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 301 D.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 24, 168 C f. and PL 24, 141 D f.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 24, 249 C.

tum Sion, id est, arx et templum, ac nobiles remanserunt... " (1). In two other places Jerome adds further details concerning this personage: "Supra diximus Sobnam fuisse pontificem, qui Assyriis prodidit civitatem. Sed quia hoc traditionis est hebraicae, et Scriptura non loquitur, intelligamus eum superbum, tumidum, et voluptuosum, suisque pedibus populos conculcantem... " (2). "Praecipitur Isaiae prophetae ut ingrediatur... ad Sobnam praepositum templi, sive ut LXX transtulerunt, ταμίαν, hoc est, quaestorem et dispensatorem thesaurorum domus Dei " (3). Cyril's description of Shebnah omits all references to his political activities. He was steward of the treasury. It is not quite certain whether he was treasurer of the temple or of the royal house; it is more probable that he had charge of the funds destined for the repair of the sacred vessels. He belonged to the tribe of Levi and was cruel to those who offended him. He exulted in robbery, was given to sordid gain and was constantly buying honours from men (4). Our exegete completes this portrait in an historical note on *Is. 22, 20 ff.*: "On receiving the dignity of the high-priesthood, he abused it, going to the extent of imprisoning everybody who contradicted him. He was unbelievably covetous. Indeed, there was no turpitude on which he had not meditated. Hence, he was thrust aside, that is to say, removed to a distant and immense country " (5). On the whole Cyril's account comes close to Jerome's. One would be inclined to think that the nuances which separate them were due to Cyril's flair for embroidering details, were it not for the remark concerning the uncertainty as to whether Shebnah administered the temple funds or the royal treasury; this remark seems to indicate that Cyril is borrowing from a source that is neither Eusebius nor Jerome. The Jewish sources treat mostly of Shebnah's political activities; only one Palestinian *midrash* mentions that he was highpriest; the Talmud alludes to his voluptuousness (6).

(1) PL 24, 193 D.

(2) *Ibid.*, 198 D.

(3) *Ibid.*, 273 C.

(4) PG 70, 513 C.

(5) PG 70, 516 BC.

(6) L. GINZBERG, *Die Haggada...*, p. 301 f.



7. *Is.* 38, 1. – Cyril invokes a tradition of the Hebrews which accounts for the sickness of Ezechias as follows: “In a very short time he deflected from the proper course; he thought too much about himself and was ensnared by pride. For that reason God out of love held out a rod to him. ‘*Him whom he loves, God chastises; he whips the son whom he receives (Prov. 2, 12)*’ ” (1). It is impossible to say to what extent these remarks are to be ascribed to the Hebrew source; in this context St. Jerome recounts something similar, without making any reference to a Jewish tradition: “‘*Quem diligit Dominus corripit et castigat omnem filium quem recepit (Prov. 3, 12)*’. Ne elevaretur cor Ezechiae post incredibiles triumphos, et de media captivitate victoriam, infirmitate corporis sui visitatur... ” (2). Apropos of “*et convertit... faciem suam ad parietem*” Jerome remarks: “Vel absolute ad parietem, ne lacrymas suas assidentibus ostentare videretur. Aut certe iuxta Ieremiam, ‘*ad cor suum*’; qui CİR (קִיר) id est parietem, cor appellat, ut tota mente Dominum deprecaretur” (3). Cyril does not refer to this rabbinical exegesis. A little further on apropos of v. 8, he recounts on the authority of others that: “Achaz, the father of Ezechias, caused some steps to be made in his own house by means of some machine or device. They could tell the hours and were used to measure the course of the sun by means of the angle of incidence made by the shadow” (4). Jerome observes: “Sive ita exstructi erant gradus arte mechanica, ut per singulos umbra descendens horarum spatia terminaret (5)”. The parallelism is very striking.

8. *Is.* 39, 7. – An ancient author quoted by the Talmud refers this verse to Daniel, Ananias, Misael and Azarias, who were actually eunuchs (6). Pseudo-Epiphanius seems to have been familiar with this tradition at least with regard to Daniel (7). In a text which L. Ginzberg ascribes to Origen we read: “The Hebrews say that Daniel and his three companions, Ananias Aza-

(1) PG 70, 784 D.

(2) PL 24, 390 A.

(3) *Ibid.*, 390 B.

(4) PG 70, 788 A.

(5) PL 24, 392 A.

(6) L. GINZBERG, *Die Haggada...*, p. 309.

(7) *De vitis prophetarum*, PG 43, 424 C.

rias, and Misael were eunuchs in Babylon in fulfilment of the prophecy made by Isaias to Ezechias...”(1). Jerome echoes this legend: “Ex quo Hebraei volunt Danielelem, Ananiam, Misael, et Azariam, qui fuere de regio semine, factos esse eunuchos, quos in ministerio regis Nabuchodonosor fuisse non dubium est”(2). Shrouding his sources with anonymity Cyril informs us: “They say – rather the book of *Kings* bears witness to the fact – that these things happened in the days of Jechonias when Nabuchodonosor captured the whole of Judaea with his forces and burned Jerusalem and led Israel into captivity. Amongst the captives were Daniel and his companions. These, they say, were eunuchs in the house of the king of Babylon”(3). As can be seen, the rabbinical legend reappears in the last sentence.

9. *Is.* 40, 1. – The problem why the discourse “*Console, console my people...*” (*Is.* 40, 1) follows immediately Ezechias’s request “*Good is the word of the Lord... let there, I pray, be peace and righteousness in my days (Is. 39, 8)*” is solved as follows by a *midrash* of recent date: “What is written immediately before “*Console, console my people*”? The answer is: “*If there be only peace in my days*”. God said to Ezechias: “You pray only for your own welfare. Accordingly, console my people; it does not stand in need of Ezechias’s prayer, since I myself will console it as regards the exile”(4). Although this legend appears in rabbinical literature in sources of late origin, it is in reality quite ancient. St. Ephraim was conversant with it in the following form: “Ezechias offered prayers to God because he had been told that death was imminent, but he failed to pray that evil should be averted from his descendants. Hence Isaias says: “*Console, console my people, you priests?*”(5). Explicitly quoting a Jewish tradition, Eusebius remarks: “God did not approve of Ezechias’s proposal. The fact that he mentioned only himself in his prayer and not the people was blameworthy. That is why the prophet says in what follows: “*Console my people, says the Lord*”(6). Jerome alludes

(1) *Art. cit.*, p. 309. We have been unable to identify this text.

(2) PL 24, 399 B.

(3) PG 70, 796 C.

(4) L. GINZBERG, *Die Haggada...*, p. 309.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) PG 24, 364 BC.

to this tradition, without, however, indicating his source: "et propterea Ezechiam Dei sermonibus non probatum, qui in consequentibus loquitur: '*Consolamini, consolamini populus meus, dicit Deus vester*', ut pro quibus ille non rogaverat, Domini clementia consolentur" <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril, too, echoes this tradition, though in a way which renders it difficult for one to detect his sources: "Ezechias was at a loss for a defence. Since he could offer no excuse for his crimes, he said that God's word was good, even though it foretold things which should have made him shed tears. Then he asks for peace in his own days, bidding goodbye, as it were, to those who were to come after him, and thereby neglecting his native land, his own city and his own race. But it would have been better for him to be sorry for the things which had been predicted and to ask God for mercy and happiness (not temporary and restricted) on behalf of those to come after him" <sup>(2)</sup>.

Our exegete exploits rabbinical legends with equal relish in his commentary on the *Minor Prophets*. Père Abel discusses the following examples in which, as he holds, Cyril depends on St. Jerome: *Os.* 6, 9 <sup>(3)</sup>; *Os.* 7, 5 ff. <sup>(4)</sup>; *Joel* 1, 4 <sup>(5)</sup>; *Amos* 2, 1 <sup>(6)</sup>; *Nahum* 3, 8 <sup>(7)</sup> *Hab.* 2, 15 <sup>(8)</sup>; *Hab.* 3, 3 <sup>(9)</sup>; *Zach.* 6, 12 <sup>(10)</sup>; and *Zach.* 9, 13-10, 7 <sup>(11)</sup>. Viewed in themselves and independently of arguments

<sup>(1)</sup> PL 24, 399 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 796 D f.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY, I, 147, 10 ff. = PL 25, 871 A ff. See F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique*..., p. 107 f.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 155, 4 ff. = PL 25, 875 A ff. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 108 f.).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 291, 19 ff. = PL 25, 951 (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 110).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 347, 6 ff. = PL 25, 1003 A ff. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 110 f.).

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 56, 9 ff. = PL 25, 1260 A (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 112 f.).

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 110, 6 ff. = PL 25, 1301 B (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 113 f.).

<sup>(9)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 127, 7 ff. = PL 25, 1311 C ff. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 114 f.).

<sup>(10)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 363, 25 ff. = PL 25, 1455 A; 1456 A; 1457 A (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 115).

<sup>(11)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 436, 11 ff. = PL 25, 1486 B; 1487 C; 1491 B. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 115 f.).

drawn from other sources, the use of rabbinical legends in these passages by Cyril and Jerome offers interesting parallels that illustrate the exegetical outlook of both writers, but scarcely permits one to conclude with certainty that the Egyptian exegete depends on the Latin. Above all, in appraising St. Jerome's contribution to the formation of the Alexandrian, exaggerated importance must not be given to statements such as, "Quorum cum intelligentiam iuxta historiam quaereremus ab Hebraeo, ita nobis expositum est..."<sup>(1)</sup>. G. BARDY has shown that St. Jerome uses formulae like these in connection with rabbinical lore that he has borrowed from second-hand sources<sup>(2)</sup>. Moreover, an authority such as L. Ginzberg suggests that the annotations supplied by St. Jerome apropos of *Is.* 1, 22 and 38, 2 were copied by him directly from Eusebius and that his remarks on *Is.* 39, 7 are transcribed from Origen<sup>(3)</sup>. However, the manner in which St. Cyril treats variant readings convinces us that there are undeniable points of contact between him and St. Jerome<sup>(4)</sup>. This is tantamount to admitting that St. Cyril had St. Jerome's works in his hands. Accordingly, we think it wise to modify Père Abel's hypothesis as follows:

(a) St. Jerome's commentaries inspired Cyril to incorporate Jewish legends in his own exegesis.

(b) While redacting his materials, St. Cyril consulted other sources containing references to these legends, namely, the works

(1) PL 25, 871 A. See also PL 25, 1260 A; 1301 B; 1311 C etc.

(2) "Nous ne saurions prétendre avoir épuisé, dans les pages qui précèdent, le sujet que nous nous étions proposé d'aborder. L'œuvre de saint Jérôme est si vaste qu'on court toujours le risque de laisser inaperçus des textes importants; et la comparaison de cette œuvre avec celle d'Origène est d'autant plus difficile que beaucoup, parmi les écrits du docteur alexandrin, ont irrémédiablement disparu. Si restreint qu'ait été notre objectif, nous voulions simplement montrer qu'il ne fallait pas toujours faire une entière confiance à saint Jérôme lorsqu'il dit avoir reçu telle ou telle leçon de ses maîtres hébreux, nous ne sommes pas certains de l'avoir entièrement atteint. Telles quelles, nous espérons que ces pages ne seront pourtant pas inutiles. Puissent-elles inspirer à de nombreux chercheurs le désir d'étudier de près les riches commentaires de saint Jérôme" (G. BARDY, *Saint Jérôme et ses maîtres hébreux* in *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1934), p. 164).

(3) *Die Haggada*..., p. 280; 307; 309.

(4) See pp. 255 f., 262 ff.

of Eusebius and Origen. That would account somewhat for the composite character of his information which amalgamates at times elements existing separately in his sources <sup>(1)</sup>. It would also help to explain why St. Cyril retains legends which Jerome rejects <sup>(2)</sup>; probably Cyril's other sources were favourable to retaining them. Even the differences between Jerome's presentation of the legend of Nabuchodonosor apropos of *Hab.* 2, 15 and that of Cyril may be ascribed to another version of the same story discovered by our exegete in his sources, and not to arbitrary modifications made by him, as Père Abel claims <sup>(3)</sup>. Moreover, if these parallels leave us under the impression that our author seems to be more indebted to St. Jerome in the commentary on the *Minor Prophets* than in his other exegetical writings, that is due mainly to the fact that Jerome's are the only extant works of Antiquity which contain materials capable of offering relevant comparisons with Cyril's writings. Yet, even in the commentary on the *Minor Prophets*, positive indications are not altogether lacking which prove that Cyril, when using rabbinical traditions, consulted sources other than Jerome. Thus, Cyril's remark that the Sichemites were tradesmen, who made idols and were afraid of being deprived of their livelihood in the event of Israel's reunion with Jerusalem, looks more like a datum borrowed from a source (which in this instance is not Jerome) than, as Père Abel claims, a paraphrase of Jerome's remarks about Bethaven <sup>(4)</sup>. The Latin exegete recounts the following tradition apropos of *Os.* 10, 5 f.: "Tradunt Hebraei vitulos aureos a sacerdotibus furto esse sublato, et pro his aeneos et deauratos repositos. Cum igitur lugeret populus tempore necessitatis et angustiae, etiam vitulos aureos inter munera caetera Assyriis regibus et maxime regi Sennacherib ab Israel rege esse directos, exsultabant aeditui quod fraus eorum nequam posset argui vel deprehendi. Et hoc est quod ait, 'aeditui eius', id est, vituli, super eo exsultaverunt in gloria populi, hoc est,

<sup>(1)</sup> See our annotations on *Is.* 1, 22; 5, 2; 22, 15.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Amos*, 2, 1 (PUSEY I, 397, 6 ff. = PL 1003 C); *Hab.* 2, 15 (PUSEY II, 110, 6 ff. = PL 25, 1301, C).

<sup>(3)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique...*, p. 113.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Parallélisme exégétique...*, p. 108. Compare *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 148, 8. with PL 25, 871 A.

in vitulo, quem habebant pro gloria; quia migrasset ab eo, id est, a populo, et translatus esset ad Assyrios... Deprehensa enim fraus deauratorum vitulorum regi Israël litteris indicatur, et unde se placere aestimaverant, inde vel maxime confunduntur, et offendunt eos quibus munera miserant, aestimantes non furto sacerdotum, sed fraude regum atque consilio hoc esse perfectum".<sup>(1)</sup> In this context Cyril, too, invokes a tradition of the Hebrews which ignores the fraud committed by the priests (in fact Cyril categorically states that the idol sent by Menahem to the Assyrians was made of pure gold<sup>(2)</sup>) and assigns a reason, different from that mentioned by Jerome, for the exultation of the Israelites: "Israel was distressed at the thought of the departure of the idol which he took to be god. Nevertheless he believed, being led to think so on frivolous grounds, that the idol would be better off since the Babylonians would set it up in more spacious and more splendid temples. In addition, he calculated on the fact that the god would be adored by a more numerous following... Accordingly, Menahem sent the golden calf made of pure gold. On receiving it Pul broke it. The Assyrians were devoted to another form of worship and they did not bother about the calf. Afterwards they set up another calf, not of gold this time, but rather of bronze mixed with gold. Hence the Assyrians laughed at Menahem, the King of the Israelites".<sup>(3)</sup> We are not inclined to think that the details stressed by Cyril are the fruits of his imaginings. In a moral portrait of a personage like Shebnah<sup>(4)</sup> we would concede more readily that our exegete enlarges on the particulars supplied him by his sources. Here he leaves us under the impression that, far from taking liberties with his materials, he is reproducing a source, that is not St. Jerome.

(c) Père Abel claims that the resemblances between Cyril and Jerome embrace even the fluctuating judgements which both of them pass on the rabbinical materials employed by them<sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PL 25, 905 C ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 210, 4 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 209, 27 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> See our remarks on *Is.* 22, 15 on pages 314 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Parallélisme exégétique...*, p. 119.

It is true that, apropos of *Os.* 3, 1, the Latin exegete describes the Jews as persons "Traditionum hominum et δευτερωσέων somnia diligentes et nequaquam uvas habeant et vinum et plena musto torcularia, sed vetera vinacia quae proiecta sunt" <sup>(1)</sup>. In another context, namely, *Os.* 3, 3, Cyril asks what kind of life the adulterous woman led, while awaiting readmission to conjugal life and at what price was she bought back. This is part of his answer: "'For fifteen silver pieces, a gomer of barley, and a nabel of wine'. Because Israel during the period of his last call continued to feed on unapproved outpourings and to pay attention to mythical teachings fit for old women, which were really the concoctions of his own teachers" <sup>(2)</sup>. This remark seems to fit in quite naturally with the sequence of ideas developed by our author here. As a matter of fact, it could have been as readily inspired by Eusebius as by Jerome; we have already studied the comments which these authors make in regard to *Is.* 1, 22 <sup>(3)</sup>. At all events, the formulae used by Cyril when introducing the legends employed by him, render it impossible to think that he disparaged them <sup>(4)</sup>.

#### Art. 9. — ST. CYRIL'S INTEREST IN GEOGRAPHY

In *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* and *Glaphyra* St. Cyril bases his explanations of names of places occurring in Scripture exclusively on etymologies derived from Philo and Origen <sup>(5)</sup>. Though not completely abandoning this tendency in his com-

<sup>(1)</sup> PL 25, 842 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 85, 8 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> See pp. 311 f.

<sup>(4)</sup> See p. 310, notes 2 and 3.

<sup>(5)</sup> Here are some examples: Ἡρωή γενεσε πάλιν τὸ τί ἂν βούλοιτο δηλοῦν ὁ Γάδ· πειρασμός γάρ, ἢ πειραστήριον (PG 69, 365 BC); Ταύτητοι λοιπὸν ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐδώμ· τούτέστι, γήινος (PG 69, 161 BC); Ἡ Σιχέμ ὁμοῦ ἐρμηνεύεται (PG 69, 304 D). See F. WUTZ, *Onomastica sacra. Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus*, v. 2. pp. 1058-1061.

mentaries on the prophets, our exegete takes great pains to explain geographical data, thereby giving further proofs of his resolve to render the literal sense of Scripture as faithfully as possible. In this respect his intentions compare favourably with those of St. Jerome and Theodoretus of Cyrrhus and are certainly more laudable than those of Theodore of Mopsuestia for whom precise geographical knowledge was nothing more than superfluous ἀκριβολογία <sup>(1)</sup>. St. Cyril's contribution to sacred geography has already been studied by Père Abel <sup>(2)</sup> whose conclusions we now intend to summarize, arranging them so as to facilitate an eventual solution of the problem of the sources upon which the Alexandrian exegete depends.

### *Palestine*

Ἡ Ἰουδαία is the designation which St. Cyril commonly gives to the "holy land which was allotted by God" <sup>(3)</sup>. On occasions he ascribes a very wide meaning to this term since he includes under it the town of Galaad <sup>(4)</sup> and even the region of Basan <sup>(5)</sup>. Egypt, more precisely, the "torrent of the west" (identified by our author with the "river of Egypt") constitutes the western boundary of Judaea <sup>(6)</sup>. The south-eastern frontiers coincide with the Indian seas which fringe the desert extending south of Jerusalem <sup>(7)</sup>. The northern boundary is the Palestinian Sea which sweeps to the west as well and touches Egypt <sup>(8)</sup>. Dan and Bersebee are towns situa-

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 66, 329 D.

<sup>(2)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *La géographie sacrée chez s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie* in *Revue biblique*, 31 (1922), pp. 407-427.

<sup>(3)</sup> Is. 13, 2 = PG 70, 348 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 382, 21 f. Yet, in another context, Cyril mentions that Galaad is a town beyond the Jordan (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 254, 26).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 88 B.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 495, 25 ff. Compare with JEROME: Usque ad torrentem deserti, sive occidentis, ut LXX transtulerunt, id est, ab Emath usque ad Rhinocoruram, inter quam et Pelusium rivus Nili, sive torrens de eremo veniens, mare ingreditur (PL 25, 1066 A). Jerome's note contains more information than Cyril's.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 328, 17 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.* 328, 20 f.



ted at the extreme limits of the country and define its length from south to north <sup>(1)</sup>.

Cyril's knowledge of the ethnography of Palestine resembles that of most Greek exegetes <sup>(2)</sup>. Like them he regards Cappadocia as the cradle of the Philistines <sup>(3)</sup>. However, his views concerning the origins of the Cretans and Lybians are peculiar to himself. With reference to these peoples he writes: "The Cretans and Lybians were separated from each other by a small expanse of sea. In fact the distance between them was so short, that, as report says, a wind blowing over the grass lands of Crete gave rise to smells which killed beasts such as snakes and venomous animals in Lybia". For all intents and purposes the Cretans and Lybians formed a single race. In the course of time they began to colonize and build cities in Phoenicia, just as the Cappadocians did in Palestine at a later date <sup>(4)</sup>. The problem of the habitat of the Kitians leaves our author perplexed; he hesitates between the Hellenic or Macedonian islands and Cyprus <sup>(5)</sup>.

To each of the following localities (arranged by Père Abel according to their situation from south to north) Cyril consecrates

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 524, 21 ff. Compare with JEROME: ... Dan, in terminis terrae Iudaicae, ubi nunc Paneas est ... (PL 25, 1084 B). Here there is no contact with Cyril.

<sup>(2)</sup> *La géographie sacrée* ..., p. 415.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 537, 22. Compare with St. JEROME: Ne erigamini in superbiam, quod vos de Aegypto eduxerim, et quasi peculiarem populum meum Pharaoni servire non passus sim: hoc idem feci et Palaestinis, quos Septuaginta alienigenas transtulerunt, qui Hebraice appellantur Caphthorim (כַּפְתֹּרִים) ut transferrem eos de Cappadocia, et in Palaestinae regionibus collocarem: Syros quoque, id est Aram (אַרַם) transtuli de Cyrene: ex quo qui aequali conditione sunt facti, aequali iudicii mei sententia punientur, et omnia absque discretione personarum, impia regna subvertam (PL 25, 1091 B). Cyril lays greater emphasis on the ethnographic problem than does Jerome.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 196, 10 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 521 C. Compare with JEROME: ... Nec de terra Cethim, quam Cyprum quidam interpretantur: usque hodie est apud eos urbs Citium, de qua et Zeno Stoicae sectae haeresiarches fuit: quamquam plerique nostrorum, et maxime Machabaeorum principium, Cethim Italiae Macedoniaeque insulas arbitrentur (PL 24, 201 B). The two hypotheses mentioned by Cyril are also known to Jerome.

a short note: Gerara<sup>(1)</sup>, Gaza<sup>(2)</sup>, Lachis and Odollam<sup>(3)</sup>, 'Εὐναίμ<sup>(4)</sup>, Azotus (apropos of which he indulges in a little textual criticism)<sup>(5)</sup>, Joppa<sup>(6)</sup>, Negeb and Shephelah<sup>(7)</sup>, Bethlehem<sup>(8)</sup>, Bethel<sup>(9)</sup>, Gal-

(<sup>1</sup>) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 457, 1 ff. Compare with JEROME: Simulque animadvertendum quod Septuaginta interpretes in praesenti loco nomen *Bersabee* interpretati sint, dicentes, *puteum iuramenti*, et in posterioribus ipsum nomen posuerunt: *Vivit Deus tuus Dan: et vivit via Beraeebe*. Viam autem Bersabee posuerunt, quod de Israel longo itinere pergebant ad ultimos terminos Judae, qui erant in Geraris, et Aegyptiae solitudini iungebantur, ut idola colerent. Est autem locus in quo habitavit Abraham: et ex eo quod cum Abimelech, datis septem ovibus, in foedus mutuum iuraverunt, appellatus est puteus iuramenti, sive puteus septimi... (PL 25, 1039). The allusion to Gerara and the incident concerning the well are common to both Cyril and Jerome. However, Jerome does not say that Gerara is a town of the Philistines.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 385, 13 ff. JEROME implies that Gaza is a town of the Palestinians (PL 25, 998 B).

(<sup>3</sup>) *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 622, 19 ff. JEROME implies that Lachis and Odollam were cities of Judah. However he does not expressly mention their geographical position. See PL 25, 1161 A.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 616, 5. This locality Cyril identifies with a city in the extremities of Judaea — towards the southern desert — which, though subject to Judah, had embraced the worship of the Moabites and the Idumaeans.

(<sup>5</sup>) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 426, 10 ff. JEROME notes the different readings of the Hebrew text and the Septuagint but, unlike Cyril, does not mention that Azotus lay near the borders of Judaea (PL 25, 1018 A).

(<sup>6</sup>) *Comment. on Jonas*, PUSEY I, 568, 16 ff. JEROME is more jejune than Cyril since he says nothing about the trade carried on between Joppa and the cities of the Levant (PL 25, 1123 A).

(<sup>7</sup>) *Comment. on Abdias*, PUSEY I, 557, 9 ff. and 14 ff. See PL 25, 1114 B and 1114 A. Jerome's notice is fuller and more precise than Cyril's.

(<sup>8</sup>) *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 675, 15 ff. Jerome says nothing about the birth of the Virgin at Bethlehem (PL 25, 1197 A). F. M. ABEL notes that this point is admitted by S. John Chrysostom, Hippolytus of Thebes and several Byzantine authors (*La géographie sacrée...*, p. 418, note 1).

(<sup>9</sup>) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 383, 26 ff. Compare with JEROME: Et ne ascendas in Bethaven, id est, quae quondam vocabatur Bethel, quia postquam ibi vituli positi sunt a Jeroboam filio Nabath, non domus Dei appellatur, sed domus idoli. Pro quo miror cur Septuaginta domum ὄν interpretati sunt; nisi forte errore consueto pro iod littera media, quae aleph et nun litteris ex utraque parte vallatur, vau, quae sola differt magnitudine, putaverunt" (PL 25, 854 C). The resemblances between both exegetes is very striking. First of all Cyril identifies παῖδιον ὄν with Bethel.

gala<sup>(1)</sup>, Gabaa<sup>(2)</sup>, Thabor<sup>(3)</sup>, the lake of Tiberias, the respective positions of Zabulon and Nephtali, Galilee of the nations<sup>(4)</sup>. Generally speaking, Cyril's remarks betray the theoretical knowledge of one who is unable to verify his information on the spot.

Two identifications of places in the vicinity of Jerusalem, made by Cyril, pique our curiosity. Eusebius and others confuse the valley of Josaphat with that of Cedron. According to Neubauer there is no trace of this identification either in the Bible or in Josephus<sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril claims that Josaphat is situated a few stadia east of Jerusalem; it is a level track on which horses can trot at ease; there in Esdras's time Israel defeated a coalition of neighbouring peoples; the name of the place is not mentioned in Scripture but has been handed on by a tradition<sup>(6)</sup>. In the Greek text of *Zach.* 14, 5 the Hebrew

Then (prescinding however from the Hebrew word corresponding to *ov*) he equates *otxoc* with "house of vanities". That is to say, he practically rejoins the point of view expressed by Jerome. F. M. ABEL notes that the parallelism between Cyril and Jerome is rendered all the more striking by the fact that the equation "*ov* = idol" is unknown to the Septuagint; he invokes the authority of WUTZ (*Onomastica sacra*..., p. 639) who regards this equation as a peculiarity of the Vulgate (*La géographie sacrée*..., p. 420).

(1) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 6,4; *ibid.*, 254, 26.

(2) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 195, 3 ff. JEROME, too, alludes to Gabaa and the incident of the Levite's wife (PL 25, 895 B). See also *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 714, 8. In this last context Jerome makes no reference to Gabaa.

(3) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 118, 23 ff. Compare with JEROME: Est autem Thabor mons in Galilaea, situs in campestribus, rotundus atque sublimis et ex omni parte finitur aequaliter. De hoc monte in psalmis legitur... (PL 25, 857 A). Cyril writes: "Ithabyrium is a very celebrated mountain in Galilee, extremely rich in game (both four-footed animals and birds) on account of its height and the thickness of its woods and copses".

(4) PG 70, 245 A-D. Like Cyril St. JEROME, too, interprets *Is.* 9, 1 ff. according to the itinerary traced by St. Matthew (PL 24, 124 AB ff.).

(5) "Eusèbe et d'autres confondent cette vallée avec la vallée du Kidron, mais on ne trouve aucune trace de cette identification ni dans la Bible, ni dans Josèphe. La tradition a conservé ce nom encore chez toutes les sectes religieuses, et on désigne encore aujourd'hui la vallée de Josaphat comme l'endroit où doit se tenir le dernier jugement. Les juifs ont a présent leur cimetière dans cette vallée..." (A. NEUBAUER, *La géographie du Talmud*, Paris 1868).

(6) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 347, 2 ff. and 348, 23 ff. In this instance Cyril is our only source of information.

word **לְזַן** is rendered by Ἀσαήλ. Some have been amused by the credulity which Cyril shows in identifying this expression with a hamlet or village situated at the extremity of the Mount of Olives <sup>(1)</sup>. Père Abel is of opinion that Cyril's information is well founded and identifies Ἀσαήλ with the Wadi-Yaşoul, which lies east of the same mountain <sup>(2)</sup>; the site could readily have inspired the prophet Zachary, who, in this context, is in quest of images capable of bringing home forcibly the idea that at God's approach every height or depression will be reduced to the same level <sup>(3)</sup>.

### *Arabia and Syria*

The region designated by the Greek word **Βασανίτις** is fat and fertile and suitable for raising stock; Cyril notes that in his time the district was styled **Βασαναία** <sup>(4)</sup>. Among localities

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 515, 14: "The crests of the mountains will be split so that the valleys in between be filled — those valleys which had been unexpectedly shook as far as Asael. They say that this is a village lying at the extreme edge of the mountain". JEROME writes: Et pro eo quod nos posuimus, *quoniam coniungetur vallis montium usque ad proximum*; pro proximo, LXX *Asael* transtulerunt: Aquila ipsum verbum hebraicum posuit **ASEL** (**לְזַן**) per *e* brevem litteram (**ἀξέλ**), Theodotio per extensam (**ἀζήλ**); solus Symmachus *proximum* interpretatus est, quem et nos secuti sumus... (PL 25, 1525 A).

<sup>(2)</sup> F. M. ABEL *Aşal dans Zacharie XIV*, 5 (*Revue Biblique*, 45 (1936), pp. 325-400).

<sup>(3)</sup> "Des pentes de cette vallée le regard se porte spontanément sur la ligne d'horizon barée par le mont des Oliviers et l'on conçoit aisément que cette vue ait inspiré le prophète en veine de tout égaliser sous les pieds de Iahveh. Plus de montagnes, plus de vallées, plus de montées ni de descentes, c'est la pensée qui revient au v. 10: 'Depuis Geba jusqu'à Rommon du Négeb tout le pays sera changé en plaine'. A Jérusalem le mont des Oliviers fera place à un trou et la vallée entre les montagnes sera comblée jusqu'à Yaşoul de façon à créer une plateforme pour Jérusalem. Cyrille d'Alexandrie a fort bien saisi l'image; les sommets arrachés viennent remplir les ravins qui séparent les montagnes, secouées subitement jusqu'à Asaël qu'on dit être un village à l'extrémité de la montagne. Ce sera en grand ce qui eut lieu lors du séisme sous Ozias où l'on raconte que le mont Sion fut fendu en deux et roula en partie dans les vallées voisines" (F. M. ABEL, *Aşal dans Zacharie XIV*, 5..., p. 399).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 438, 3ff. Compare with EUSEBIUS's *Onomasticon*: Αὕτη ἐστὶ Β'σανίτις ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Βασαναία (GCS, II, 44, 11);

singled out for attention are Arnon, a fortified city on the borders of Moab <sup>(1)</sup>, Petra <sup>(2)</sup>, Segor <sup>(3)</sup>, Nimrin at the extremity of Moab near the Red Sea <sup>(4)</sup>, Saba <sup>(5)</sup>, Teman <sup>(6)</sup>, Tyre <sup>(7)</sup>, Damascus <sup>(8)</sup>, Charran a town near Damascus, much given to warfare <sup>(9)</sup>, Lebanon <sup>(10)</sup>, Tarsus <sup>(11)</sup>, Greater and Less Ha-

PG 70, 88 B. St. Jerome notes correctly: *Basan regio est Arabiae* (PL 24, 50 D).

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 408 B. JEROME notes: *In transcensu Arnon migrabunt, qui est terminus Amorrhæorum et Moabitarum* (PL 24, 171 B).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 864 BC: Petra is situated in Arabia and retains this name still. Compare with Jerome: *Et habitatores Petrae, quae et ipsa urbs Palaestinae est...* (PL 24, 425 A).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 401 C. Compare with JEROME: *De hac et in libro Quæstionum Hebraicarum diximus, et nunc breviter annotamus, quod ipsa sit quinta urbs post Sodomam, et Gomorrhæam, Adamam, et Seboim, quae ad preces Lot parva servata est. Appellaturque Bala, id est, absorpta, tradentibus Hebraeis, quod tertio terrae motu prostrata sit. Ipsa est quae hodie syro sermone vocatur Zoora, hebraeo, Segor, utroque parvula* (PL 24, 169 B).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 404 A. Cyril mistakes the Dead Sea for the Red Sea. JEROME has: *Hoc oppidum prope mare mortuum est, salsis aquis et ob ipsum sterilibus* (PL 24, 169 C).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 1329 B: Saba is beyond the territory of the Arabs and is near the Red Sea. Compare with JEROME: *Madian et Ephraim regiones sunt trans Arabiam, fertiles camelorum, omnisque provincia vocatur Saba, unde fuit et Saba regina, quae venit sapientiam audire Salomonis...* (PL 24, 590 D f.).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 39, 4, 20 ff. (= metropolis of Idumaea), Compare with JEROME: ... *Et vergit ad australem partem, quod interpretatur Thema: quae provincia non solum Theman sed et Daron et Nageb dicitur, eo quod Eurum et Austrum Africumque respiciat...* (PL 25, 1001 A).

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 70, 521 A ff. Compare with JEROME (PL 24, 201 B). Cyril makes no reference to Alexander the Great. Otherwise many of his data resembles those of Jerome.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 12, 14.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 384, 4 ff. St. JEROME draws attention to the divergent readings of the Hebrew and the Septuagint, but adds no geographical note (PL 25, 994 C).

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 70, 660 C and 724 C. JEROME makes no reference to the idolatrous practices of the inhabitants of the Lebanon (PL 24, 335 A).

<sup>(11)</sup> EUSEBIUS mentions three rival sites: Tarsus in Cilicia, Carthage and India (*Onomasticon*. GCS, 11, p. 100). CYRIL mentions Tarsus in Cilicia

math<sup>(1)</sup>. In one text Cyril seems to be in doubt as to whether the two last named localities are really distinct from each other<sup>(2)</sup>. Generally speaking, Cyril's information concerning Arabia and Syria is inferior to that of St. Jerome and Theodoretus<sup>(3)</sup>.

### *Assyria and Babylonia*

Niniveh was an illustrious Persian city situated towards the East<sup>(4)</sup>. Its vastness can be gauged from the fact that normally three days were needed to walk round it, and the number of children who dwelt there in Jonas's time exceeded one hundred and twenty thousand<sup>(5)</sup>. The mention of Niniveh causes Cyril to

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and India; the former has his preference (*Comment. on Jonas*, PUSEY I, 568, 21 ff., especially 569, 7 ff.). However, when commenting upon *Is.* 60, 8 f., he identifies Tarsus with islands in the region of India (PG 70, 1332 C). JEROME identifies the port for which Jonas was bound with Tarsus of Cilicia; in the book of *Chronicles* a town of India is called by the same name; in Hebrew the expression תַּרְשִׁישׁ means "sea" (PL 25, 1122 A).

(1) "They say that Greater Αἰμάθ is present day Antioch and that Little Αἰμάθ (which is nearby and contiguous) is Ἐπιφάνεια of Antiochus who was surnamed Epiphanes. Out of vanity he gave the name of Antioch to the one and Ἐπιφάνεια to the other" (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 480, 12 ff.). Compare with JEROME: Emath magna quae nunc Antiochia nominatur. Magnam autem vocat, ad distinctionem minoris Emath, quae appellatur Epiphania (PL 25, 1059 B).

(2) "Αἰμάθ is one of the cities of the East which was subject to the then kingdom of Damascus. It has now changed its name, as I said, to Antioch or Ἐπιφάνεια" (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 495, 22 ff.); JEROME makes no reference to Emath when annotating *Am.* 6, 14. F. M. ABEL, claims that: "Hamath, avec ou sans qualificatif, équivaut à la moderne Hamâ, dont le nom, suivant la remarque déjà émise par saint Jérôme, n'a pas varié chez les indigènes et a survécu au vocable grec officiel d'Epiphania. Théodoret rapport aussi l'équivalence, proposée par quelques-uns, entre Arpad et Raphanée, ville grecque sise à l'ouest d'Epiphania. Reprise par quelques géographes, sans se douter de l'ancienneté de l'identification, cette hypothèse est aujourd'hui abandonnée en faveur de Tell Arfâd au nord d'Alep" (*La géographie sacrée...*, p. 425).

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 427.

(4) *Comment. on Jonas*, PUSEY I, 566, 6 ff.

(5) *Ibid.*, 586, 25 ff. and 598, 4 ff. Compare with JEROME: Ninive autem erat, ad quam pergebat propheta, civitas magna et tanti ambitus, ut vix trium dierum posset itinere circumiri. At ille praecepti et superioris naufragii memor, viam trium dierum unius diei festinatione complevit,

recall a hobby cultivated by the Assyrians: they collected precious stones known as Indian stones and wore them after the fashion of women; in fact they wore them in battle in order to dazzle their opponents all the more <sup>(1)</sup>. The walls of Niniveh were impregnable <sup>(2)</sup>. Other topographical details can be inferred from the story of the siege which our author borrows from an unnamed source <sup>(3)</sup>: "While Cyrus was devastating the environs of Niniveh and was successfully cutting off supplies and reinforcements, the Ninivites, fearing the worst, cut deep trenches into the ground immediately adjacent to the city and diverted to them water from the rivers. Of the whole district they made a vast marsh which, they hoped, the enemy would find difficult to cross" <sup>(4)</sup>. Of Babylonia Cyril says nothing save that it was watered by many rivers <sup>(5)</sup>. He identifies the city of Chalanne with Lyssipe, a town belonging to the kingdom of the Persians <sup>(6)</sup>. Broadly speaking, Cyril's information concerning these regions is vague and inconsistent; by failing to draw a clear line of demarcation between the Assyrians and the Babylonians he runs the risk of making mistakes in geography as well as in history <sup>(7)</sup>.

### *Egypt*

St. Cyril has a relish for reading allusions to Egypt into the Septuagint; Père Abel cites his remarks on *Os.* 5, 8-9 <sup>(8)</sup>, *Soph.* 2, 5 <sup>(9)</sup>, and *Mich.* 1, 11 <sup>(10)</sup> as cases in point. According to the

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quamquam sint qui ita simpliciter intelligant, quod in tertia tantum parte urbis praedicaverit, et ad reliquos confestim praedicationis sermo pervenerit (PL 25, 1139 BC). See also PL 24, 1152 AB.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 44, 6 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 47, 9 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, 15 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 61, 15 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 145, 19 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 480, 25 ff. Cyril makes this remark on the strength of the Hebrew text. Compare with JEROME: Transite omnes in Chalane quae nunc appellatur Ctesiphon... Vos igitur transite in Persidis civitatem... (PL 25, 1059 A).

<sup>(7)</sup> See p. 281.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 125, 20 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 196, 15 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 617, 15 ff.

Patriarch of Alexandria Egypt is a part of Ethiopia. In fact the scriptural expression "*the rivers of Ethiopia*" denotes the "*rivers of Egypt*" <sup>(1)</sup>. Indeed, he invokes this usage to justify his discovery of a reference to Alexandria in *Is.* 18, 1 ff. <sup>(2)</sup>. The prophet *Isaias* correctly styles Egypt an island, because it is traversed by rivers and is completely surrounded by lakes of water <sup>(3)</sup>. When describing the Nile, Cyril uses poetical expressions but his picture of its inundations is quite trustworthy <sup>(4)</sup>. Piquant is his description of the occupations of the people: "the land of Egypt is divided as follows: some have very fertile arable land and get the best results out of their vineyards; others live on the borders of lakes and gather their products. The latter, actually, are fishermen, papyrus cutters, paper makers, and linen workers. The inhabitants of the marshes are called βουκόλοι, because they own numerous herds of oxen. However, with them bread, wine and other things are rarities. If they chance to lack water, they find drinking-water by digging wells on the banks" <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril speaks briefly about the towns of Senaan <sup>(6)</sup>, Memphis and Machmas <sup>(7)</sup>, and Rhinocoloura <sup>(8)</sup>, but devotes much notice to his episcopal city of Alexandria. Known in Antiquity as Ὠν or Ἀμμών, this city was the most celebrated of Egypt. "As a place of security, it was unassailable, because

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 205, 9 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 440 A. Compare with JEROME: Verbum hebraicum SEL-SEL (צלצל) quod Symmachus *sonitum*, Theodotio, *aves* interpretati sunt, et nos in *cymbalum* vertimus... Significat autem sive No, Aegypti civitatem, quae nunc Alexandria dicitur, sive Aegyptum, in qua semper Jerusalem quasi super quassatam arundinem innixa est, quae confracta manum perforat incumbentis (PL 24, 178 A).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 481 D. In this context JEROME claims that Jerusalem is styled an island on account of the waves of enemies encircling her (PL 25, 189 B).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 337 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 457 D f.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 617, 21 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 186, 13 ff. Cyril says that both cities belong to Arcadia. This name was given to an administrative district of Middle Egypt which had been created by Arcadius (F. M. ABEL, *La géographie sacrée...*, p. 413).

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 70, 468 D. It was one of the five cities of Egypt that bordered Canaan. Cyril says that their inhabitants gave more prominence to the Syriac language than to the Egyptian.



it was completely surrounded by water. On the north there was the Mediterranean, and on the south there was the large wide marshy lake of Mareotis – a second sea, as it were. It was fortified by other rivers and by extensive swamps too” (1). Apropos of *Is.* 18, 1 ff. Cyril adds further details: the city was not far distant from the seventh mouth of the Nile; actually, it was only eighty στάδια from the last mouth which was known as Τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον; the city was densely populated and the chief occupation of the inhabitants was commerce which was facilitated by the fact that the river was always navigable (2). Cyril erroneously ascribes to the Alexandria of Isaias's times an importance which it acquired only when Alexander the Great founded the great maritime city on the site of a group of small villages, of which the largest was named Rhakotis, the name by which Alexandria continued to be called by the Copts. Cursorily our exegete treats of the land east and south of Egypt (in the rear of the territory occupied by the Africans) inhabited by the Γαράμαντες (3) and of Meroe, in south-eastern Ethiopia (4). He follows the Hebrew variant of *Amos* 9, 7 which reads Cyrene, but justifies the Greek rendering βόθρος, on the ground that “Although Cyrene is raised up and situated on a height,

(1) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 56, 26 ff. Compare with JEROME: Pro eo quod in Septuaginta legitur, *Apta chordam pars Ammon*; et caeteri interpretes transtulerunt: *Numquid melior es ab Amon?* Hebraeus qui me in Scripturis erudit, ita legi posse asseruit: *Numquid melior es quam No, Amon?* et ait, hebraice *No* dici Alexandriam: *Amon* autem, *multitudinem*, sive *populos*, et esse ordinem lectionis: *Numquid melior es ab Alexandria populo, sive populorum, quae habitata in fluminibus, aqua in circuitu eius?* Non quod eo tempore Alexandria vocaretur, quippe quae longo post tempore ab Alexandro Magno Macedone nomen accepit; sed quia sub nomine primo, id est, *No*, semper Aegypti metropolis fuerit, et abundantissima populis... Et describitur situs Alexandriae, quae super Nilum et super mare posita hinc inde aquis et fluminibus ambiatur. *Aqua in circuitu eius, cuius divitiae mare: aquae muri eius*: huc enim rivo Nili, inde lacu Mareotico, ex alia parte mari cingitur... (PL 25, 1260 AB).

(2) PG 70, 440 AB.

(3) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 57, 18 ff. The tribes referred to dwell in the oases of the eastern Sahara. In Roman times the Γαράμαντες appear principally as the inhabitants of the land of Prazania, nowadays called Fessan, where they built their principal city, Garama (PAULY-WIS-SOWA, 7, 751).

(4) *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY I, 538, 4 ff.

it lies in a deep gulf. Indeed, the whole of Lybia can be said to have gulfs opening on to the sea, all of which are much exposed" <sup>(1)</sup>. Generally speaking, St. Cyril's observations held good for the Egypt that he knew. Perhaps his description of Cyrenaica might have gained in exactitude had he abandoned the Greek text completely; actually a great distance separates Cyrene from the gulf <sup>(2)</sup>. Père Abel claims that Cyril investigates his text more closely than Theodoretus; he calls particular attention to the better use that Cyril makes of the geographical and ethnological references contained in *Amos* 9, 7 <sup>(3)</sup>.

The preceding pages prove that St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Jerome have kindred interests. It is highly probable that our author constantly consulted the latter; yet clear instances of direct dependence on him are rather few: Cyril's information concerning Bethel <sup>(4)</sup>, Cyrene <sup>(5)</sup>, and the twofold Hamath <sup>(6)</sup>. With regard to localities of the Holy Land Cyril gives the impression of drawing on other sources; this is particularly true of his remarks concerning the valley of Josaphat and 'Ασθήλ. As is to be expected, his knowledge of the geography of Egypt is more extensive than that of St. Jerome. In the topographical details given by Cyril concerning Niniveh there is no contact at all with St. Jerome.

#### Art. 10. — PECULIARITIES OF PROPHETIC UTTERANCE

In his prologue to *Osee* St. Cyril mentions a rule of hermeneutics which he often invokes in his exposition of the prophetic writings: "To the characteristic features of prophetic style belong frequent changes of persons, complaints, apostrophes, reminiscences of past events, and predictions concerning the future. All these things must be distinguished neatly; particular attention must

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 538, 4 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *La géographie sacrée...*, p. 413.

<sup>(3)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *La géographie sacrée...*, p. 413 f.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 419 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 412 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 424. See A. PENNA's remarks on Jerome's merit as a geographer (*Principi e carattere...*, p. 205 f.).

be paid to the order of the sentences and the different persons. For thus our explanation will be clear, not confused, and free from all difficulties" <sup>(1)</sup>. In practice, our author distinguishes between changes of persons who are speaking and changes of addressees, namely, those for whom the different oracles are destined. Some examples of each category will show how diligently St. Cyril pays attention to these distinctions:

§ 1. — *Changes of persons speaking*

1. *Is.* 26, 20 ff. — In vv. 16 ff. of this chapter Isaias himself is the speaker. He there reminds his readers that in times of trouble everybody has recourse to God <sup>(2)</sup>. In vv. 20 ff. it is God who speaks and directs a message of exhortation to the saints.

2. *Is.* 27, 9. — In v. 8 the prophet upbraids Israel for having maltreated the prophets. In the present verse God is the speaker; the sequence of thought interrupted by the preceding verse is resumed; to Jacob is promised clemency together with the remission of sins <sup>(3)</sup>.

3. *Is.* 28, 22. — Here the speaker is Isaias; the teachers of the Jews are reproved for their insolence towards Christ <sup>(4)</sup>.

4. *Is.* 28, 23. — At this point Christ is introduced; he tries to persuade the Jews to embrace the gospel <sup>(5)</sup>.

It is unnecessary to quote further instances *in extenso*. The following list of passages shows that St. Cyril frequently invokes

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 2, 20 ff. JEROME, too, alludes to this feature of prophetic style: *Consuetudinis autem prophetarum est, repente personas introducere sine ulla praefatione verborum...* (PL 25, 557 D). See A. PENNA, *Principi e carattere...*, p. 188-190.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 584 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 589 A. In point of fact *Is.* 26, 20 ff. is the prophet's reply to the pleas begging Yahweh to succour the just which begin in v. 7 (E. J. KISSANE, *The Book of Isaiah...*, v. I, p. 298).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 601 D. E. J. KISSANE thinks that v. 9 is probably not in its right position; it is an admirable introduction to vv. 12 and 13 (*op. cit.*, p. 302).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 637 D. Compare with St. JEROME (PL 24, 325 A).

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 640 C. The speaker seems to be the prophet, who implicitly teaches the lesson that God's chastisement of Israel will come to an end and will be followed by restoration (E. J. KISSANE, *op. cit.*, p. 319).

the principle of "changes of person": *Is.* 33, 20 f. <sup>(1)</sup>, 44, 23 <sup>(2)</sup>, 44, 24 f. <sup>(3)</sup>, *Is.* 50, 2 f. <sup>(4)</sup>, 50, 4 f. <sup>(5)</sup>, 50, 6 f. <sup>(6)</sup>, 53, 1 f. <sup>(7)</sup>, 53, 4 ff. <sup>(8)</sup>, 63, 1 ff. <sup>(9)</sup>, 63, 7 <sup>(10)</sup>, 63, 8 <sup>(11)</sup>, 63, 15 ff. <sup>(12)</sup>, *Os.* 2, 2 <sup>(13)</sup>, 11, 10 <sup>(14)</sup>, *Amos* 5, 1 <sup>(15)</sup>, 5, 21 ff. <sup>(16)</sup>, 5, 25 f. <sup>(17)</sup>,

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 733 D. Compare with St. JEROME (PL 24, 369 B). From v. 14 c onwards the prophet himself seems to be the speaker; the text does not warrant the "changes of persons" suggested by Cyril (See E. J. KISSANE, *The Book of Isaiah*..., I, 376 ff.).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 937 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 941 C. Yahweh is manifestly the speaker in this context (E. J. KISSANE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 78 f.).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 1085 BC.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1089 Aff. Compare with St. JEROME (PL 24, 478 B f.).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1092 CD. Nearly all modern critics are of opinion that the speaker in *Is.* 50, 4-9 is the "servant of Yahweh", though they are divided as to whether the "servant" is the nation as a whole or an individual. The Jewish commentators and St. Thomas Aquinas hold that the speaker is the prophet himself; to this point of view E. J. KISSANE rallies (*The Book of Isaiah*..., II, p. 147).

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 70, 1168 A-1173 B, especially 1168 C ff. Compare with St. JEROME (PL 24, 505 C).

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 70, 1176 B. JEROME implies that the prophets are still speaking (PL 24, 506 D). According to E. J. KISSANE it is the people who speaks in 53, 1-10 (*op. cit.*, p. 176 and p. 186).

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 70, 1381 B-1385 B.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1385 C.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1388 A. Compare with JEROME (PL 24, 613 C). The speaker seems to be Israel in exile (E. J. KISSANE, *op. cit.*, p. 289).

<sup>(12)</sup> PG 70, 1392 B (See E. J. KISSANE, *op. cit.*, p. 289). Compare with St. JEROME (PL 24, 619 AB).

<sup>(13)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 45, 17 ff. Compare with JEROME (PL 25, 830 B). According to LIPPL, Osee himself seems to be the speaker (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*..., p. 27).

<sup>(14)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 236, 16 ff. Compare with JEROME (PL 25, 921 A). The Massoretic text should be corrected so as to read:

"I am a holy one and shall not destroy.

They will walk after me".

Here Yahweh manifestly is the speaker. See LIPPL. *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>(15)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 453, 15 ff. These verses belong to a lamentation over Israel uttered by the prophet. See J. THEIS, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*..., p. 124.

<sup>(16)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 472, 26 ff.

<sup>(17)</sup> THEIS inserts 6, 8-10 between 5, 20 and 5, 21. Yahweh seems to be the speaker (*op. cit.*, p. 127).

*Mich.* 7, 7 ff. <sup>(1)</sup>, 7, 11 ff. <sup>(2)</sup>, *Hab.* 1, 1 ff. <sup>(3)</sup>, 1, 5 <sup>(4)</sup>, 1, 12 <sup>(5)</sup>, 3, 17 <sup>(6)</sup>, 3, 18 f. <sup>(7)</sup>, *Zach.* 2, 7-12 <sup>(8)</sup>, 2, 13 <sup>(9)</sup>.

## § 2. — Changes of addressees

1. *Is.* 16, 5 f. — *Is.* 16, 1 f. are addressed to Moab <sup>(10)</sup>, whereas 16, 3 f. are directed to Arnon, a city situated near the borders of Moab, to which instructions are now issued concerning fugitives coming from Moab <sup>(11)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 720, 17 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 728, 6 ff. Compare with JEROME (PL 25, 1223 B). According to VAN Hoonacker vv. 7-11 a and vv. 14-20 constitute a prayer placed on the mouth of a punished people who expresses its confidence in the divine pardon and its hope of a future restoration (*Les douze petits prophètes...*, p. 407).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 70, 25 f.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 76, 7 ff. According to JUNKER *Hab.* 1, 2-11 is a lamentation in which the prophet is the speaker (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 41).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 64, 3 ff. Actually in vv. 12-17 the prophet gives utterance to a second lamentation. See JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 44.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 162, 21 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 165, 16 ff. Compare with JEROME (PL 25, 1335 CD). It would seem that in vv. 16-19 the prophet trembles at the description of the judgement given in the previous strophes of the canticle; withal, he confidently trusts in God his Saviour. See *Liber psalmorum cum canticis breviarii romani nova e textibus primigenis interpretatio latina cura professorum pontificii instituti biblici edita*, Romae, 1945, p. 341.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 302, 25-303, 24; 305, 4-14; *ibid.*, 303, 25-304 27; 305, 15-306, 21. Compare with PL 25, 1434 A.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 311, 23 ff., JUNKER is of opinion: "Der Schlussvers ist eine stehende Formel, die uns schon Jon, 2, 20 und Soph 1, 7 begegnet ist. Sie soll hier in Zusammenhang den Zuhörern oder Lesern des Propheten unmittelbar bevorsteht; Jahve hat sich bereits aus seiner himmlischen Wohnung aufgemacht, um auf Erden zu erscheinen, und die ganze Erde wird darum aufgefordert, ehrfurchtig Jahve zu erwarten der jeden Augenblick erscheinen kann, um seine Plane durchzuführen" (*op. cit.*, p. 129).

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 70, 405 C.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Ibid.*, 408 BC. According to E. J. KISSANE v. 2 "clearly interrupts the connection between 1 and 3. It is really the continuation of the theme of 7-9, and Duhm, Feldmann and others are probably right in transposing verses 1 and 2" (*The Book of Isaiah...*, I, vol. 2, 192).

2. *Os.* 4, 8 f. – *Os.* 4, 5 (which, incidentally, is just another way of putting what is said in 3, 4) is addressed to the common people <sup>(1)</sup>. *Vv.* 8 f. are directed to the priestly order. The expression  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  serves to link these verses closely with *v.* 7;  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  signifies the Levitical priesthood <sup>(2)</sup>.

3. *Os.* 5, 1 f. – Cyril notes that in 4, 16 Judah is exhorted not to emulate Israel, who rushed madly towards apostasy like a cow driven to a frenzy by a stinging insect <sup>(3)</sup>. Apropos of 4, 17 ff., he remarks that the prophet still addresses Judah <sup>(4)</sup>. *Os.* 5, 1 f., however, are addressed to those who deceived Judah <sup>(5)</sup>.

Other examples in which St. Cyril draws attention to changes, of addressees are: *Os.* 6, 9 f. <sup>(6)</sup>, 7, 1 ff. <sup>(7)</sup>, 13, 15 <sup>(8)</sup>, 13, 16 <sup>(9)</sup>, *Nahum* 1, 10 f. <sup>(10)</sup>, 1, 12 <sup>(11)</sup>, *Hab.* 2, 2 ff. <sup>(12)</sup>,

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 97, 16 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 100, 30 ff. Compare with PL 25, 846 A, 849 A. LIPPL claims that the denunciation of the priests begins in *v.* 4 (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 41).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 114, 11 ff. Compare with PL 25, 855 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 115, 22 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 117, 28 ff. Compare with PL 25, 856 C. According to LIPPL: "15 a ist jedenfalls Glosse, die ihre Entstehung vielleicht der jüdischen Bearbeitung des Buches verdankt; 15 b dagegen ist als Lehre aus dem Vorausgehenden und als Voraussetzung für *v.* 16 wohl verständlich" (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 42).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 147, 4 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 150, 15 ff. Compare with PL 25, 872 CD. According to LIPPL *Os.* 6, 11-7, 1 a is a gloss (*op. cit.*, p. 52).

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 274, 16 f.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 275, 25 f. Compare with PL 25, 937 A, 941 A. LIPPL claims: "Das in *v.* 13 angekündigte Verderben soll durch den Glutwind der Wüste kommen (vgl. 5, 7). Jenen mag ein Glossator als Bild für Assyrien haben deuten wollen; denn 'plündern' fällt aus dem Tropus 'Wind' heraus. Seine Scheltrede schliesst *Osee* mit dem Hinweis auf die Folgen, die die gerugten Sünden über Samaria bsw. Israel bringen werden" (*op. cit.*, p. 81).

<sup>(10)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 21, 9 ff.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Ibid.*, 23, 16 ff. See JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 18.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 92, 17 ff. Compare with PL 25, 1295 C.

2, 9 f. <sup>(1)</sup>, 3, 1 f. <sup>(2)</sup>, *Soph.* 3, 7 <sup>(3)</sup>, 3, 8 ff. <sup>(4)</sup>, 3, 11 <sup>(5)</sup>, 3, 12 <sup>(6)</sup>, 3, 19 <sup>(7)</sup>.

The references to the corresponding passages of St. Jerome's commentaries show that Cyril and he favour the application of the principle styled "changes of persons". Their attitude in this respect contrasts strikingly with that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who formally rejects it in his commentaries on the *Psalter* <sup>(8)</sup> and the *Minor Prophets* <sup>(9)</sup>; indeed, he expresses surprise that Christian interpreters rally to a norm approved of and employed by Jewish exegetes.

#### Art. 11. — ST. CYRIL'S TENDENCY TO DISCOVER REFERENCES TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN SCRIPTURE

More than once St. Cyril utters words in praise of the *Pax Romana* and contrasts the security that it afforded with the turbu-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, 102, 20 ff. See JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*..., p. 47 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 118, 14 ff. According to JUNKER: "Das Sehen und Hören des Propheten bezieht sich auf die in 2, 2 erwähnte Offenbarung. Der Prophet hat im Geiste gehört und geschaut, was Jahve an dem ungerechten Bedrucker tun will. Und nun trägt er eine darauf bezügliche Bitte vor" (*op. cit.*, p. 54).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 221, 20 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 225, 15 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 229, 27 ff.; 230, 4 ff. JUNKER claims that 3, 9-20 delineates more fully the judgement announced in vv. 6-8 (*op. cit.*, p. 85). Verse 11 describes the interior ethical excellence of Israel after the purificatory judgement (*ibid.*, p. 86).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 231, 22 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 238, 20 ff. "Jahve wird also alle Unterdrücker Sions beseitigen. Damit sind wohl nicht nur fremde feindliche Bedrucker des ganzen Volkes, sondern auch die Unterdrücker im eigenen Volk gemeint, die ihre eigenen Volksgenossen unterdrückten; vgl. v. 1 ff... Jene einst Unterdrückten kommen nun zu Ehren 'in dem ganzen Lande ihres Schämens', d. h. in dem Lande, in dem sie bisher in Schande leben mussten, oder: in dem sie bisher immer zuschanden wurden" (JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*..., p. 88).

<sup>(8)</sup> R. DEVRESSE, *Commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes*..., pp. 281, 16-26; 501, 7-10. 27-28. See this author's *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, Città del Vaticano, 1948, p. 66.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 66, 557 D-560 A. See R. DEVRESSE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*..., p. 89.

lence and instability which obtained everywhere previously<sup>(1)</sup>. Indeed, a factor of his exegesis, that piques curiosity, is his inclination to discover references to Roman rule in prophetic texts. A few examples will enable us to appraise this trait:

1. *Is.* 2, 1-5 is unanimously regarded as a passage in which the spiritual and universalistic aspects of Messianism are depicted with great power. Though Catholics readily interpret it as a prediction of the Church, they somewhat hesitate to take the description of disarmament and peace at its face value; a literal interpretation would confront them with the difficulty that the oracle has not yet been fulfilled<sup>(2)</sup>. St. Basil thinks that Isaias alludes to intrinsic qualities of Christ's law and preaching which will give rise to peace<sup>(3)</sup>. In the opinion of St. Cyril the prophet foretells the period in which the conversion of the Gentiles will take place: it will be marked by the absence of plundering, cruelty and fraud, because God will cause his justice and judgement to triumph by subjecting all nations to the Romans<sup>(4)</sup>. St. Jerome and Theodoretus of Cyrrhus concur with Cyril<sup>(5)</sup>, the Antiochian exegete noting expressly that the *Pax Romana* enabled the heralds of the gospel to move about in full security and preach the truth everywhere<sup>(6)</sup>.

2. Whereas modern exegetes descry in the question and answer contained in *Is.* 6, 11 ff. a reference to the Babylonian captivity<sup>(7)</sup>, the ancients proclaim with one voice that it envisages Roman times. Basil and Theodoretus mention laconically that the destruction alluded to was carried out by the armies of Rome<sup>(8)</sup>. Eusebius, Jerome and Cyril mention expressly the invasions of 'Vespasian' Titus and Adrian<sup>(9)</sup>; the Alexandrian exegete confuses his

(1) PG 70, 72 C; 337 A; *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 663, 9 ff.; *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 407, 12 ff.

(2) L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, vol. 7, p. 22.

(3) PG 30, 244 A.

(4) PG 70, 73 BC

(5) PL 24, 46 A; PG 81, 238 C.

(6) PG 81, 238 C.

(7) L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, 7, p. 42; E. J. KISSANE, *The book of Isaiah...*, I, p. 76.

(8) PG 30, 444 B; 81, 272 A.

(9) PG 24, 129 CD; PL 24, 100 D; PG 70, 188 B f. and 189 B ff.



explanation by introducing a clumsy reference to Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees.

3. *Is.* 11, 15-16 is another instance of the difference that separates modern exegesis from that of the ancients. Nowadays, these verses are thought to be a reference to the return of the Israelites from Egypt and Assyria, the two principal countries of the dispersion. To facilitate it, God will renew the miracle of the Red Sea, by drying up the gulf of Suez and by making the River Euphrates passable as well <sup>(1)</sup>. According to Cyril the oracle predicts how Augustus Caesar conquered Egypt: "Since it pleased God to hand over Egypt to the sceptre of Rome, a violent south wind began to blow, the waters of the river (Nile) were chased into the sea and the whole region was made so passable that those wishing to cross the marshes and valleys at the seven mouths of the river had no need to take off their sandals. It was thus that God smoothed the way for the Roman army and the Egyptians were conquered" <sup>(2)</sup>. Eusebius interprets this passage less literally than Cyril; in his opinion the expression *πνεῦμα βίαιον* denotes the first Roman general who overthrew the kingdom of Egypt <sup>(3)</sup>. Jerome's explanation resembles that of Cyril, save that he makes no mention of the wind <sup>(4)</sup>.

4. *Is.* 19, 1-15 contain fresh menaces against Egypt. Verse 4 alludes to a fierce king who will maltreat the country. In all probability this personage was Sargon II, who thwarted Egyptian policy on at least three different occasions. The drying up of the Nile described in v. 5 is a hyperbole depicting the misery that will prevail in Egypt <sup>(5)</sup>. Eusebius, Theodoretus and Cyril hold that this oracle alludes to the conquest of Egypt by Rome. Cyril expressly mentions Vespasian as the conqueror; on that occasion the lakes and rivers were again dried up so that the armies could cross them on foot <sup>(6)</sup>. St. Jerome leaves us free to choose between the campaigns of Nabuchodonosor and those of Rome; if the prophet envisages the subjugation of Egypt by Rome, the king alluded to is

<sup>(1)</sup> L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, 7, p. 61.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 337 B f.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 24, 180 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 24, 151 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> L. DENNEFELD, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 456 D.

Augustus <sup>(1)</sup>; on the latter point Jerome concurs with Eusebius <sup>(2)</sup>. According to Jerome the drying up of the Nile can be taken either literally or metaphorically <sup>(3)</sup>.

5. Cyril discovers two references to the destruction of Judaea by the Romans in *Is.* 27, namely vv. 4 and 10 <sup>(4)</sup>. No other commentator of Antiquity shares this view. In point of fact this chapter of Isaias seems to describe the restoration of Israel; vv. 2-9 portray the care with which God surrounds his vineyard; vv. 10-11 contain a detailed description of the destruction of the capital city of the pagans <sup>(5)</sup>.

6. Apropos of *Is.* 66, 24 Cyril expounds the opinion of those who hold that the verse refers to the consummation of time <sup>(6)</sup>; he himself prefers to interpret it as a reference to the calamities which the Jews experienced at the hands of the Romans <sup>(7)</sup>. On this point Cyril is supported by no writer of Antiquity.

7. While elucidating *Os.* 2, 18, our exegete recalls the explanation of 2, 12 previously given by him: there, the expressions "*beasts*", "*vultures*", "*reptiles*" denote the Persians, Medes and Babylonians, who depopulated the regions inhabited by the Jews <sup>(8)</sup>. As long as Israel remains enclosed in the cities of Samaria, these enemies will devour the produce of the fields <sup>(9)</sup>. However, in *Os.* 2, 18, God announces his resolve to take away the idols of these peoples from this earth. He will make a covenant with all barbarian nations in virtue of which all hostilities will cease and nobody will be exposed to terror any more. The clause Συνηρώ τὸ ξὸν καὶ ῥομπαίαν was verified historically when the Romans succeeded in placing the known world under their sway. The Persians then busied themselves with the affairs of their own kingdom and the warlike expeditions of other barbarian nations ceased <sup>(10)</sup>. Once

<sup>(1)</sup> PL 24, 182 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 24, 224 BC.

<sup>(3)</sup> PL 24, 182 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 596 A and 605 D f.

<sup>(5)</sup> L. DENNEFELD, *La sainte Bible...*, 7, p. 104 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 1450 C.

<sup>(7)</sup> HG 70, 1450 B.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 71, 10 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 71, 22 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 72, 2 ff.

again Cyril stands alone; Theodore of Mopsuestia <sup>(1)</sup>, St. Jerome <sup>(2)</sup> and Theodoretus <sup>(3)</sup> hold that the oracle describes the friendliness and peace which will flourish as a result of God's renewed relations with Israel; they do not assign the fulfilment of this prediction to any determined period. On this point modern exegesis agrees with them <sup>(4)</sup>.

8. Commentators of our times seem to prefer the literal interpretation of *Joel* 1, 4 <sup>(5)</sup>. Antiquity favoured the symbolical interpretation; Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus identify the four invasions of the locusts with the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser, Salmanasar, Sennacherib and Nabuchodonosor <sup>(6)</sup>; Cyril opts for the expeditions of Salmanasar, Nabuchodonosor, Antiochus Epiphanes and the Romans <sup>(7)</sup>. This is also the point of view of St. Jerome <sup>(8)</sup>.

9. Some modern commentators regard *Mich.* 4, 4 as a description of the peace and felicity which will characterize eschatological times <sup>(9)</sup>. Theodore of Mopsuestia claims that Micheas alludes to the peace which obtained in Judaea after the exiles had returned from captivity <sup>(10)</sup>. Cyril holds that the prophet envisages the tranquillity brought about by Roman domination <sup>(11)</sup>. The opinions of Jerome and Theodoretus resemble that of Cyril <sup>(12)</sup>; the latter, without naming him, styles the opinion sponsored by Theodore "Jewish" <sup>(13)</sup>.

10. For Theodore and Theodoretus the expression "to search Jerusalem with lamps" of *Soph.* 1, 12 is a metaphor which describes the exhaustive scrutiny the enemy (presumably, the Baby-

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 66, 141 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> PL 25, 839 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 81, 1565 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> J. LIPPL, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 32.

<sup>(5)</sup> J. THEIS, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 92 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 66, 213 B and 81, 1636 BC.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 292, 15 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> PL 25, 951 D.

<sup>(9)</sup> J. LIPPL, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 201.

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 66, 365 BC.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 663, 9 ff.

<sup>(12)</sup> PL 25, 1187 D ff. and PG 81, 1760 BC.

<sup>(13)</sup> PG 81, 1760 D f.

lonians) will make of the resources of Jerusalem <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril opines that the oracle was fulfilled to the letter during the war waged against the Jews by Vespasian and Titus; the historian Josephus depicts in tragic phrases how countless persons who had taken refuge in caverns were tracked down with a lamp and were cruelly butchered on being brought to the light <sup>(2)</sup>. Jerome offers his readers a choice: the oracle was fulfilled either by the Babylonians or the Romans; he quotes Josephus but does not extract from him a reference to a search with lamps <sup>(3)</sup>.

11. Cyril identifies the fourth chariot of *Zach.* 6, 1-8 with the Roman Empire whose rulers were always wily, quick at learning, very intelligent, prudent and powerful <sup>(4)</sup>. The clause "*and the piebald went to the south*" denotes the land of the Jews which lay towards the south and refers to its destruction by Vespasian and Titus. The vision notes as well that the piebald and ash-coloured horses were commanded to compass the whole warth. This they accomplished in very fact, because with God's aid they became lords of the whole world <sup>(5)</sup>. For Theodore of Mopsuestia the horses of the fourth chariot represent the various ministries which the angelic powers perform in regard to those placed under their charge; when the occasion arises they minister to Israel's good <sup>(6)</sup>. Theodoretus holds that the vision deals with angels who work solely and directly in favour of Israel <sup>(7)</sup>. St. Jerome identifies the fourth chariot with the Romans; like Cyril he finds a reference to their universal dominion in v. 7 b <sup>(8)</sup>. In the opinion of modern exegetes the four chariots represent the same event. This, according to Van Hoonacker, is the chastisement of Babylon by Cyrus <sup>(9)</sup>. Junker holds that the vision does not envisage an historical event but predicts rather the annihilation of God's enemies (represented by Babylon) in eschatological times <sup>(10)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 66, 457 A and PG 81, 1844 D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 185, 1 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PL 25, 1349 D ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 359, 7 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.* 361, 18 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 66, 540 A.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 81, 1905 A.

<sup>(8)</sup> PL 25, 1452 CD; 1453 BC.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Les douze petits prophètes...*, p. 628.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 145 f.

12. Assuming the background of *Zach.* 9 to be eschatological, modern exegetes are inclined to think that the destruction of Tyre and Sidon, alluded to in verses 3 and 4, is not one of the historical demolitions of these cities <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril holds that the oracle was fulfilled when these cities were devastated either by the Israelites or by Vespasian and Titus; the "*Lord took possession of them*", inasmuch as it was he who handed the cities over to their captors <sup>(2)</sup>. Our exegete gives one further proof of his partiality to the Romans: "They were mild and fair to countries which surrendered to them freely without fighting. They were very fierce to those who offered them resistance" <sup>(3)</sup>. Theodore of Mopsuestia, St. Jerome and Theodoretus make no reference to the historical fulfilment of this oracle <sup>(4)</sup>.

13. The clause "*And they shall mourn for him as one mourns for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born*" (*Zach.* 12, 10) is thought to refer to national mourning for the death of the Messiah, though only eschatological times can be assigned as the era of its fulfilment <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril seems to be the only exegete of Antiquity to have looked for its fulfilment in history; at the height of the war against the Romans, some of the Jews recalled the crimes that they had committed against Christ and realized that they themselves were responsible for the calamities which they were then enduring <sup>(6)</sup>. St. Jerome <sup>(7)</sup> and Theodoretus imply that the oracle will be fulfilled in eschatological times <sup>(8)</sup>.

14. *Zach.* 14 is regarded as another vision relating to eschatological times; Jerusalem will be savagely attacked by the Gentiles; when everything seems lost, God himself will intervene to save a remnant <sup>(9)</sup>. Cyril thinks that verses 1 and 2 are addressed to the

<sup>(1)</sup> H. JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 161.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 407, 7 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 407, 12 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 66, 553 AB; PL 25, 1480 D ff.; PG 81, 1920 AB.

<sup>(5)</sup> E. TOBAC, *Les prophètes d'Israel*, vol. 2 and 3, p. 520 f.; H. JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 176 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.* PUSEY II, 494, 2 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> ... Tunc dolebunt a se crucifixum, cum viderint in claritate regnantem (PL 25, 1516 A).

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 81, 1945 A.

<sup>(9)</sup> H. JUNKER, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten...*, p. 185 ff.

impious Jews who killed Christ and that they predict the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans <sup>(1)</sup>. He refers to an account which narrates that the conquerors despised the recklessness of the defenders of the city and burned the temple and the houses of the town. However, they spared the inhabitants of the upper city and the region around the temple since they fell down on their knees before them <sup>(2)</sup>. Theodoretus, too, is of opinion that the oracle was fulfilled when Jerusalem was sacked by the Romans; for him the "remnant" was constituted by the believing Christians who left the city in consequence of a revelation – a point of view which Cyril proposes as an alternative explanation <sup>(3)</sup>. Jerome mentions two opinions: that of the Jews who hold that these events will come to pass under Gog and that claiming that they were partially fulfilled by the Macedonians, Egyptians and other nations <sup>(4)</sup>. He himself seems undecided <sup>(5)</sup>, though he is somewhat inclined to embrace the point of view sponsored by St. Cyril <sup>(6)</sup>.

The fact that expositors belonging to different schools concur in finding references to Rome in oracles of Old Testament prophecy bears witness to a vogue that was rather widespread in Antiquity. Cyril was much fascinated by it, as those examples testify in which, alone among his contemporaries, he follows this tendency. In cases where his opinions coincide with those of St. Jerome, literary dependence, though not absolutely certain, is highly probable.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 511, 11 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> Φασι γάρ (*ibid.*, 512, 22 ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> Compare PG 81, 1952 B with *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 513, 18 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 25, 1522 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> Nos temporis veritatem Domini sententiae relinquentes, quae scripta sunt explicemus (*ibid.*).

<sup>(6)</sup> Hae omnia plenissime Iosephus, qui Iudaicam scriptis historiam, et multo maiora legimus in prophetis, eos sustinuisse commemorat. Cornelius quoque Tacitus, qui post Augustum usque ad mortem Domitiani vitas Caesarum triginta voluminibus exaravit. Quomodo autem media pars capta sit civitatis, et reliquus populus in urbe permanserit, et illo tempore et aliis approbatur, septentrionalem urbis et inferiorem partem esse captam, montem autem templi, et Sion, in quo arx erat, integra remansisse (PL 25, 1522 D).

Art. 12. — ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS OF THE LITERAL SENSE <sup>(1)</sup>

Availing himself of a usage known to St. Augustine <sup>(2)</sup>, St. Jerome <sup>(3)</sup>, and Julian of Eclanum <sup>(4)</sup>, to mention a few exegetes, St. Cyril, when expounding the literal sense, occasionally offers his readers a choice between two or even three interpretations. These he intro-

<sup>(1)</sup> The usage discussed in this article must be carefully distinguished from instances in which St. Cyril employs formulae like 'Εν τούτοις ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος διπτὴν ὁδῶναι τὴν θεωρίαν (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 25, 6 f.), Διπτὴν ὁδῶναι ταυτὶ τὴν διάνοιαν (*Comment. on Amos.*, PUSEY I, 517, 11) etc., which bear a superficial resemblance to the formulae that introduce the explanations considered here. The former expressions allude to the two great divisions of scriptural meanings, namely, the literal and the spiritual; here, we envisage *alternative explanations of the literal sense* itself. Examples of formulae similar to those employed by St. Cyril, when he alludes to the two main divisions of scriptural meanings, are found in the writings of the Antiochians. Thus, apropos of Ez. 34, 27 b-28 THEODORETUS writes: "Οτι διπλὴ ἡ προφητεία; the first meaning envisages the freedom of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity; the second refers to the liberation of mankind from the tyranny of Satan (PG 81, 1164 CD). Commenting Is. 60, 1 ff., the same writer notes: Οὕτω πανταῦθα τρεῖς ἔχει κατὰ ταῦτόν ὑποθέσεις ἢ προόρησεις. The first alludes ὡς ἐν σκιογραφίᾳ to the building of Jerusalem under Cyrus and Darius; the second depicts the types of the "more exact" truth, namely, the glory of the Church, as in an image composed of several colours; the third foretells as well the archetype of the image (τὸ τῆς εἰκόνης ἀρχετυπον), namely, the future life in heaven (*Comment. on Isaiah*, MÖHLE's edition, p. 233).

<sup>(2)</sup> Et congregatio populorum circumdabit te. Duplex intellectus est. Congregatio enim populum sive credentium, sive persequentium potest accipi... (*Enarratio in Ps.* 7, 6, PL 36, 101).

<sup>(3)</sup> Commenting on Is. 27, 7 St. JEROME notes: Locus iste dupliciter intelligitur. Aut contra Ierusalem... aut contra gentium multitudinem... (PL 24, 309 D).

<sup>(4)</sup> Quod sane duobus modis intelligi potest, ut... vel... (PL 21, 1079 AB); Geminus ergo intellectus debet assumi, ut vel sub conditione illius positum sit... Vel certe... (PL 21, 984 B); Quod gemina expositione valebit absolvi... (*ibid.*, 1030 B) Quod duobus potest intelligi modis... (*ibid.*, 1000 A); Quod... dupliciter intelligi potest... (*ibid.*, 1072 D) etc. Normally JULIAN uses the alternative formula "vel... vel certe" without express reference to the double sense, e. g., *ibid.*, 1071 A; 1072 A; 1073 A; 1075 B; 1076 B etc. (See A. VACCARI, *Un commento a Giobbe*, Roma, 1915, p. 108 f.).

duces by means of formulae such as Νοοῖτο δ' ἂν οὐ καθ' ἑνα ταυτι δὴ τρόπον, τριχῇ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ ἐκ τοῦ σημαινομένου ληφθήσεται <sup>(1)</sup>, Λιχῇ τοῦτο νοήσεις <sup>(2)</sup>, Καὶ ἑτέρως ἂν νοοῖτο πάλιν <sup>(3)</sup>, Ἐκδεξόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἑτέρως, εἰ δοκεῖ, τοῦ προκειμένου τὴν θεωρίαν <sup>(4)</sup>, Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον ὁ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τούτοις τὴν εἰσάπαν ἀχρειότητα δηλοῖ <sup>(5)</sup>. Our exegete resorts to this expedient in order to convenience his readers as far as possible, by placing before them the fruits of his readings and meditations <sup>(6)</sup>. In the examples to be reviewed by us presently he eschews all references to sources; in point of fact we shall see that, at times, one or other opinion quoted by him is found in the corresponding context of St. Jerome; but we are frequently in a quandary to know whether the other opinion is really Cyril's own or is a borrowing made by him from a source unknown to us. It is to be noted that occasionally our author introduces alternative explanations with a formula involving the indefinite pronoun: Δοκεῖ δὲ τις καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον τὴν τῶν προκειμένων δύναμιν ἀναπτύξαι <sup>(7)</sup>. However, since these formulae explicitly invoke sources, though anonymous, we reserve the consideration of the opinions in question for a subsequent paragraph.

1. Is. 14, 29. — With regard to the problem of identifying the "*seed of the serpent*" and the "*flying serpent*" Cyril leaves us free to choose between Ozias and Ezechias on the one hand, and Tiglath-pileser and Salmanasar on the other hand <sup>(8)</sup>. Eusebius and Jerome are of opinion that the text envisages Achaz and Ezechias <sup>(9)</sup>.

2. Is. 27, 5. — The first literal explanation of this oracle outlined by Cyril envisages the burning of Jerusalem. In an alternative explanation he suggests that the expression κατακέανυμαι denotes the condition of utter uselessness which awaits Jerusalem,

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 61, 5 f.; *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 389, 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 392 BC; *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 403, 22.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 55, 24; *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 37, 12 f.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 79, 7 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 597 AB.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 587, 6 f.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 114, 25 f.; *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 194, 4; *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 325 10 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 70, 392 BC.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 24, 196 D f. and PL 24, 165 D.



namely, the desolation to which God's burning anger will reduce it. To back up this second interpretation our exegete quotes *Jer.* 11, 16 in which God's wrath is compared to fire <sup>(1)</sup>. Here there is no point of contact with either Eusebius or Jerome <sup>(2)</sup>.

3. *Is.* 40, 22. — These are the alternative meanings of the clause Οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀκρίδες: *a*) compared with God's greatness and excellence the inhabitants of the earth, although great in numbers, are as locusts; *b*) God "contains" the whole circle of the earth so that its inhabitants are nothing when compared with him, even though their numbers are enormous and they feed on the earth's surface like swarms of locusts <sup>(3)</sup>. Eusebius and Jerome seem to favour the opinion which our exegete expounds in the first place <sup>(4)</sup>.

4. *Os.* 2, 11. — Not less than three explanations are proposed of the clause "*And the wild beasts of the field, and the birds of the sky, and the reptiles of the earth shall devour them*": *a*) Since the people will be held captive in Babylonia, the produce of their territory will be the exclusive food of the beasts; *b*) The effects of the war will be so devastating that only beasts will remain in Samaria; *c*) The Babylonians themselves will devour the produce of the land, as if they were beasts. The Israelites will be forced to remain within the cities from which they will not dare to venture forth in spite of the pangs of hunger <sup>(5)</sup>. Jerome develops this clause on different lines: "*Devoraverunt eam primum Assyrii atque Chaldaei, Medi et Persae atque Macedones, ad extremum saevissima laceravit bestia, Romanorum imperium, cuius in Daniele nomen tacetur, ut maior formido his qui devorandi sunt, augeatur*" <sup>(6)</sup>.

5. *Os.* 4, 13 f. — In his first interpretation Cyril construes the verb ἐπισκέψομαι as: "I shall remain inactive... thus ensuring that your children, in punishment for their flagrant unchastity, will be exposed to the insults and lewdness of their conquerors" <sup>(7)</sup>. The alternative explanation (introduced by the formula Εἰ δὲ

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 597 AB.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 24, 280 C; PL 24, 308 C ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 816 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 24, 372 D; PL 24, 408 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 61, 5 f.

<sup>(6)</sup> PL 25, 834 C.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 109, 15 ff.

δή τις ἔλοιτο, καὶ καθ' ἕτερον νοήσει τρόπον) paraphrases the same verb thus: "God visits those whom he loves... Those who offend him by sin, he disregards. Accordingly I shall not visit them nor care for them; I shall neither convert them towards me nor deem them worthy of anything" <sup>(1)</sup>. The following reasons are adduced in explanation of God's attitude: "Because, though you were their fathers, you abstained from reprimanding either yourselves or your children, to the extent that they became guilty of the vilest wickedness, namely, of mingling themselves with harlots. For they sacrificed with the τετελεσμένοι. He styles the priestesses of Beelphegor πόρναι. Beelphegor is the one who is called Priapus. Those who honour an abomination so heinous are unquestionably πόρναι. He gives the name of τετελεσμένοι to those who become initiated to the cult of Beelphegor. They were men, but they did not continue to be such. Instead, they acquired an effeminate outlook and impiously played the woman in words and deeds. Some call these persons θηλυδόρᾳι and μαλθάκωνες. They indulge in womanish howlings and use cymbals. They pretend to perform rites of initiation, while they run round with torches and go through the shameful ceremonies of Beelphegor" <sup>(2)</sup>. In the corresponding context Jerome rejoins this alternative explanation with regard to the meaning of "*visitabo*" <sup>(3)</sup>, the identification of Beelphegor with Priapus and of the τετελεσμένοι with the *effeminati* <sup>(4)</sup>. Cyril's description of the initiation ceremony is completely absent from Jerome <sup>(5)</sup>.

6. Other passages of which St. Cyril proposes alternative explanations are:

Os. 6, 8 <sup>(6)</sup>. — Here St. Jerome offers no apposite parallel <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 110, 6 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 110, 23 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PL 25, 853 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 852 A.

<sup>(5)</sup> Compare PL 25, 851 Df. with PUSEY I, 110, 6 ff. On Priapus see F. CUMONT's article in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 4, I, 645-647. In reality this verse seems to allude to the sacred prostitution which the Israelites borrowed from the inhabitants of Canaan (J. LIPPL, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*... , p. 43). Cyril incorrectly identifies their worship with that of Priapus, whose cult originated in Lampsakos.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 145, 26 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> PL 25, 870 D.

*Amos* 1, 9 f. <sup>(1)</sup>. — St. Jerome expounds but one explanation, namely, the first of St. Cyril's three <sup>(2)</sup>.

*Amos* 2, 7 <sup>(3)</sup>. — Jerome gives only an allegorical explanation based on the Septuagint, since this clause is not found in the Hebrew text <sup>(4)</sup>.

*Nahum* 1, 2-3 <sup>(5)</sup>. — Jerome offers but one interpretation, the one expounded by Cyril in the second place <sup>(6)</sup>.

*Nahum* 3, 7 <sup>(7)</sup>. — Jerome's interpretation resembles the second meaning given by Cyril <sup>(8)</sup>.

*Hab.* 1, 7 <sup>(9)</sup>. — Jerome gives an interpretation of the Septuagint which is not dissimilar to Cyril's first explanation <sup>(10)</sup>.

*Hab.* 2, 18 <sup>(11)</sup>. — Jerome's single literal interpretation corresponds substantially to Cyril's second explanation <sup>(12)</sup>.

*Soph.* 2, 3 <sup>(13)</sup>. — The Latin exegete attaches to the rendering of the Septuagint the opinion which Cyril expounds in the first place <sup>(14)</sup>.

*Mal.* 2, 13 <sup>(15)</sup>. — Jerome favours the second interpretation mentioned by Cyril <sup>(16)</sup>.

The number of exegetical opinions common to St. Cyril and St. Jerome is surprisingly large. Though each parallel, when examined individually, does not point conclusively to literary dependence, the cumulative evidence furnished by so many examples suggests that the Patriarch of Alexandria had St. Jerome's commentaries constantly before his eyes. It is to be noted that the Latin

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 398, 6 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PL 25, 999 C f.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 403, 22.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 25, 1007 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 4, 9-7, 17.

<sup>(6)</sup> PL 25, 1231 C.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum*, PUSEY II, 55, 9 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> PL 25, 1259 A f.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 77, 27 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> PL 25, 1280 B f.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 114, 6 ff.

<sup>(12)</sup> PL 25, 1304 B.

<sup>(13)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 193, 1 ff.

<sup>(14)</sup> PL 25, 1359 A ff.

<sup>(15)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 586, 20 ff.

<sup>(16)</sup> PL 25, 1561 C.

exegete also adduces alternative explanations, though much less frequently than St. Cyril. This trait illustrates, incidentally, the eclectic character of St. Cyril's exegesis.

Art. 13. — EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO THE INTERPRETATIONS OF OTHER EXEGETES

In the preceding articles of this chapter the comparisons made at times with other exegetes, notably Eusebius and Jerome, were intended to illustrate how precisely St. Cyril employs the exegetical principle under consideration. In this article, by reviewing some of our exegete's *explicit* references to the opinions of others, we treat more expressly of the problem of St. Cyril's sources to which many references have been made already. In keeping with the literary customs of Antiquity all of these references are anonymous and are introduced by formulae such as: *Πασί* <sup>(1)</sup>, *Καὶ μὴν καὶ εἰς ἔρημίαν ἔλθειν, βούλονται τινες, ὥς ἐκ μερικῆς ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ὅλου καὶ κατὰ πάντων μεταφοιτῆσαι τῷ προφῆτῃ τὸν λόγον* <sup>(2)</sup>, *Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα τινες ἀποφέρουσι καθ' ἑτέραν διδουίαν* <sup>(3)</sup>, and so forth.

1. *Is. 5, 1.* — Cyril mentions two interpretations of the expression *κῆρας* which he explicitly ascribes to anonymous exponents. Some claim that the word in question really adds no new meaning to the expression *ἐν τόπῳ πλείονι*, which precedes it. Others, however, are of opinion that *ἐν κέρατι* is equivalent to *ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ* and regard it as an allusion to God's help in virtue of which Israel conquered the promised land from its original possessors <sup>(4)</sup>. Of the interpreters of Antiquity whom we have been able to consult, St. Basil alone seems to favour the first opinion mentioned by Cyril <sup>(5)</sup>. We are unable to identify the second opinion. Eusebius, Jerome, Theodoretus hold that the expression *κῆρας* insinuates that Israel was a kingdom <sup>(6)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 135 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 70, 536 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 553 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 135 C.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 30, 248 B.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 24, 116 C; PL 24, 76 A; PG 81, 253 A.

2. *Is.* 24, 1. — Cyril expounds two opinions here, both of which he approves. The first opinion claims that the oracle sums up in a single sentence the menaces pronounced separately against individual nations in the preceding verses <sup>(1)</sup>. The second opinion (explicitly ascribed to τινές) holds that the prophet here diverts his attention from a particular catastrophe to a universal one and foretells in consequence what will happen to the world at the time of the consummation <sup>(2)</sup>. Eusebius <sup>(3)</sup> and Jerome <sup>(4)</sup> claim that the oracle envisages the general judgement. Theodoretus says that the oracle contains a double prophecy. "It shows what happens in wars at different times and what will come to pass at the consummation of this age" <sup>(5)</sup>. The first opinion quoted by Cyril is not the same as the first quoted by Theodoretus.

3. *Is.* 24, 21 f. — Two opinions are elucidated here; Cyril tells us that the prophet's words are fulfilled in each of them <sup>(6)</sup>. The first opinion claims that the oracle predicts the cessation of idolatry <sup>(7)</sup>. The second opinion (explicitly ascribed to τινές) holds that the verses describe the darkening of the sun and the moon at the consummation of time <sup>(8)</sup>. This second opinion is espoused by Eusebius <sup>(9)</sup>, Jerome <sup>(10)</sup> and Theodoretus <sup>(11)</sup>.

4. *Is.* 30, 26. — Our exegete quotes the opinion of certain interpreters who claim that this oracle alludes to a phenomenon that will take place at the consummation of all things: there will be an increase of light in the elements which are wont to give light <sup>(12)</sup>. Cyril rejects this point of view, invoking the scriptural text which states that the sun will be darkened and the moon will not give light (*Mt.* 24, 29) <sup>(13)</sup>. In the sequel he rallies to a different inter-

(1) PG 70, 553 C. Compare with 536 A.

(2) *Ibid.*, 536 A.

(3) PG 24, 257 B.

(4) PL 24, 281 D.

(5) PG 81, 360 AB.

(6) PG 70, 553 C.

(7) *Ibid.*, 552 B.

(8) *Ibid.*, 553 C.

(9) PG 24, 264 C.

(10) PL 24, 287 C.

(11) PG 81, 361 CD.

(12) PG 70, 685 C.

(13) *Ibid.*

pretation: the moon signifies those who do not know the true God and live, as it were, in the night <sup>(1)</sup>. Eusebius does not comment upon the matter in hand <sup>(2)</sup>. Theodoretus thinks that the oracle describes the joyous dispositions of the exiles returning from Babylon <sup>(3)</sup>. Only Jerome seems to rally to the opinion rejected by Cyril <sup>(4)</sup>.

5. *Is.* 38, 18 f. — Cyril makes the following interesting remarks apropos of the clause "*For from this day I shall beget children who will announce your righteousness*": "Some say that he promises to institute a χοροστασία and to appoint chanters of psalms with good voices in the temple. Others, who pay attention to more esoteric things, say that Ezechias, since he thought on a high plane, was of opinion that he would have a kingdom without end and unceasing life. For he was persuaded that the writings concerning the son of David destined to be the Christ were said about himself. Hence they say, although he was in the fifteenth year of his reign he does not seem to have procreated children. Accordingly, on learning that his end was near, he pays attention to the question of his successors and adds with reference to his children that they will announce the righteousness of the Lord. However, this statement was not verified. Manasses was wicked and impious" <sup>(5)</sup>. We have not been able to identify the opinions alluded to here. St. Cyril gives us no inkling as to what he himself thinks of them. He leaves us under the impression that he regards the clause under consideration as a reference to the fact that Ezechias will beget children who will announce God's righteousness <sup>(6)</sup>. St. Jerome judges this point of view unacceptable and suggests: "*Possumus ergo iuxta LXX hoc dicere, quod non dixerit, filios faciam: sed παῖδιά, quos vel parvulos, vel pueros sive infantulos et posteros intelligimus, ut ex eo quod ipse misericordiam consecutus est, omnis ventura posteritas hoc cognoscens, laudet eius incredibilem clementiam*" <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 685 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 24, 312 AB.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 81, 380 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 24, 349 Cf.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 70, 789 D f.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>(7)</sup> PL 24, 396 AB.

6. *Is.* 40, 1 f. — Cyril himself is fully persuaded that these words refer to the grace conferred by Christ but mentions that certain persons not well versed in Scripture cannot see how the prophet associates a prediction concerning Christ with the words of Ezechias. In defence of his own point of view Cyril points out that, since the prophet previously predicted the final capture of the land of the Jews and of Jerusalem, the reference to God's consolation (which took place after it) is quite opportune and timely <sup>(1)</sup>. Our exegete identifies the "*priests*" of v. 2 with the preachers of the gospel <sup>(2)</sup>; he notes that some (τινές) identify them with the angels who in the instance, are considered to be better equipped to speak to the heart <sup>(3)</sup>. We have been unable to identify the exegetes referred to by Cyril. Eusebius seems to imply that the "*priests*" are the disciples, apostles and evangelists of Christ <sup>(4)</sup>. Jerome remarks: "Quod additur a Septuaginta, *sacerdotes* obelo prae-notandum est" <sup>(5)</sup>; since the expression is absent from the Hebrew text, he does not bother about explaining it.

7. *Is.* 45, 13. — Some interpreters apply these words to Cyrus; Cyril applies them to Christ <sup>(6)</sup>. Eusebius envisages three possibilities: Cyrus, or Zorobabel, or Christ (who led back souls who were held captive) <sup>(7)</sup>. Jerome opines that the oracle alludes to Christ <sup>(8)</sup>. He mentions the arguments of those who think it envisages Cyrus <sup>(9)</sup> and notes that some claim that it concerns Zorobabel <sup>(10)</sup>.

8. *Is.* 46, 1. — Cyril quotes the opinion of writers who hold that Bel is to be identified with the Greek god Saturn (= Κρόνος), who was cruel and bloodthirsty. A legend claims that some killed three hundred guests for him in a single day and celebrated a festival execrable and abominable to God and men <sup>(11)</sup>. Eusebius identifies Bel with Saturn and alludes in general terms to the countless

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 797 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> HG 70, 797 D.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 800 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 24, 365 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> PL 24, 400 D.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 968 B.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 24, 413 CD.

<sup>(8)</sup> PL 24, 445 AB.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 444 B f.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 445 C.

<sup>(11)</sup> PG 70, 989 A.

human sacrifices offered in his honour <sup>(1)</sup>. Jerome notes: "Quem Graeci Belum, Latini Saturnum vocant. Cuius tanta fuit apud veteres religio, ut ei non solum humanas hostias captivorum ignobiliumque mortalium, sed et suos liberos immolarent" <sup>(2)</sup>. Theodoretus remarks that some identify Bel with Saturn (Κρόνος) <sup>(3)</sup>. These points of contact hardly constitute a convincing proof of literary dependence.

9. *Is. 64, 6 f.* — Fearing lest anybody be tempted to regard this text as a proof that God's anger was the cause of sin, some interpreters invert the usual order of the words and read: 'Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἡμάρτομεν, ὡργισθης δὲ σὺ. They hope that by means of this alteration it will be perfectly clear to all that God was angry because of sin <sup>(4)</sup>. With this explanation, which, incidentally, Jerome sponsors <sup>(5)</sup>, Cyril totally disagrees. God must not be blamed, he argues, because those who have been overtaken by his wrath have been unable to give up sinning in consequence. It is true that Christ conferred spiritual strength on us. However, if we anger him, we become weak and remiss. As the favour of heavenly clemency makes us strong and energetic against evil, so too, when we incur God's displeasure, and succumb to vicious pleasures, it is almost of necessity that we become enslaved to them <sup>(6)</sup>. Theodoretus's explanation is not dissimilar from Cyril's <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 24, 420 CD.

<sup>(2)</sup> PL 24, 450 B.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 81, 424 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 1400 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> Ordo praeposterus. Non quia tu iratus es, nos peccavimus; sed quia peccavimus tu iratus es. Et quia peccavimus, nobis iratus es Domine: propterea erravimus, et rectam reliquimus viam... (PL 24, 623 C). The very expressions used by St. Cyril seem to allude to the opinion and arguments of St. Jerome. See F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique*..., p. 228.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 1400 B f. It is unlikely that the doctrinal nuances, that St. Cyril discovers in this text, were present to the mind of Isaias himself. At first sight the corresponding clause of the Hebrew text: "You were angry and we sinned" seems to make sin the consequence of God's wrath. But if the oracle be interpreted in terms of the preceding oracles, which depict Israel's misfortunes as warnings to do penance, it yields quite a different meaning: Israel in spite of the punishments inflicted on him, became hardened in sin and fully deserved the calamity that finally overtook him (E. J. KISSANE, *The Book of Isaiah*..., II, p. 300).

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 81, 481 A.



10. *Osee* 1. — Cyril takes a very vigorous stand against an unnamed expositor who denies the historicity of the events described in the first chapter of the book of *Osee*. This person <sup>(1)</sup>, our author claims, rejects quite categorically the reality of the facts in question, alleging that lovers of chastity need not be shy to say "*the letter kills*" as far as this chapter is concerned <sup>(2)</sup>. Examining the whole field of Scripture, he concludes from the examples of Moses (*Ex.* 3, 10; 4, 15), Jeremias (*Jer.* 1, 5, 6), Ezechiel (*Ez.* 4, 13, 14), and St. Peter (*Acts* 10, 13, 14) that these personages were all unwilling to perform the tasks enjoined on them by God. The attitude of *Osee* is wholly opposed to theirs, who, this writer argues, does not resist the command enjoined on him, but hastens with much zest to associate himself with the harlot. The proof that in this instance the events related are not real is furnished by the prophet's obedience; if God had really commanded carnal coition, *Osee* would surely have offered a very long excuse <sup>(3)</sup>. Cyril's adversary claims that the matter proposed to *Osee* was wholly spiritual: Gomer represents the soul which chooses to live in sin; the prophet *Osee* is an image of the Word of the Father, who, by uniting himself with the soul in an intellectual manner, injects the seeds of a virtuous life into it <sup>(4)</sup>.

Julian of Eclanum informs us that in Antiquity whole regions were divided with regard to the interpretation of this chapter: Palestine, Egypt and, generally speaking, all those who rallied to the authority of Origen held that the marriage did not take place in reality <sup>(5)</sup>, whereas the Antiochians held that it did <sup>(6)</sup>. The opinion combated by Cyril emanates from circles devoted to Origen; that is proved by the reference to the pre-existence of the soul and

(1) St. Cyril styles this person ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσκητος (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 15, 25).

(2) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 15, 26 ff.

(3) *Ibid.*, 16, 3 ff.

(4) *Ibid.*, 17, 3 ff.

(5) Non me autem fugit quanta doctorum hominum fuerit in loci istius opinione contentio, ita ut regiones integrae super eius assertionem dissentiant. Nam Palestina et Aegyptus alique omnes, qui Origenis auctoritate plurimum commoventur, coniugium istud ab *Osee* propheta negant corporaliter institutum... (PL 21, 964 A).

(6) ... Ad quod e regione Syri, et qui connubium illud carnaliter opinantur impletum... (*ibid.*, 965 A).

the fecundation of the intelligence by the Word. However, the arguments that Cyril's adversary uses to bolster up this opinion are not found among those that Julian enumerates when illustrating the reasons urged by the advocates of this point of view. Briefly these are: 1) Osee's marriage belonged to "the sphere of the spoken word", like many things which were accomplished by the prophets in a spiritual fashion<sup>(1)</sup>; 2) a real marriage would have exposed the prophet's preaching to ridicule, for he would find himself in the position of asking the people to condemn what he himself had done<sup>(2)</sup>; 3) no biblical example can be quoted to illustrate a case in which God commands precepts to be violated and yet is determined to punish their transgressors by chastisements announced by the prophets<sup>(3)</sup>; 4) a real marriage would fall short of the "propheticalis ordo", because the figure of a harlot who had been sanctified by honorable marriage would not represent the sacrileges of the tribes, considered guilty of adultery with regard to God<sup>(4)</sup>. It is

(1) ...Sed quomodo pleraque prophetis in spiritu gesta narrantur, ita has aiunt cum meretrice nuptias, in verbo tantum fuisse completas... (PL 21, 964 A).

(2) ...Neque enim temporis illius expetisse rationem, ut contra instituta sacrae legis, quae denunciaverat, nafarium esse cum meretrice consortium, Osee ad concionandum progrediens lasciviret, et exerturus in peccata censuram, primus ipse committeret, quod totus populus consequenter arguisset. Quam autem esset incompetens, si ad defensionem flagitii obiceret personam iubentis, asserens nimirum, se quidem, quantum ad mores suos respicit, foeditatem illam consortii foediter horruisse, sed cessasse auctoritati eius Domini, qui ad arguendos populos eum destinasset. Videretur prorsus materiam irrisionis potius, quam formidinis attulisse ei, qui ex eius persona obscoenitates aliorum arguendas putaret, quem ipse commissi a se flagitii praedicaret auctorem... (*ibid.*, 964 AB).

(3) ... Queritur et quo hoc per totam legem, vel praecepti, vel facti, simili fulciatur exemplo; sicubi videlicet Dominus noster faciendum quippiam adversum praecepta mandaverit, quorum utique transgressores, denunciatis per prophetas cladibus, ultum ibat (*ibid.*, 964 C). JULIAN discusses the case of *Gen.* 21, 12 and shows that it is irrelevant (*ibid.*, 964 BC). He concludes: "In negotio vero beati Oseae non solum imperata, sed etiam impleta multisque temporibus frequentata permixtio, nec operis honestate nec praecepti auctoritate videtur posse defendi (*ibid.*, 964 C).

(4) ... Hic adicitur quoniam in ipsis quoque figuris propheticalis non fuerit ordo servatus. Nam ad significationem tribuum, quae quasi sub Dei contubernio et societate degentes, in adulteria, idest, sacrilegia proruperant, assumitur mulier prostituta quae tamen nobilis, castificata consortio, filios

true that Julian says explicitly that other arguments were invoked by the defenders of this opinion <sup>(1)</sup>. In his prologue to *Osee* St. Jerome follows rather closely the arguments advanced by Cyril's adversary <sup>(2)</sup>. It is significant that he passes over in silence the cases of Ezechiel and St. Peter and omits all reference to the elements savouring of Origenism mentioned by the writer whom Cyril has in mind. In his explanation of *Os.* 1, 2 St. Jerome, while preferring the figurative interpretation, leaves his readers under the impression that the opinion which favours a real marriage is not improbable; at any rate he quotes reasons that support such view <sup>(3)</sup>; nay! he opposes arguments to those who, while refusing to interpret the incident figuratively, persistently deride its literal sense <sup>(4)</sup>. These differences prove that the Latin exegete is not the writer whom Cyril has in mind. Père Abel claims that Didymus is the adversary envisaged; the similarities existing between him and Jerome are to be ascribed to the fact that the latter exploited Didymus' commentary when composing his own commentary on *Osee* <sup>(5)</sup>.

From Julian also we glean the arguments to which the Antiochians had recourse in defence of their point of view. Put suc-

non de flagitioso, sed de reverendo coniuge, idest, vate suscipiat, et in honorem nuptiarum, praeteritorum oblita vitiorum, foecunditate magis, quam libidine perfruatur. Quomodo ergo ista mulier, quae matronalibus illustratur insignibus, gentis illius probabitur figurare personam, quae ante nuptias obscenitatis vitia non exhorruit, sed cum in sacro prius Domini sui consortio constitisset, turpitudinem sectata describitur?... (*ibid.*, 964 D f.).

<sup>(1)</sup> ...His et aliis pluribus argumentis docere contendunt, meretrici prophetam corporaliter non fuisse commixtum... (PL 21, 965 A).

<sup>(2)</sup> PL 25, 816 A ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> Nec culpandus propheta, interim ut sequamur historiam, si meretricem converterit ad pudicitiam, sed potius laudandus quod ex mala bonam fecerit... Ex quo intelligimus non prophetam perdidisse pudicitiam fornicariae copulatum; sed fornicariam assumpsisse pudicitiam quam antea non habebat: praesertim cum beatus Osee, non ob causam luxuriae, non libidinis, non propria fecerit voluntate, sed Dei paruerit imperio, ut quod in isto carnaliter legimus, in Deo factum spiritualiter probaremus... (*ibid.*, 823 A).

<sup>(4)</sup> ...Si quis autem contentiosus, et maxime gentilium, noluerit figuraliter dictum recipere, et irriserit prophetam fornicariae copulatum, opponamus ei illud, quod solet laudare Graecia, et philosophorum scholae concinunt... (*ibid.*, 816 C f.).

<sup>(5)</sup> F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique*..., pp. 100 ff.

cinctly these were: 1) the circumstances surrounding the incident (such as the name of the woman, the name and place of origin of her relatives, the fact that after her union with Osee she had offspring) prove that the marriage was a real one <sup>(1)</sup>; 2) more attention should be paid to the obedience shown by Osee than to the lack of consideration for the law that his behaviour might at first sight imply <sup>(2)</sup>; 3) the prophet's action can be amply justified on the score of its intrinsic moral goodness <sup>(3)</sup>.

St. Cyril adroitly inserts all these arguments of Antiochian stamp in his rather lengthy refutation of Didymus. He tells us that no reason will convince him that the events described in this chapter of *Osee* are not historical. The first positive proof that he advances in favour of this assertion is that provided by the narrative itself; Scripture says quite plainly that Gomer conceived and brought forth a child; the child's own name is given as well as those of the mother's father and the mother herself <sup>(4)</sup>. Examining one by one the arguments urged by Didymus against the historicity of the recital Cyril first challenges the right of anybody who despises the truth to invoke the saying "*the letter kills*" <sup>(5)</sup>. He then censures Didymus for remaining silent about the blame which Scripture attaches to Moses, Jeremias, and Peter; in each instance God reprimanded them for their disobedience <sup>(6)</sup>. In answer to the objection that the command given Osee was repugnant, Cyril addu-

<sup>(1)</sup> ...Ad quod e regione Syri, et qui connubium illud carnaliter opinantur impletum, nominum praecipue attestazione nituntur. Quibus evidenter et mulier, et eius tam parentes quam regio publicatur, atque coniunctionis negotium secutis foetibus comprobatur (PL 21, 965 A). THEODORE (PG 66, 129 B) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1553 CD) explicitly invoke these reasons.

<sup>(2)</sup> Ad devotionem autem magis prophetae, quam ad susceptam ab eo temerationem legis debere revocari quicquid contra consuetudinem morum suorum per obedientiam curarit adiungere ... (PL 21, 965 A). THEODORETUS touches on this argument (PG 81, 1556 C); JEROME does likewise, though in the guise of an objection which he tries to answer (PL 25, 818 D).

<sup>(3)</sup> ...Quamquam illud opus honestatis quoque potuerit ratione defendi, id est, ad pudicae in reliquum coniugi et munus a professione meretricia feminam transtulisset... (PL 21, 965 A). St. JEROME is seemingly impressed by the cogency of this reason (PL 25, 823 A).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 15, 12 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, 1 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, 3 ff.

ces examples of commands given by God which were even more repugnant: the killing of Ager by Samuel <sup>(1)</sup>, the slaughter of the priests of Baal by Elias, Isaias's walking naked through the streets of Jerusalem <sup>(2)</sup>. Moreover Osee's marriage was not a joyless thing (ἀτερπές); it was certainly not more unbecoming than the union of the Word with a sinful soul. If the argument of repugnance were applied universally, Cyril claims that many events recorded in the gospels, for example, Christ's association with publicans and sinners, would have to be discountenanced as untrue <sup>(3)</sup>. It must be remembered too, that, Osee took Gomer to wife not to indulge in voluptuous pleasures but to comply with the duties of obedience to God <sup>(4)</sup>. The prophet's σκοπός was free from blame <sup>(5)</sup>; in itself marriage is a good thing <sup>(6)</sup>; by marrying Gomer Osee made a decent woman of her and actually saved her <sup>(7)</sup>. His disinterestedness was worthy of all praise <sup>(8)</sup>. Cyril concludes by remarking that the prophet's action was a type of something belonging to the mystical order <sup>(9)</sup>; it portrayed Christ's spiritual union with sinners <sup>(10)</sup>. Indeed, the reason why Osee attached himself to Gomer was because the land of Israel went a-whoring by departing from God <sup>(11)</sup>.

If it is piquant to find our author in the company of Antiochians like Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus of Cyrrhus,

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 19, 1 ff. THEODORETUS recurs to this example in his commentary (PG 81, 1557 B), quoting it to show how the goodness or evil intrinsic to a given act depends upon its σκοπός.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 20, 28 ff. THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (PG 66, 128 C) and THEODORETUS (PG 81, 1556 A) invoke this example.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 21, 9 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, 9 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> As already noted (note 1) THEODORETUS discusses a series of biblical examples in terms of their σκοπός (PG 81, 1556 D ff.).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 22, 13 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, 26 ff. JEROME employs this argument (PL 25, 823 A).

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 23, 4 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> Μυστικού γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, πράγματος τύπος ἂν νοοῖτο τὸ δρώμενον (*ibid.*, 24, 28 f.).

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, 3 ff. In this respect Cyril's explanation differs from that of the Antiochians in whose opinion Osee's marriage represents how God became the husband of the sinful people of Israel (PL 21, 964 D f.; PG 66, 129 A; 81, 1557 BC).

<sup>(11)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 24, 23 ff.

it is not less piquant to find Julian of Eclanum rally to views defended by St. Jerome, Didymus, Origen and the exegetes of Palestine and Egypt in general <sup>(1)</sup>. While it is certain that Cyril depends on Antiochian exegesis as far as the first chapter of *Osee* is concerned, it is difficult to establish his dependence upon the commentaries of any writer of that school now extant. On occasions, there are points of contact between him and Theodore and Theodoretus that are very striking. Yet, it is unlikely that he borrowed from them. The proof is provided by an argument emphasized by them which Cyril does not even mention, namely, the sheer novelty of *Osee's* marriage which should pique the curiosity of his listeners and "move them to inquire into the reason of things and be instructed in regard to what they should do" <sup>(2)</sup>. In view of St. Cyril's tendency to elaborate and expand the materials that he borrows from others, it is likely that he would have included in his exposition this argument peculiar to Theodore and Theodoretus, had their commentaries been at his disposal.

11. *Zach.* 1, 18 f. — Our author quotes the opinion of those who hold that the four horns refer to the kingdoms of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Macedonians (in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes) and the Romans (who captured Jerusalem after Christ's Crucifixion) <sup>(3)</sup>. St. Cyril claims that this interpretation is incorrect, alleging as a proof the fact that the angel, when explaining the vision, says that the nations alluded to were those who devastated Israel (the northern kingdom as well as the southern). These, Cyril claims, were Pul, Salmanasar, Sennacherib and Nabuchodonosor <sup>(4)</sup>. St. Jerome favours the opinion rejected here by Cyril; it is likely that our author has him in mind <sup>(5)</sup>. Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus hold that the four horns represent the four points of the compass rather than four distinct nations; broadly speaking, they signify Israel's enemies, whether Assyrians, Baby-

<sup>(1)</sup> JULIAN expresses his own convictions as follows: *Eiusmodi ergo inter disputatione certantes, utramque opinionem reddidere suspectam, cum revera et compendiosius videatur et tutius, et ad significationem rerum accommodatius, si res spiritu gesta credatur...* (PL 21, 965 AB).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 66, 128 D ff. See also PG 81, 1556 B ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 300, 19 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 300, 25 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PL 25, 1427 D ff.

lonians, Idumaeans, Moabites, neighbouring nations or anybody for that matter <sup>(1)</sup>.

12. *Zach.* 5, 8. — An opinion is mentioned, which is explicitly ascribed to "others"; Cyril implicitly subscribes to it. The opinion in question is as follows: the lead that is placed in the mouth of the woman styled "*Iniquity*", brings home the idea that God himself has stopped up her mouth, forbidding her to cry out against sinners beyond the limits of what is meet. God in his mercy duly measures punishments they are proportionate to the crimes to be expiated <sup>(2)</sup>. Theodore of Mopsuestia seems to rally to this point of view, though restricting its application to a particular case: God deprives "*Iniquity*" of the power of speech, so that she will be unable to remind Israel of the punishments which he was enduring <sup>(3)</sup>. Saint Jerome's view more closely resembles the opinion quoted by Cyril, but fails to include all the nuances stressed by our author: "Ac ne forte rursum elevarer caput, et sua iniquitate et impietate gauderet, talentum plumbi in modum gravissimi lapidis mittit in os amphorae: ut impietatem in medio opprimat atque concludat, ne quo modo possit erumpere" <sup>(4)</sup>.

13. *Zach.* 7, 1-3. — Cyril purposes to describe the historical background which explains the occasion of this vision. "It is only thus and not otherwise", he claims, "that some interpret the present verse" <sup>(5)</sup>. In the sequel Cyril tells us: 1) who were Sarasar, Arseber the king, and his men; 2) what the ἀγίασμα was that took place in the fifth month; 3) of whom the question was asked; 4) what the purpose of the questioners was <sup>(6)</sup>. Jerome covers practically all the points elaborated by Cyril; however, he states nowhere that the vision cannot be understood save in the light of this historical exposition <sup>(7)</sup>, a principle which, as Cyril insinuates, was explicitly invoked by the τινές whom he has in mind.

14. *Zach.* 10, 5-6. — Towards the end of his explanation of *Zach.* 10, 5 Cyril informs us that the Jews, who interpret this pas-

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 66, 515 B ff.; PG 81, 1885 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 354, 3 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 66, 536 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 25, 1449 C.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 371, 4 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 371, 13-374, 20.

<sup>(7)</sup> PL 25, 1459 C ff.

sage ἱστορικῶς, apply it to the times of the Maccabees, when the troops of Antiochus Epiphanes were defeated by the Israelites. Our exegete notes that the Jews invoke *Zach.* 9, 13 f. in support of this opinion <sup>(1)</sup>. Apropos of v. 6 he refers to "persons who advocate the interpretation of this text which is given by the Jews"; these maintain that during the conflict the Greeks lost their cavalry. The victorious Israelites regained possession of Judaea, without losing a single captive to the enemy <sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril does not seem to subscribe to this view and claims that the horsemen who were overpowered were none others than those who expound Greek doctrines and errors hateful to God <sup>(3)</sup>. Jerome, who in this context seems to rally to this Jewish interpretation, may well be one of the τινές spoken of by Cyril <sup>(4)</sup>. However, Cyril had another source at his disposal as well; Jerome nowhere says that the Jews quote *Zach.* 9, 13 f. in support of their interpretation.

Of the exegetical opinions cited by St. Cyril, some, in our present state of knowledge, cannot be identified. Others reported by him are found in the commentaries of Basil, Eusebius, Jerome and Theodoretus. The fact that a given interpretation is common to many expositors renders it impossible to determine apodictically whose opinion is envisaged by our author. One thing alone is certain: St. Jerome's commentaries were on his writing-table. That being so, it is probable that Cyril's information was chiefly derived from the Latin commentator. This probability verges towards certainty in the instances reviewed by us where the Patriarch of Alexandria rebuts opinions which are defended by St. Jerome. Père Abel claims that the person against whom Cyril launches his attack when explaining the first chapter of *Osee* is Didymus. In this instance the arguments mustered by Cyril to support his own exegesis show that he had access to commentaries written by exponents of the school of Antioch. Once again we are unable to say whose exactly were the commentaries used by him; there are reasons to think that they were not the compositions of either Theodore of Mopsuestia or Theodoretus of Cyrrhus.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 435, 16 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 436, 11 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 436, 17 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 25, 1540 A.



## CHAPTER II

### TRAITS OF ST. CYRIL'S EXPLANATIONS OF THE SPIRITUAL SENSE

The discovery of the spiritual sense of Scripture is a delicate process that calls forth the happy collaboration of Christ's Spirit with the natural faculties of the interpreter. Of the role that devolves on the Holy Spirit sufficient has been said elsewhere<sup>(1)</sup>. It remains for us to discuss the rules that govern the contribution given by the human collaborator. These inevitably leave their mark on the interpretation that he chances to compose and can therefore be regarded as traits which characterize his spiritual exegesis.

#### Art. 1. — A FIRST SET OF HERMENEUTICAL RULES

We have already shown that St. Cyril's conception of the αἰνίγματα, εἰκόνες, παραδείγματα and τύποι of the Old Testament closely resembles his notion of the parables of the gospel<sup>(2)</sup>. The affinities existing between them become all the more striking, when they are studied in the light of the principles which he prescribes for the interpretation of both of them:

1. The first task that our author sets himself when interpreting a parable of the gospel is to determine its σκοπός. Thus, apropos of the parable of the sower (*Lk.* 8, 4-8) he remarks: "Now what is the aim of the parable (τῆς παραβολῆς ὁ σκοπός) and what its profound teaching is we shall learn from him who framed it. Even the blessed disciples before us found these things hard to understand, and drew near unto the revealer of mysteries

<sup>(1)</sup> See p. 187 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> See p. 198 ff.

supplicating him and saying: "What is the parable?" (1). Cyril invariably solves the problem of the σκοπός by recalling the occasion on which the parable under examination was spoken (2).

A similar preoccupation absorbs him when investigating the spiritual sense of the Old Testament. Describing the method followed by him in *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, he mentions that he composed his moralizing explanations on the five books of Moses only when he had completed a study of their σκοπός (3). The investigation of the σκοπός is rendered imperative by the fact that frequently the horizon of the human author includes the spiritual sense as well as the literal sense; in these circumstances an investigator of the spiritual sense must necessarily respect the mind of the hagiographer (4). Indeed, if an explanation fails to pay attention to latter's aim or purpose, it will inevitably be unsuitable. St. Cyril illustrates this remark by means of a concrete example: at times the Patriarch Jacob represents the apostles, at other times he portrays Christ; care must be taken to distinguish

(1) PG 72, 625 A. See also PG 72, 805 D; 869 B. and JÜLICHER, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2nd. ed., 1910, p. 237 ff.

(2) Πολυπραγμονήσωμεν τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐφ' ᾗ καὶ γέγονεν, εἰσόμεθα γὰρ οὕτω τὸ ἀληθές (PG 72, 805 D); "It is necessary, however, I think, in the first place to mention what was the occasion which led to his speaking these things; or what Christ intended to illustrate in so excellently sketching and describing the parable set before us" (PG 72, 825 A). See also the introductory formulae to Cyril's explanations of the parables of the fig-tree (*Lk.* 13, 6-9) and the supper (*Lk.* 14, 15-24) (PAYNE-SMITH's translation p. 447 and 485). The passages referred to are missing from the Greek fragments of Migne. This rule of Cyril's can be usefully compared with the following norm that Tertullian enunciates in his characteristic style: Quamque et si omnia ad speculum respondere possint, unum sit praecipuum periculum interpretationum, ne aliorum temperetur felicitas comparationum quam quo parabolae cuiusque materia mandavit... Sic haeretici easdem parabolae quo volunt tribuunt, non quo debent aptissime excludunt. Quare aptissime? Quoniam, a primordio secundum occasiones parabolarum, ipsas materias confixerunt doctrinarum; vacavit scilicet illis solutis a regula veritatis ea conquirere atque componere quorum parabolae videntur" (*De pudicitia*, 8, PL 2, 1048 BC).

(3) PG 69, 385 B f.

(4) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ χρὴ κατὰ νοῦν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, καὶ τῆς προφητικῆς ἀκριβείας ἀπογυμνοῦν τὸν σκοπὸν, ἐκείνῳ φαιμεν ἀναγκαίως. This is the formula with which St. Cyril introduces his spiritual interpretation of *Is.* 23, 14 f. (PG 70, 581 B).

these roles lest the explanations proposed miss their mark <sup>(1)</sup>. Not infrequently does our author remind us that his interpretations of Scripture do not deviate from the σκοπός <sup>(2)</sup>. Occasionally he presents the definition of the σκοπός of particular passages of Scripture as their spiritual sense; for instance, the σκοπός of the allusion, that Jacob makes to the murder of Hamor and Sechem in *Gen.* 49, 5-7, envisages the crimes that the Jews were destined to commit against Christ and the apostles <sup>(3)</sup>; the σκοπός of *Num.* 12. 1-15 in addition to the transgressions just mentioned describes the inordinate pride of the Jews and Christ's meekness <sup>(4)</sup>; the σκοπός of *Is.* 45, 8 depicts all that God has accomplished for the benefit of the whole human race <sup>(5)</sup>.

2. Conciseness is an objective at which St. Cyril's exposition of the gospel parables aims. He tells us: "The parables, then, indirectly and figuratively explain to us much that is for our edification, provided that we consider their meaning in a brief and summary manner" <sup>(6)</sup>. In the treatises *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* and *Glaphyra*, in which he cultivates the literal sense mainly because it is a vehicle that carries higher meanings, St. Cyril frequently refers to his resolve to be brief when expounding the literal sense <sup>(7)</sup>. He devotes his attention only to texts from which profit can be derived <sup>(8)</sup>.

3. A third rule (which, in reality, is but another facet of the second): All the parts of a gospel parable must not be scrutinized in a subtle and prying manner. They are not necessarily and in every respect useful for the explanation of the thing signified, but form an image of something important, which alludes in an obscure

(1) Περιτρέπει τοίνυν ὁ λόγος αἰὲ τῶν θεωρημάτων τὸν σκοπὸν, ἥπερ ἂν ἵέναι πρέπει. Τὸ γάρ τοι διαμαρτεῖν λογισμοῦ τοῦ καθήκοντος, ἀκαλλεστέραν ἐργάσεται τῶν θεωρημάτων τὴν ἀπόδοσιν (PG 69, 205 B).

(2) Ἐφαρμόσειεν ἂν, οἰμαί τις, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ βαδιεῖται (*Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 443, 18 f.).

(3) PG 69, 344 B.

(4) PG 69, 593 B.

(5) PG 70, 956 BC.

(6) PG 72, 808 C.

(7) PG 68, 188 C; 384 C; 529 B; 69, 149 B; 168 B; 237 D etc.

(8) Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐμφανὲς ἂν εἴη λόγος, κἂν εἰ μή τις ἐλοιτο διατρανοῦν, ἔχει δὲ οὐδὲν τὸ τελοῦν εἰς ὄνησιν, εἰ μὴ νοοῖτο πνευματικῶς (PG 69, 556 A).

manner to a lesson destined for the benefit of listeners <sup>(1)</sup>. For instance, an interpreter, who, with regard to the parable of the unjust steward (*Lk.* 16, 1-9) asks questions such as "Who is the man who had the steward?", "Who was the one accused?", "Who accused him?" and so forth, risks rendering the explanation both obscure and redundant <sup>(2)</sup>.

St. Cyril issues similar warnings with regard to the spiritual interpretation of the Old Testament; its literal sense does not always admit of spiritual meanings. "Let nobody be offended", he writes, "if everything written about Jacob is not included in the θεωρίαι. One should realize that some historical episodes belong exclusively to the domain of history" <sup>(3)</sup>. He stipulates that the proximity of the literal sense must be cut down <sup>(4)</sup>; one should select only such elements susceptible of proving Christ's mystery which fit in with the σκοπός and are likely to profit hearers <sup>(5)</sup>. St. Cy-

(1) Οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντα τῆς παραβολῆς τὰ μέρη πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι χρή λεπιδὲς καὶ ἐξηστασμένως, ἵνα μῆτε πρὸς τὸ πέρα μέτρου βαδίζων ὁ λόγος καταλυθῇ τῷ περιττῷ τοὺς φιλακροάμονας, μῆτε μὴν ἀδολεσχίας ὄχλον ἐνεργάσῃται τῶν (PG 72, 809 CD); Οὐκοῦν οὐ πάντα τε καὶ πάντως ἅπαντα τῆς παραβολῆς τὰ μέρη τῇ τῶν δηλουμένων εἰσὶ θεωρίᾳ χρήσιμα, εἰς εἰκόνα δὲ ληφθεῖεν ἂν ἀναγκαίου πράγματος ἀμυδρῶς ὑποφαίνουσιν τὸ τελοῦν εἰς ὄνησιν τοῖς ἀκροαμένοις (*ibid.*, 812 A).

(2) PG 72, 809 D. (see the preceding note). Compare these rules with the following principles of interpretation espoused by Tertullian: Nos autem, quia non ex parabolis materias commentamur, sed ex materiis parabolas interpretamur, nec valde laboramus omnia in expositione torquere, dum contraria quaeque caveamus. Quare centum oves? et quid utique decem drachmae? et quae illae scopae? necesse erat, qui unius peccatoris salutem gratissimam Deo volebat exprimere, aliquam numeri quantitatem nominaret, de quo unum quidem perisse describeret; necesse erat ut habitus requirentis drachmam in domo, tam scoparum quam lucernae adminiculo adcommodaretur. Huiusmodi enim curiositates, et suspecta faciunt quaedam, et coactarum expositionum subtilitate plerumque deducunt a veritate. Sunt autem quae et simpliciter posita sunt ad struendam et disponendam et texendam parabolam ut illuc perducantur cui exemplum procuratur... (*De pudicitia*, 9, PL 2, 1049 AB).

(3) PG 69, 192 B.

(4) PG 69, 137 C.

(5) PG 69, 137 C; *Comment. on Jonas*, PUSEY I, 562, 5 f. and 563, 23 f.

In his commentary on *Habacuc* St. JEROME makes the following remark: Historia stricta est, et evagandi non habet facultatem. Tropologia libera, et his tantum legibus circumscripta, ut pietatem sequatur intelligentiae,

ril deems it necessary to stress this norm of interpretation in the prologue to the commentary on *Jonas*. "If a person is introduced as a type of Christ", he writes, "we must prescind from his human traits and pay attention to necessary things" <sup>(1)</sup>. A series of examples is adduced to show us how precisely we are to discriminate between lineaments that are suitable and those which are not. Moses [and Aaron, Cyril claims, were types of Christ only in their roles of mediator and high priest respectively <sup>(2)</sup>. Only a few aspects of the ministry and doings of Jonas typified Christ, namely: the circumstances attending his voyage at sea <sup>(3)</sup>, his prayer within the whale <sup>(4)</sup> and the command given him by God after he had been vomited forth by the sea-monster <sup>(5)</sup>. It is true that Scripture records biographical details concerning these personages: Moses was weak-voiced and slow of tongue; Aaron committed detraction against Moses and sinned [by making the golden calf; Jonas shrank from preaching to the Ninivites and was much disgruntled because God wished to deal mercifully with them. None of these unbecoming traits can be applied to Christ; consequently, an exegete should prescind from them when expounding the spiritual sense <sup>(6)</sup>. To read higher meanings into episodes like these gives rise only to confusion and is a proof of one's own ignorance <sup>(7)</sup>. Like the historical parts of Scripture, the minutiae of the legislative sections do not lend themselves to spiritual adaptations: for example, Cyril expressly states that certain features of the ark of the covenant, such as the moulding that ran along the top of it and the rings, have no mystical significance <sup>(8)</sup>. Nowhere, to our knowledge, does St. Cyril apply a similar restriction to the parts of Scripture that are strictly prophetic.

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sermonisque contextum, nec in rebus multum inter se contrariis violenta sit copulandis (PL 25, 1281 D). No such observation occurs in the corresponding passage of St. Cyril's commentary.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Jonas*, PUSEY I, 564, 23 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 562 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 579, 6 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 584, 16 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 585, 26 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 563 f.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on St. John*, PUSEY II, 154, 4 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 68, 597 A.

Certain points of contact between St. Cyril and St. Jerome deserve our attention. In his prologue to *Jonas* the Latin exegete seems to imply that some expositors labour to discover exact counterparts in Christ's life to all the events recorded of Jonas<sup>(1)</sup>. In his explanation of *Jon.* 1, 3 St. Jerome implicitly refutes such an outlook and states categorically that into *all* the details of the literal sense one may not read spiritual meanings<sup>(2)</sup>. The examples reviewed by St. Jerome are not those discussed by Cyril<sup>(3)</sup>. Comparing both expositors, we are under the impression that Cyril consulted Jerome and tried to improve on him by furnishing concrete instances of the precise traits that must be discarded before a personage of the Old Testament can be regarded as the suitable subject-matter of a θεωρία πνευματική.

From an entirely different point of view Theodore of Mopsuestia in his prologue to *Jonas* evolves a theory of Old Testament "types", namely, methods of instruction that are particularly well adapted to the spiritual character of the New Testament. Three marks enable one to recognize these "types": 1) a certain resemblance or conformity with the object of which it is the

(1) Caeterum non ignoramus, Chromati papa venerabilis, sudoris esse vel maximi totum prophetam referre ad intelligentiam Salvatoris: videlicet quod fugerit, quod dormierit, quod praecipitatus in mare sit, quod susceptus a ceto, quod eiectus in litus poenitentiam praedicarit, quod contristatus ob salutem urbis innumerae cucurbitae sit delectatus umbraculo: quod reprehensus a Deo cur maiorem curam habuerit herbae virentis, et exemplo aridae, quam tantae hominum multitudinis, et caetera quae in ipso volumine explanare nitentur (PL 25, 1119 B-1120 A).

(2) Prudens rogandus est lector, ne eundem velit ordinem tropologiae, quem et historiae quaerere. Nam et Apostolus, Agar et Saram ad duo Testamenta refert: et tamen non omnia quae in historia illa narrantur, tropologice interpretari possumus... Quid enim possumus dicere? ... Num universam huius loci historiam per hanc occasionem cogemus sub lege allegoriae? et non potius unusquisque locus secundum historiam diversitatem, diversam recipiet intelligentiam spiritualem? Igitur sicut haec testimonia suas interpretationes habent: et nec praecedentia, nec consequentia eandem desiderant allegoriam; sic et Ionas propheta non absque periculo interpretantis totus referri ad Dominum poterit... (PL 25, 1123, C ff.). With regard to Jerome's views on biblical types in general see A. PENNA, *Principi e carattere...*, p. 129-135.

(3) The examples discussed by Jerome are: Agar and Sara; Adam and Eve (*Eph.* 5, 31 f.); Christ the rock (*1 Cor.* 10, 4).

image<sup>(1)</sup>; 2) the profit derived from it by the persons involved, this being an indication of the benefits contained in the future promises<sup>(2)</sup>; 3) the deep sentiment that the future reality will be of greater importance than its present image<sup>(3)</sup>. In the Old Testament Theodore discovers examples which comply with the rigorous conditions stipulated by him: the smearing of the door-posts with blood on the occasion of the liberation from Egypt was a source of advantage to the Israelites and typified our liberation from sin and death by being smeared with Christ's blood; the brazen serpent typified Christ's victory over death and the benefits derived from it; Jonas's mission and adventures typified that "Christ was preserved incorrupt during a similar period of time and that on rising from the dead to immortality he offered universal salvation to the nations, namely, one arising from repentance..."<sup>(4)</sup>. Throughout the discussion Theodore harps on the idea that, in spite of the likeness existing between both series of events, those belonging to the New Testament are infinitely superior to those of the Old<sup>(5)</sup>. It is in the very novelty and strangeness of the adventures of Jonas that Theodore finds the evidence of their symbolical character and the proof that God intended him to be a "type" of Christ "so that led by so unbelievable a novelty, he might become worthy of being believed, inasmuch as he displayed in himself the type of so great a thing"<sup>(6)</sup>. The Bishop of Mopsuestia discovers yet another reason derived from the fact that Jonas was a "type", which explains why he was involved in extraordinary things: God accom-

(1) Εὐρίσκειτό τε κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τύπος τις τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ὕστερον, ἔχοντα μὲν τινα μίμησιν πρὸς ταῦτα (PG 66, 320 B); *ibid.*, 321 C.

(2) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταύτης ἔνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας πλεῖστα ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης κατὰ τοῦτον ὁικονόμησε τὸν τρόπον, ὥς ἂν καὶ τοῖς τότε μεγίστην τὰ γινόμενα παρέχοιτο τὴν ὠφέλειαν, καὶ μήνυσίν τινα τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχη τῶν ὕστερον δεχθησομένων (*ibid.*, 320 B).

(3) Μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῶν δευτέρων πρὸς τὰ πρότερα πλείστην τινα φανήσεσθαι οὖσαν (*ibid.*, 320 B); Οὕτω διὰ τῆς νομικῆς διατάξεως, ταῖς τε θυσίαις καὶ τῷ αἵματι τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ἔταξεν ὠφελεῖσθαι τοὺς χρωμένους ἵν' ἐκ παραθέσεως ἡμῖν τὸ πιστεύειν μειζόνως προσῇ, ὅτι μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι τευξόμεθα τοῦ Δεσπότης Χριστοῦ (*ibid.*, 312 A).

(4) *Ibid.*, 320 D-321 D.

(5) Δῆλον ὅτι ἔστι μὲν τις μίμησις τῶν πραγμάτων, πολὺ δὲ τὸ διάφορον τούτων πρὸς ἑκεῖνα (*ibid.*, 324 A).

(6) *Ibid.*, 324 AB.

plished these wonders in Jonas's instance with a view to encouraging all the prophets in the belief that all the things concerning Christ would come true, and that all men would do what is becoming in virtue of his grace <sup>(1)</sup>.

The materials assembled in this article afford us another opportunity of comparing the points of view of Antioch and Alexandria. Spokesman of a current of exegesis which, though convinced that Christ is the centre of the Old Testament, refuses to recognize him save when positive proofs are adduced <sup>(2)</sup>, Theodore scrutinizes the texts of the Old Testament with a view to verifying whether they comply with the conditions of a "type" stipulated by him or not. He betrays an anxiety to reduce the number of such "types" as far as possible and actually succeeds in eliminating many texts in which other exegetes find allusions to things Christian <sup>(3)</sup>. On the other hand Cyril, exponent in virtue of upbringing and tradition of a system of perpetual symbolism that claims that all the details of Scripture are typical <sup>(4)</sup>, realizing that in practice the logical consequences of such a system lead to absurdities, tries to free himself from embarrassment by prescribing that one should prescind from traits that are unsuitable and focus attention only on those that are suitable. Briefly, the Patriarch of Alexandria stands for the Alexandrian system taken as a whole, correcting its extravagances by a principle more negative than positive in its application. Compared with the rigorous test required by the Bishop of Mopsuestia, Cyril's corrective is more an expedient than a strict exegetical norm.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 66, 324 BC.

<sup>(2)</sup> "Tout aussi convaincue qu'Alexandrie que Jésus-Christ est le centre de l'Ancien Testament, Antioche cependant ne se croit autorisée à le reconnaître qu'à des signes certains..." (J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche*..., p. 275).

<sup>(3)</sup> One such example is *Mich.* 4, 1-3 (PG 66, 364 D-365 B; R. DE-VRESSE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*..., p. 91).

<sup>(4)</sup> "...Pour Origène, ce ne sont pas seulement quelques épisodes qui sont typiques, mais tous les détails de l'Écriture... Il faut l'avouer, ce symbolisme perpétuel nous rend fatalement suspecte l'exégèse d'Alexandrie..." (J. GUILLET, *art. cit.*, p. 290).



Art. 2. — IN ESTABLISHING THE SPIRITUAL SENSE ONE SHOULD PRESCIND FROM THE NATURES OF THE PERSONS COMPARED AND PAY ATTENTION TO THE QUALITIES OF THEIR ACTIONS

The principles of interpretation encountered by us so far are applied by St. Cyril in parallel fashion to the parables of the gospel as well as to the αἰνίγματα and τύποι of the Old Testament. We shall now discuss hermeneutical rules which apply only to the latter. For example, St. Cyril stipulates that, when analysing the types of the Old Testament, we pay attention to the *qualities* of the actions performed by the persons mentioned by the narrative, not to their *natures*. Cyril is led to enunciate this principle in a lengthy refutation of an opinion claiming that Melchisedech was an angel or the Holy Ghost <sup>(1)</sup>. He ascribes this erroneous identification to the fact that its defenders inquired only into the natures of the persons figuring in the historical narrative instead of examining the meaning of the deeds performed by them. It is precisely in the latter that the τύπος is described <sup>(2)</sup>. An

(1) PG 69, 80 D-110 D especially 84 C-88 A and 97 B-104 C. See MICHEL's art. in KITTEL's *Theologisches Wörterbuch*..., 4, p. 575, 15 ff; G. WUTTKE, *Melchisedech der Priesterkönig von Salem. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Exegese. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der ältesten Kirche. Beiheft 5*, p. 56; G. BARDY, *Melchisedech dans la tradition patristique* (*Revue bénédictine*, 35 (1923) pp. 496-509, 36 (1923) pp. 25-45). According to the last mentioned author: "Somme toute, il est assez difficile de tracer un tableau d'ensemble des spéculations dont Melchisedech a été le héros au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle et durant la première moitié de Ve siècle. Il est sûr qu'un peu partout, dans le monde chrétien on s'est occupé de lui. Dès le début du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'Egyptien Hiéracas l'a identifié au Saint Esprit; nous retrouvons la même doctrine enseignée à Rome au temps de saint Damase par le pseudo-Augustin, et cette opinion trouble les couvents palestiniens à commencer par celui de saint Jérôme. Saint Jean Chrysostome à Antioche, saint Cyrille à Alexandrie connaissent aussi, semble-t-il, des partisans de la même croyance. D'autres pensées se font jour au même temps, qui voient dans Melchisedech le Fils de Dieu: on les rencontre au début du Ve siècle dans quelques couvents d'Egypte, et surtout en Galatie, où Marc l'Ermite les réfute avec ardeur. Tous ces mouvements sont d'ailleurs isolés et indépendants: on peut croire que ce serait une œuvre vaine d'essayer à les rapprocher et à en chercher la généalogie" (vol. 36, p. 37).

(2) "My beloved ones, I, for my part, wonder if a kind of reverence for Abraham has caused these persons to be led astray from the pursuit

example provides a concrete illustration of what our author really means. The dignity of the priesthood was conferred on Aaron in a rite in which his right ear, hand and foot were anointed with the blood of a ram. If one's attention is concentrated on the *nature* of Aaron and that of the ram, the conclusion which one infers from the episode is that a rational being, namely, Aaron, is made perfect by an irrational one (*i. e.*, the ram). If, on the contrary, notice be taken of the *action* gone through, namely, priestly consecration, which is achieved in the instance by means of blood, we are immediately confronted with a type that puts us in mind of the future sanctification to be accomplished by Christ. In this new perspective no incongruity arises if a superior being happens to be blessed by an inferior <sup>(1)</sup>.

In the sequel St. Cyril shows that this principle is latent in the arguments used by St. Paul to prove that the new priesthood and the new ordinance to be inaugurated by Christ were foretold in types. Our author claims that the Apostle when establishing the eminent dignity of Melchisedech leans not on the *nature* of his priesthood but rather on the circumstances in which he exercised it. For example, St. Paul singles out the circumstance that Abraham, although he belonged to the priestly tribe of Levi, honoured Melchisedech by offering him tithes <sup>(2)</sup>. This, Cyril urges,

of what is reasonable and from the arguments which necessarily conduce to truth. For when they point out Melchisedech as an ὁμοίωσις and τύπος of Emmanuel, they do not consider the quality of the actions or study the manner of the priesthood (οὐκ εἰς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ποιότητα βλέπουσιν ἢ τὸν τῆς ἱερωσύνης δοκιμάζουσι τρόπον). Instead, they inquire into the *natures* of those introduced into the scene (βασανίζουσι δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν εἰς τοῦτο παρενηνεγμένων τὰς φύσεις). For one could suitably say to them: "What annoyance arises from the fact that Abraham was blessed by Melchisedech even though the latter was only a man and not superior to Abraham in nature?". In these matters it is not the *natures* but the meaning of what is enacted that is weighed (οὐ γὰρ αἱ φύσεις ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν δρωμένων δοκιμάζεται νοῦς) and the words of the truth are shown to be better than the shadows of enigmas (PG 69, 101 CD). Again: 'Ο δὲ τύπος ἐν πράγμασιν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγιαζόντων, ἤγουν τῶν ἀγιαζομένων καταφωρεῖται φύσει (*ibid.*, 104 B).

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 104 A and B.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 108 B-109 A. Cyril quotes *Heb.* 7, 4-7 and remarks: 'Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῇ φύσει τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῷ Μελχισεδέκ, ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐνεῖναι φαμεν (*ibid.*, 108 D).

is to be construed as a proof of the superiority of the latter's priesthood <sup>(1)</sup>. In addition, the incident typifies Christ's receiving tithes from the tribe of Levi <sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril next discovers a further proof of the superiority of Christ's priesthood to that of the tribe of Levi in the fact that Aaron (who was a type of Christ) took tithes from the sons of Levi and thus proved that he was superior to them <sup>(3)</sup>. All of these statements are regarded as proofs that the priesthood will be transferred from the tribe of Levi and that another manner of priesthood will be substituted for it <sup>(4)</sup>. In the wake of St. Paul our author endeavours to show that a new ordinance will be introduced as well as a new priesthood <sup>(5)</sup>. Focussing his attention on the circumstances surrounding the actions commemorated by the Old Testament, he claims that the *manner* in which Melchisedech offered sacrifice (namely, in bread and wine) is a type of the *manner* in which Christ sanctifies us (namely, not in a fleshly fashion *i. e.*, by means of sacrifices consisting of oxen and so forth) but by means of mystical sacrifices whereby He nourishes us unto incorruptible life <sup>(6)</sup>. Faithful to his principle, St. Cyril throughout this rather long argumentative process attaches his reasonings to the *qualities* of the deeds done by the types and not to their *natures*.

Art. 3. — Παραδείγματα SHOULD BE INTERPRETED ACCORDING TO  
A FITTING ANALOGY

Another hermeneutical rule of St. Cyril stipulates that παραδείγματα <sup>(7)</sup> taken from the Old Testament should be interpreted according to a suitable analogy. This is necessary because of the fact that the παραδείγματα of Scripture "do not express the whole

<sup>(1)</sup> This is implied in 69, 109 A but is developed in 84 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 109 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 109 A and 88 C-D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 109 A.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Heb.* 7, 11 f., 15-17. See PG 69, 109 B f.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 109 C. Compare 108 C with 105 C.

<sup>(7)</sup> In Greek rhetoric the expression παραδείγματα denoted an appropriate example (See RHYS ROBERT'S edition of DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, *On Style...*, p. 314). In the usage of St. Cyril παράδειγμα is synonymous with αἶνιγμα, παραβολή κ. τ. λ. (PG 68, 596 C; 69, 88 A; 97 A; 361 B; 364 C; 70, 141 B; *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 290, 18 ff.); see pp. 191 ff.

truth and in many instances establish only a partial demonstration of the things signified by them" <sup>(1)</sup> — a consequence which follows logically from the fact that the Old Testament constitutes a painting in which only the shadows and the foundation of the colours are represented. Since the bright colours are lacking, it is impossible to assess properly the beauty of the picture <sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril argues that the Scriptures have been "painted" in accordance with the rules of an art which necessarily conforms itself to the requirements of the things to be represented. "Now, no painting can depict a person doing several actions at the same time; the most it can do is to represent him performing them successively and acting in various modes" <sup>(3)</sup>. Accordingly, if it is true that what is prescribed in *Lev.* 13, 8 <sup>(4)</sup> and *Lev.* 14, 2 ff. <sup>(5)</sup> denote the great and adorable mystery of the Saviour <sup>(6)</sup>, it is incorrect to claim, as some do, that the two birds point to two Sons and two Christs <sup>(7)</sup>, as it is equally erroneous to infer that the Word of God differs in no respect from man from the fact that the two birds are not distinct in nature from each other, (but, on the contrary, are of the same kind and are in no way unlike each

(1) Πλὴν χρὴ τὰ παραδείγματα κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῖς πρέποντα νοεῖσθαι λόγον· ἡττάται γὰρ τῶν ἀληθῶν, καὶ μερικὴν ἔσθ' ὅτε ποιεῖται τῶν σημαινομένων τὴν ἔνδειξιν (PG 72, 561 B).

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, 561 D and B.

(4) "And the priest shall look upon him; and behold if the marks have spread in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is leprosy".

(5) "This is the law of the leper: in whatsoever day he shall have been cleansed, then shall he be brought to the priest. And the priest shall come forth out of the camp, and the priest shall look, and behold, the plague of the leprosy is healed from the leper. And the priest shall give directions, and they shall take for him that is cleansed two clean live birds, and cedar wood and spun scarlet, and hyssop. And the priest shall give direction, and they shall kill one bird over an earthen vessel over living water. And as for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar wood and the spun scarlet, and the hyssop, and he shall dip them and the living bird into the blood of the bird that was slain over the living water. And he shall sprinkle seven times upon him that was cleansed of his leprosy, and he shall be clean, and he shall let go the living bird into the field".

(6) PG 72, 557 D.

(7) *Ibid.*, 560 D.

other as far as specific differences are concerned) <sup>(1)</sup>. In virtue of the principle Cyril claims that the prescriptions of *Leviticus* do not depict Christ as dying and at the same time living in one and the same bird lest the action should look like a theatrical juggle. They represent Christ as being killed in one bird and as alive and set free in the other <sup>(2)</sup>. Even though the birds are two in number, Christ who is represented by them is but a single person who suffers and is freed from suffering — who dies and is superior to death <sup>(3)</sup>. Cyril explains *Lev.* 16, 15 f. on similar lines: "Two goats were taken, not that there are two Christs, or two Sons, as some claim, but rather because it was fitting that a single person should be manifested as being killed for our sake and dying according to the flesh [in one goat] and living according to the spirit [in the other]" <sup>(4)</sup>.

Art. 4. — THE τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐρμηνεῖαι

To bolster up his spiritual explanations St. Cyril makes frequent use of etymologies. A few examples will illustrate his method:

1. Noe means δικαιοσύνη and ἀνάπανσις <sup>(5)</sup>.

Christ, according to St. Cyril, is Noe "in truth" because through his instrumentality believers have been justified and been granted enjoyment of heavenly gifts, participation in riches, freedom from the oppressive weight of sin and the pleasures of spiritual felicity. A series of scriptural texts illustrates this doctrine: *Tit.* 3, 5 (δεδικαιώμεθα) <sup>(6)</sup>, *Is.* 53, 5 f. <sup>(7)</sup>, *Mt.* 11, 28 f.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 76, 561 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 561 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 564 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 964 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 60 D.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 60 D. This is a free citation of *Tit.* 3, 5. Cyril has correctly rendered the meaning of the passage. He uses the verb δεδικαιώμεθα in order the better to attach his remarks to the etymology of Noe (δικαιοσύνη). In v. 5 St. Paul employs the verb ἔσωσεν. Since the participle δικαιωθέντες occurs in v. 7, Cyril's treatment of the text is not altogether unhappy.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 60 D. The application of this passage is relevant: "the Servant" by his death becomes the expiatory victim of his fellow-creatures.

(ἀναπαύσω) <sup>(1)</sup> *Lk.* 1, 30 f. <sup>(2)</sup>, *Soph.* 3, 16 f. <sup>(3)</sup>, *Is.* 35, 3, 4 a and 40, 10, 11 <sup>(4)</sup>.

2. Sem means φύτευμα and τέλειος <sup>(5)</sup>; Cham means θερμοσία <sup>(6)</sup>; Japhath means πλατυσμός <sup>(7)</sup>.

These etymologies are verified in the case of Christians:

a) Because they are like tender shoots which have been planted (πεφυτευμένοι). In addition, they have abandoned an imperfect manner of living (*i. e.*, that which is in keeping with the Mosaic law) for the perfect evangelical παιδεύσις.

*Ps.* 51, 5 f. is quoted to show that David reproved the Jews for failing to recognize the δικαίωσις accomplished by Christ <sup>(8)</sup>.

In v. 7 the Psalmist foretells their destruction <sup>(9)</sup>.

In *Ps.* 91, 14 (τεφυτευμένοι .. ἐξανθήσουσιν) Cyril sees an allusion to those who love "the δικαίωσις and ζωή in Christ" <sup>(10)</sup>.

b) The grace which Christ confers on Christians was produced by Christ "by means of a divine spiritual fire and by the ardour (θερμασία) of the Spirit".

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 61 A. The quotation is relevant. Christ here affirms that he has the power to alleviate every fatigue and burden. This presupposes the attribute of omnipotence.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 61 A. This text, too, illustrates appositely the doctrine to which Cyril here gives the name of ἀνάπαυσις, *i. e.*, remission of sins and the bestowal of grace.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 61 B. The passage quoted is found in a song of triumph occasioned by the thought of the future restoration of the Chosen People. It is to be noted that the subject of the sentence is not the Messias but Yahweh.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 61 B. Cyril here combines both texts. *Is.* 35, 3 f. is addressed to those entrusted with the duty of announcing the good news of the return from captivity. They are required to announce it to the wavering and depressed in preference to others. When he comes, Yahweh will crush the adversaries of his people but will save his own. *Is.* 40, 10 f. describes how Yahweh delivers his people: they have become literally his booty; withal, he guides them with the care that a shepherd bestows upon his sheep. In both texts the person alluded to is Yahweh, not the Messias.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 68 C.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 68 C.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 69, 68 D. The person whom David denounces is probably Doeg (see *1 K.* 21, 8; 22, 9 ff.).

<sup>(9)</sup> David describes the ruin of the wicked man by various figures.

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 69, 69 A. The language is metaphorical and describes the special graces which God confers upon his friends.

According to our author this doctrine is inculcated by *Rom.* 12, 11 (τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες...) <sup>(1)</sup>, *Mt.* 3, 11 f. (...αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ) <sup>(2)</sup> and *Rom.* 8, 35 <sup>(3)</sup>. He holds, too, that *Ps.* 15, 14 can be fitly applied to the Jews, because their love had grown cold <sup>(4)</sup>.

c) Christians acquired a πλανισμὸς καρδίας when they were freed from "the tribulation (θλίψις) attendant on life in the law". Cyril infers this from the following texts:

*Is.* 28, 14 (...τεθλιμμένοι) <sup>(5)</sup> and 66, 5 (...στενοχωρούμενοι) <sup>(6)</sup> are quoted to show that the law caused the Jews tribulation.

2 *Cor.* 6, 11-14 (...πεπλάτνται ... πλατύνθητε...) describes the state of believers who have abandoned the narrowness characteristic of the Jewish manner of living <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 69 A. Cyril quotes this text quite appositely, LAGRANGE writes: "Le principe de cette activité n'est pas l'Esprit-Saint immédiatement, mais l'esprit de l'homme animé par l'Esprit-Saint et participant de son ardeur, car l'Esprit est brûlant (*Is.* 4, 4), symbolisé par des langues comme de feu (*Act.* 2, 3); l'Église le nomme *ignis*" (*Saint Paul. Épître aux Romains*, Paris 1916, p. 302).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 69 A. Πνεῦμα and πῦρ are synonymous. The expression "fire" draws attention to the efficacy of the Holy Spirit's sanctifying action. In the opinion of the Jews fire was the most efficacious of all baptisms. See STRACK-BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Munich, 1924 vol. I, p. 122. Cyril quotes this text quite appositely.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 69 B. This text belongs to a passage that describes the firmness of Christian hope which is founded on the Redemption. The application that St. Cyril makes of it is quite in keeping with the general meaning of *Rom.* 8, which alludes in verses 23-27 to the activity of the Spirit within the soul.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 69 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 69 B. This quotation is not apposite. The Hebrew word which the LXX have translated τεθλιμμένοι means "scoffers". Isaiah refers to the disdain with which the Jews received his preaching.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 69 B. This text distinguishes two groups: believers who tremble with respect for the divine word and their wicked brethren, who throw ridicule on their faith. Cyril's application of this text is not relevant.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 69 BC. St. Paul actually refers to the large place which the Corinthians have acquired in his heart; he regrets that they have not opened wide their hearts to him.

*Ps.* 118, 32 (... ὅταν ἐπλάτυνας ...) according to Cyril is a greeting addressed to Christ by David in the name of the new people <sup>(1)</sup>.

The mind of Christians has been expanded into wisdom as a result of the fact that Christ through the Spirit dwells in their souls <sup>(2)</sup>.

3. Mount Ararat means μαρτυρία καταβάσεως <sup>(3)</sup>.

Those who preach everywhere the Logos (who has descended from heaven (ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβεβηκώς)) are placed aloft on the mountains, as it were, on account of the excellence of the evangelical manner of living. These preachers are really witnesses to Christ (μάρτυρες); *Is.* 43, 10 (... μάρτυρες), according to Cyril, is an exhortation that Christ himself addresses to the preachers of the gospel <sup>(4)</sup>.

4. Sara means ἀρχουσα <sup>(5)</sup>.

Intent on attaching this etymology to a point of doctrine Cyril quotes *Gal.* 4, 21-31 and comments upon it as follows: "Accordingly, you understand why Paul says manifestly that Agar and Sara are types of the two covenants. He compares the slave to the mother of the Jews (*i. e.*, the earthly Jerusalem) for the reason that she is subject to the laws of slavery and has not the free spirit. On the other hand, he notes that the first wife who was born free (and whose name means ἀρχουσα) is the type of the heavenly Jerusalem and the mother of those who, justified by faith, are called in virtue of God's promise to be sons of Abraham <sup>(6)</sup>.

5. Benjamin means υἱὸς δδύνης <sup>(7)</sup>.

Cyril is of opinion that by υἱὸς δδύνης is meant "the multitude of believers at the end of time". St. Paul says that the "son

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 69 C. The Psalmist promises to use his liberty for more intense service when God frees his heart from anxiety. The text admits also of the following meaning: "When I serve you with earnestness, you expand my heart with a sense of joyous freedom". This interpretation rejoins the signification that Cyril attaches to the text here. However, it is far-fetched to claim that David in the name of the new people here apostrophizes Christ.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 69 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 172 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 72 C. In reality Isaias states here that Israel in spite of his blindness is the irrefutable witness of Yahweh.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 125 CD.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cyril has correctly seized the meaning of St. Paul in *Gal.* 4, 31-21.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 224 ABC.



of iniquity" will wage bestial war against them (2 *Thess.* 2, 4 f.) <sup>(1)</sup>. Indeed, Christ himself has prophesied that in his ferocity he will seek only believers as his victims (*Mt.* 24, 21 f.) <sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril is persuaded that God will shorten the period of anguish so as to enable the elect to bear up with their trials. That, he thinks, is the import of 1 *Cor.* 10, 13 <sup>(3)</sup>.

6. Judah means either αἰνός or ὕμνησις or ὑμνούμενος <sup>(4)</sup>. In *Gen.* 49, 8 ff. Jacob contemplates Christ, who was descended from Judah through Jesse, David and the Virgin. Addressing Judah he tells him among other things: "Your name is true, as the issue of events will prove. For he (*i. e.*, Christ) will be ὑμνητός and you will render to God the glory due to him <sup>(5)</sup>."

7. Joseph had two sons whose names were Manasses and Ephraim. Manasses means λήθη κακῶν τῶν συμβεβηκότων and Ephraim signifies εἰς αὐξιν τε καὶ ἐπίδοσιν τὴν εἰς γε τὸ ἄμεινον <sup>(6)</sup>. With these etymologies Cyril links up the following doctrine: "In due course the Gentiles will be numbered amongst the members of the Church. *They will forget their evil ways.* They will make great progress and will hasten to the sweet goal of Christian hope. For they will pass over from earthly things to heavenly things, from temporal things to those placed outside of time, from corruption to incorruption, from ignobility to glory, from infirmity to strength". *Is.* 65, 16 (ἐπιλήσονται...) is cited in confirmation of this doctrine <sup>(7)</sup>.

8. Dinah, Leah's last offspring, is a type of the Jews who lived in the times of Christ. "When she left her ancestral home (*i. e.*,

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 224 B. The application that Cyril makes of this text is apposite.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cyril understands these words as a reference to the persecutions of Antichrist. In *St. Matthew* they seem to allude to a cosmic cataclysm capable of swallowing up everything.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 224 C. St. Paul has a specific form of temptation in mind, namely, that of formally participating in pagan worship. However, his horizon implicitly embraces all temptations. Cyril's use of this text is relevant.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 349 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 352 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 324 BCD.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 324 C. The text of *Isaias* envisages the faithful Israelites. Here the prophet prescinds from the Gentiles.

the institutions of the law) and fell into the company of the apostles (who were regarded as strangers because they did not conform to the manner of living of the Jews), she was mystically violated inasmuch as she received from the apostles the seed of conduct in Christ. Then Simeon and Levi, the sons of Jacob (namely, those subject to the law and the priests) became enraged. Because Simeon means ὑπακοή and Levi means προσειλημένος or ἀπόλεκτος" (1).

Nobody can doubt that the priests and people insulted the apostles and upbraided them for not living according to the norms of the Jews. Cyril illustrates this point by quoting *Acts* 5, 28 (2). He mentions, too, that the adversaries of the apostles learned that Christians honour circumcision and that it does not differentiate Jews from Gentiles, if it is understood as Moses intended. In our author's opinion *Rom.* 2, 29 brings home the fact that persons, who were regarded by the Jews as strangers, had conformed to Jewish standards in reality, "since they were spiritually circumcised and carried about with them the Jew in secret" (3).

9. The name Dan (meaning κριτής or κρίσις (4)) which occurs in *Gen.* 49, 16 f., refers to the choir of the holy apostles who rule the faithful and have received the power of judging from Christ. *1 Cor.* 6, 3 (5) and *Is.* 32, 22 (6), in Cyril's opinion, exemplify this doctrine. For Cyril "judging" here denotes preaching (ἀνάδησις) and explaining Christ's mystery to others (7).

10. The name Gad which means πειρασμός or πειρατήριον (8), occurs in *Gen.* 49, 19. Cyril says that it is not far-fetched to apply this oracle to the Scribes and Pharisees who were constantly "tempting" Christ. However, in their turn they were "tempted" by Christ, who according to the prophet, "seizes the wise in their

(1) PG 69, 345 ABC.

(2) *Ibid.*, 345 B. This text is relevant.

(3) *Ibid.*, 345 C. Cyril ascribes a correct meaning to the text of *Rom.* It is unlikely that the apostles framed their answer to the leaders of the Shanedrim in terms so characteristically "Pauline" as these.

(4) PG 69, 361 CD f.

(5) PG 69, 361 D.

(6) *Ibid.*, 364 A.

(7) *Ibid.*, 364 A. *1 Cor.* 6, 3 alludes to the judicial prerogatives of the apostles at the last judgement.

(8) PG 69, 356 B.

wisdom and answers the queries of sophists with contrary questions" <sup>(1)</sup>. Cyril thinks that *Mt.* 22, 16 f., 21 and *Mt.* 21, 13, 23, 24-27 illustrate the tactics adopted by the Pharisees and Christ's reaction to them <sup>(2)</sup>.

11. The name Aser (meaning πλοῦτος <sup>(3)</sup>) occurs in *Gen.* 49, 20. Cyril claims that this text refers to Christ "in whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden" (*Col.* 2, 3) <sup>(4)</sup>. He is the precious treasure that is hidden in the field (*Mt.* 13, 44) <sup>(5)</sup>. Though as God he is rich (πλοῦτος), he became poor with us in order to enable us to become rich by means of his poverty. Three texts are quoted to exemplify this doctrine: *Prov.* 8, 18 (πλοῦτος...) <sup>(6)</sup>, *Ps.* 64, 10 (...πλουτίσαι αὐτήν) <sup>(7)</sup>, and 1 *Cor.* 1, 4 f. (...ἐπλουτίσθητε...) <sup>(8)</sup>.

These examples sufficiently illustrate St. Cyril's use of etymologies. In his refutation of the opinion claiming that Melchisedech was the Holy Spirit, to which we have already referred <sup>(9)</sup>, our author lays down the conditions governing the prudent employment of this exegetical principle. The adversaries, whom he criticises, claim that Melchisedech cannot be a man but is rather the Spirit, maintaining that Salem (over which he reigned as king) means peace and that peace is peculiar to God, who alone exercises dominion over peace <sup>(10)</sup>. Cyril objects that the ὀνομάτων ἐκμνησκαί in this instance lead to absurd conclusions: firstly, because

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 368 B. Migne refers us to *Is.* 29, 14. *Job.*, 5, 13 expresses a similar idea.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 368 AB. Cyril uses these texts appositely.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 368 CD.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 368 C. This text is relevant.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 69, 368 C. The treasure would seem to be personal adhesion to Christ's doctrine. Cyril's application, however, can be regarded as belonging to the literal sense understood in a broad manner (D. BUZY, *La sainte Bible...*, 9, p. 185).

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 368 C. This text is apposite. Though the perspective is primarily of the terrestrial order, it includes moral and spiritual goods as well.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 368 D. The Psalmist acknowledges that the rain, which has fertilized the earth, is God's gift.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 69, 368 D. This text is apposite.

<sup>(9)</sup> See pp. 372 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 69, 84 D.

the usages of Scripture are ignored, which explicitly say that a series of human beings good and bad, reigned at Jerusalem after Melchisedech <sup>(1)</sup>; secondly, because the signification of the names are forced into the *natures* of things <sup>(2)</sup>. We infer that our author approves whole-heartedly of etymologies provided that these mistakes are avoided <sup>(3)</sup>.

#### Art. 5. — THE SPIRITUAL MEANING OF NUMBERS

St. Cyril reminds us occasionally that Scripture regards the numbers seven and ten (as well as their multiples) as symbols of perfection <sup>(4)</sup>. Some examples will show how he applies this principle of exegesis in his interpretations:

1. The measurements of Noe's ark signify the perfection of the Holy Trinity. Its length consisting of three hundred cubits denotes the absolute perfection of the Trinity. In breadth the ark measured fifty cubits, that is to say, seven times seven to which a unit is added to symbolize the unity of the Divinity; the combination of numbers implied in the breadth signifies that the Godhead in unity is the perfection of perfections. The height of the ark consisting of three decades of cubits signifies the same thing. The upper part, measuring one cubit, denotes that the Trinity, though

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 85 AB.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 85 C. Other examples of τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ διασάφους ἡγουν ἐρμηνεία are: *Os.* 2, 13 (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 62, 15 ff.); 2, 15 (*ibid.*, 67, 1 ff.); 4, 15 (*ibid.*, 113, 8 ff. and 28 ff.); 9, 9 (*ibid.*, 194, 6 ff., 195, 3 ff.); *Abdias* 17-19 (*Comment. on Abdias*, PUSEY I, 557, 10); *Mich.* 7, 14 f. (*Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 735, 1 ff.); *Soph.* 2, 4 (*Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 195, 28 ff.); *Agg.* 1, 15 f. (*Comment. on Agg.*, PUSEY II, 251, 1 ff.); *Zach.* 10, 10 (*Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 443, 4 ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> WUTZ leaves us under the impression that most of St. Cyril's etymologies are derived from the group of Greek *Onomastica* inspired by Philo and Origen. This is what he says: "Der Grundstock ist gr. ὀν. mit recht typischen Vertretern Ἀραρατ, Αἰὼν usw.), zuweilen mit Erweiterungen (Βοσσοῦ. *Onomast.* Listen werden zwar nirgends erwähnt, müssen aber wohl vorausgesetzt werden auf Grund von Fehlern wie Ἰερουσαλημ μετεωρος θανατοῦ [= Ἰερουσουθ], θαμαρ ἐκλεψις σαλευομενη [= Θαμνα]; diese Fehler, wie auch der von Ἐρωσιειν sind nicht in onomastischen Listen nirgends zu beobachten .". (*Onomastica Sacra*, vol. 2, p. 1061).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 65 D f.; 186 A; 73, 572 A f.

it subsists in three different ὑποστάσεις and πρόσωπα ἰδιὰ is but one divine φύσις <sup>(1)</sup>.

2. Our author discovers in the fact that ten cities were given to the person who made good use of the ten talents (*Mt.* 25, 14-29) a proof that rewards will be proportioned to the perfection of one's merits <sup>(2)</sup>. He claims that the seventeen years of Joseph signify that Christ consists of two perfect elements, namely, the Divinity and the human nature. "We do not hold the opinion of some who say that the divine temple (which the God-Logos took from the holy Virgin) lacked a rational soul. We claim that he is perfect in his human nature as he is perfect in his Divinity... However, he exists as a single being in an ineffable way which transcends our conceptions. The number ten signifies the perfection of the Godhead, while the perfection in humanity is indicated by the number seven... Seven comes after ten. The God-Logos from the Father is in the excellence of the Trinity of Divinity. But the human element is inferior to and less than God's glory. The God-Logos is understood to be pre-existing. The human element has been joined to him. Accordingly, the number ten comes first of necessity and the number seven follows" <sup>(3)</sup>.

3. The seven ablutions prescribed for the ritual purification of a person who has been freed from leprosy signifies the amplitude of the grace conferred by Baptism which effects a really perfect clear sing <sup>(4)</sup>. Similarly, the seven aspersions of the tent of meeting signifies the perfect sanctification that Christ conferred on the Church <sup>(5)</sup>.

4. Two explanations are given of the number fifteen in *Os.* 3, 2 f. If it is considered as the sum of ten and five, it signifies that the law was perfect and imperfect at one and the same time; it is perfect when it is interpreted spiritually, for it then speaks to us about Christ's mystery; it is imperfect if the minds of the παιδαγωγούμενοι do not go beyond the letter, "because the crudity of the literal sense is only half knowledge" <sup>(6)</sup>. The number

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 68 A ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 186 B.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 186 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 561 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 632 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 85, 20 ff.

fifteen can be considered also as the sum of seven and eight. In scriptural usage, Cyril claims, the number seven denotes the whole period embracing the law and the prophets on account of the sabbath, the seventh day which terminates the week <sup>(1)</sup>, whereas the number eight denotes the period of the New Testament, because Christ rose from the dead on the eighth day <sup>(2)</sup>. Into the text of *Osee* under consideration Cyril reads the following meaning: "Let the apostles and evangelists have a place in your midst as well as the law and the prophets" <sup>(3)</sup>.

#### Art. 6. — ST. CYRIL'S ANTI-JEWISH LEANINGS

St. Cyril's spiritual interpretations reveal a strong anti-Jewish bias. There is scarcely a page on which he does not lash the Jews for their infidelity to God; he never fails to exploit the slightest allusion susceptible of being twisted into a description of their hostility to Christ and his Church; numerous and severe are his strictures upon the Scribes and Pharisees. The reader will find abundant evidence of these traits in the spiritual explanations that our author gives apropos of: *Dt.* 16, 18 f. and 17, 5 <sup>(4)</sup>; *Num.* 16, 1 ff. <sup>(5)</sup>; *Num.* 5, 2 <sup>(6)</sup>; *Gen.* 4, 1 ff. <sup>(7)</sup>; *Gen.* 21, 10 <sup>(8)</sup>; *Gen.* 25,

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, 86, 2 ff. Cyril develops this idea in PG 69, 676 A ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment.*, on *Osee* PUSEY I, 85, 5 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 86, 7 ff. This alternative explanation resembles the interpretation that JEROME gives: *Plerique nostrorum quindecim, ad hebdomadam legis, et ogdoadem referunt evangelii, id est, sabbatum, et diem resurrectionis, quo exercetur circumcisio spiritualis. Sed quomodo adultera mulier quae hordaeo pascitur, et a viro aliena est, utrumque in mercedem accipiat testamentum explanare non possunt* (PL 25, 843 C). Cyril seems to answer the difficulty that the Latin exegete raises here: After Christ's advent Christians have the legal and prophetic *παίδευσις* as well as the evangelical at their disposal. Actually Israel during the period of expectancy "was nourished with the bare latter of the law"; yet Christ's mysteries were envisaged by the law (*Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 86, 25 ff.). JEROME's treatment of the symbolical value of numbers is discussed by A. PENNA, *Principi e carattere...*, p. 104 f.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 68, 576 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 613 D ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1081 C ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 69, 45 C ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 156 AB.

25 ff. <sup>(1)</sup>; *Gen.* 38, 6 ff. <sup>(2)</sup>; *Ezech.* 23, 2-4 <sup>(3)</sup>; *Gen.* 49, 3 f. <sup>(4)</sup>; *Ex.* 4, 9 <sup>(5)</sup>; the attitude of the elders to Moses <sup>(6)</sup>; the fact that Moses pitched his own tent outside the camp. <sup>(7)</sup>; *Num.* 12, 2 <sup>(8)</sup>; *Dt.* 21, 1-18 <sup>(9)</sup>; *Is.* 1, 21 <sup>(10)</sup>; 1, 22 f. <sup>(11)</sup>; 1, 24 <sup>(12)</sup>; 3, 12 <sup>(13)</sup>; 8, 21 f. <sup>(14)</sup>; 10, 1-4 <sup>(15)</sup>; 22, 20-24 <sup>(16)</sup>; 25, 3-5 <sup>(17)</sup>; 26, 14 f. <sup>(18)</sup>; 28, 1 <sup>(19)</sup>; 29, 13 <sup>(20)</sup>; 33, 13 <sup>(21)</sup>; 33, 18 f. <sup>(22)</sup>; 60, 17 <sup>(23)</sup>; *Os.* 3, 1 <sup>(24)</sup>; 4, 1 f. <sup>(25)</sup>; 7, 1 f. <sup>(26)</sup>; *Joel* 1, 11 f. <sup>(27)</sup>; *Amos* 8, 9 f. <sup>(28)</sup>; *Mich.* 2, 4 <sup>(29)</sup>; 2, 9 f. <sup>(30)</sup>; 2, 11 <sup>(31)</sup>; *Nahum* 1, 6 <sup>(32)</sup>; 1, 7 f. <sup>(33)</sup>; 3, 17 f. <sup>(34)</sup>; *Hab.* 2, 15 <sup>(35)</sup>;

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 161, A ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 313 D.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 300 B ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 340 B ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 477 A ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 496 B ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 532 D ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 593 B ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, 645 C ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 70, 49 A ff.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Ibid.*, 52 C ff.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Ibid.*, 56 A ff.

<sup>(13)</sup> *Ibid.*, 109 D ff.

<sup>(14)</sup> *Ibid.*, 244 A ff.

<sup>(15)</sup> *Ibid.*, 277 C ff.

<sup>(16)</sup> *Ibid.*, 516 D ff.

<sup>(17)</sup> *Ibid.*, 560, D ff.

<sup>(18)</sup> *Ibid.*, 581 D ff.

<sup>(19)</sup> *Ibid.*, 612 C ff.

<sup>(20)</sup> *Ibid.*, 656 C ff.

<sup>(21)</sup> *Ibid.*, 728 A ff.

<sup>(22)</sup> *Ibid.*, 732 B ff.

<sup>(23)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1341 A ff.

<sup>(24)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 82, 3 ff.

<sup>(25)</sup> *Ibid.*, 94, 5 ff.

<sup>(26)</sup> *Ibid.*, 151, 8 ff.

<sup>(27)</sup> *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 304, 6 ff.

<sup>(28)</sup> *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 519, 20 ff.

<sup>(29)</sup> *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 627, 13 ff.

<sup>(30)</sup> *Ibid.*, 637, 3 ff.

<sup>(31)</sup> *Ibid.*, 640, 1 ff.

<sup>(32)</sup> *Comment. on Nahum.*, PUSEY II, 16, 20 ff.

<sup>(33)</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, 6 ff.

<sup>(34)</sup> *Ibid.*, 65, 6 ff.

<sup>(35)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 109, 11 ff.

2, 16 f. <sup>(1)</sup>; *Soph.* 2, 3 <sup>(2)</sup>; *Zach.* 11, 4 f. <sup>(3)</sup>; 11, 17 <sup>(4)</sup>; *Mal.* 2, 7 <sup>(5)</sup>; 3, 6 f. <sup>(6)</sup>. The anti-Jewish bias of the commentaries <sup>(7)</sup> should be correlated with the condemnations of the Jews which occur in the *Easter homilies* <sup>(8)</sup>. M. Simon assures us that Antioch rather than Alexandria was the fatherland of anti-Jewish polemics <sup>(9)</sup> and that the master of anti-Jewish invective *par excellence* was St. John Chrysostom <sup>(10)</sup>. Is it far-fetched to regard Cyril's anti-Jewish bias as another trait that connects him with the school of Antioch? Or were his censures of the Jews occasioned by real worries that the Jewish community at Alexandria caused him?

#### Art. 7. — ST. CYRIL'S ANTI-HERETICAL BIAS

A trait of St. Cyril's spiritual exegesis that deserves notice is the readiness with which he discovers condemnations of heretics in passages of Holy Writ. The following list contains examples which illustrate this bent: *Ex.* 21, 16 and *Dt.* 24, 7 <sup>(11)</sup>; *Dt.* 22, 28 f. <sup>(12)</sup>; *Is.* 21, 16 f. <sup>(13)</sup>; *Os.* 2, 8 <sup>(14)</sup>; 8, 11 f. <sup>(15)</sup>; 9, 7 <sup>(16)</sup>;

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 113, 14 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 193, 15 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 450, 17 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 473, 10 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 579, 6 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 606, 22 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> See also references *s. v. Judaei* in the indexes of PG 70 and PUSEY's edition of the *Minor Prophets* (vol. II).

<sup>(8)</sup> See pp. 2 f.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Verus Israel. Études sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs...*, p. 436.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256. See also M. SIMON, *La polémique anti-juive de s. Jean Chrysostome et le mouvement judaïsant d'Antioche* (*Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 4 (1936) (= *Mélanges Cumont*), Bruxelles, 1938, pp. 403-421).

<sup>(11)</sup> PG 68, 537 D.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Ibid.*, 544 B ff.

<sup>(13)</sup> PG 70, 500 D.

<sup>(14)</sup> Compare *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 55, 22 ff. with St. JEROME (PL 25, 832 D).

<sup>(15)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 177, 26 ff.

<sup>(16)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 187, 25 ff. Compare with PL 25, 894 D: Et ne eadem saepe repetentes, videamur lectoris prudentiae diffidere, breviter admonemus, quidquid de Israel et de Ephraim in hoc propheta dicitur, ad haereticos esse referendum, qui vere insanientes, contra Deum loquuntur mendacia.



9, 8 f. <sup>(1)</sup>; 10, 5 <sup>(2)</sup>; 10, 12 <sup>(3)</sup>; 10, 13 <sup>(4)</sup>; *Joel* 1, 6 f. <sup>(5)</sup>; *Joel* 2, 25 f. <sup>(6)</sup>; 3, 1-3 <sup>(7)</sup>; 3, 4-6 <sup>(8)</sup>; 3, 19 ff. <sup>(9)</sup>; *Amos* 2, 1-3 <sup>(10)</sup>; 2, 7 <sup>(11)</sup>; 5, 21 f. <sup>(12)</sup>; 6, 1a <sup>(13)</sup>; 6, 1b f. <sup>(14)</sup>; *Mich.* 3, 6 <sup>(15)</sup>; 6, 13-16 <sup>(16)</sup>; 7, 4a <sup>(17)</sup>; 7, 4b <sup>(18)</sup>; 7, 10 <sup>(19)</sup>; 7, 11 ff. <sup>(20)</sup>; *Hab.* 2, 9 f. <sup>(21)</sup>; 2, 15 f. <sup>(22)</sup>; *Soph.* 1, 17 f. <sup>(23)</sup>; 2, 3 <sup>(24)</sup>; *Zach.* 9, 5 f. <sup>(25)</sup>; *Mal.* 2, 15 f. <sup>(26)</sup>. As the footnotes show,

(1) *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 191, 16 ff. Compare with PL 25, 895 C.

(2) Compare *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 211, 24 ff. with PL 25, 906 BC

(3) Compare *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 220, 22 ff. with PL 25, 911 B.

(4) Compare *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 222, 24 ff. with PL 25, 912 A.

(5) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 298, 10 ff.

(6) *Ibid.*, 334, 1 ff.

(7) *Ibid.*, 349, 15 ff.

(8) *Ibid.*, 351, 18 ff. Compare with PL 25, 982 A.

(9) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 364, 5 ff.

(10) *Comment. on. Amos*, PUSEY I, 396 13 ff.

(11) *Ibid.*, 404, 21 ff. Compare with PL 25, 1006 C ff.: Nos autem, qui in Osee docuimus, sub nomine Israelis, et Samariae, et Ephraim, et filiorum Ioseph (de qua tribu fuit Ieroboam, qui a regno David et Ierusalem, et templo Dei populum segregavit (3 *Reg.* 12)), haereticos significari: etiam nunc post Iudam et Ierusalem, quae interpretatur Ecclesia, intelligamus ad haereticos sermonem dirigi propheticum, qui vendunt virum sanctum iustumque, sed pauperem, pro pecunia.

(12) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 471, 5 ff. Compare with PL 25, 1053 C ff.

(13) Compare *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 478, 20 ff. with PL 25, 1058 A.

(14) *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 481, 24 ff.

(15) *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 649, 27 ff. Compare with PL 25,

1180 C.

(16) Compare *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 708, 8 ff. with PL 25, 1214 B ff.

(17) *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 716, 17 ff.

(18) *Ibid.*, 718, 6 ff. Compare with PL 25, 1216 B.

(19) *Comment. on Mich.*, PUSEY I, 725, 10 ff.

(20) *Ibid.*, 729, 12 ff.

(21) Compare *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 103 12 ff. with PL 25, 1297 A

(22) Compare *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 109, 25 ff. with PL 25, 1301 D ff.

(23) *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 191, 5 ff.

(24) Compare *Comment. on Soph.*, PUSEY II, 214, 12 ff. with PL 25, 1359 C f.

(25) *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 410, 8 ff.

(26) *Ibid.*, 591, 9 ff.

St. Jerome applies most of these texts to heretics. With regard to the book of *Osee*, the applications made by both exegetes may have been directly inspired by Origen; St. Jerome tells us that Origen wrote a tract to justify the application to heretics of everything that *Osee* says concerning Ephraim <sup>(1)</sup>. In other instances, it is not improbable that St. Cyril may have been influenced by the Latin exegete to incorporate these interpretations in his own commentaries.

Art. 8. — THE THEOLOGICAL FLAVOUR OF ST. CYRIL'S SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATIONS

Another conspicuous feature of St. Cyril's exegetical method is his habit of weaving remarks bearing on theology into his spiritual explanations. This trait, to which even Rosenmüller draws attention <sup>(2)</sup>, we purpose to illustrate by analysing St. Cyril's treatment of the prescriptions of *Ex.* 25-30 and 35-40 concerning the construction and furniture of the tent of meeting. To this subject our author devotes the whole of book 9 and part of book 10 of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, sections considered by Cyril to be the most important of the whole treatise. There Palladius enunciates the thesis that the tent is the type of the Church of the Gentiles <sup>(3)</sup>. Put briefly, his chief argument seems to be this: as the ancient sacrifices could be offered only within the precincts of the tent, so too adoration in spirit and truth (namely, the theme developed by Cyril throughout *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*) is inconceivable outside the Christian church <sup>(4)</sup>. In order to test the originality of our author's views we shall compare them with those of other writers of Antiquity who exercised their skill on this fascinating section of the Mosaic law.

<sup>(1)</sup> Origenes parvum de hoc propheta scripsit libellum, cui hunc titulum imposuit, Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀνομάσθη ἐν τῷ Ὡσὲ Ἐφραΐμ hoc est, "Quare appellatur in *Osee* Ephraim" volens ostendere quaecumque contra eum dicuntur, ad haeticorum referenda personam (PL 25, 819 A).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Historia* . . . , p. 145.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 589 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 589 B ff.

In Antiquity the interpretation of the tent, which is now styled "cosmic", was favoured by exponents of both Jewish and Christian exegesis such as Philo<sup>(1)</sup>, Josephus<sup>(2)</sup> Pseudo-Justin<sup>(3)</sup> Clement of Alexandria<sup>(4)</sup>, Origen<sup>(5)</sup> Pseudo-Athanasius<sup>(6)</sup>, St. Jerome<sup>(7)</sup>, Pseudo-Chrysostom<sup>(8)</sup>, St. Gregory of Nazianzen<sup>(9)</sup>, and Theodoretus of Cyrrhus<sup>(10)</sup>.

In *Heb.* 9, 1-14 St. Paul evolved a typical explanation of the tent, that is specifically Christian: its existence proclaimed that, while the Old Testament was in force, access to God was forbidden to mankind (9, 8); it was also a kind of parable in action, which taught that the sacrifices of the old dispensation did not purify conscience from the guilt of sin (9, 10); finally, the tent symbolized either Christ's human nature or the integral humanity (*i. e.*, the Church) that he assumed (9, 11). Again, in *Heb.* 10, 20 the apostle likens Christ's flesh to the veil that separated the holy of holies from the holy place; by sacrificing his own body Christ introduced both himself and his own into the sanctuary of the heavens<sup>(11)</sup>.

Echoes of this Pauline interpretation are found in Methodius of Olympus<sup>(12)</sup>, St. Hilary<sup>(13)</sup>, St. Gregory of Nyssa<sup>(14)</sup>, St. Augustine<sup>(15)</sup> and St. Ambrose<sup>(16)</sup>. To a certain extent, Clement of

(1) *De vita Mosis*, lib. 2, 81 ff. (COHN's *editio maior*, 4, 219, 9 ff.).

(2) *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum libri septem*, 3, 6, 4, and 7, 7 (NIESE's edition, vol. 1, p. 137, 17 ff. and p. 146, 8 ff.).

(3) PG 6, 206 BC.

(4) Strom. 5, 6 (GCS, 15, 346, 27 ff.).

(5) *In Exod.*, hom. 13, 3 (GCS, 29, 274, 20 ff.).

(6) PG 28, 1098 C ff.

(7) *Epistula* 64, 9 (CSEL, 54, 596).

(8) PG 50, 783 (towards the end).

(9) PG 36, 72 A.

(10) PG 80, 281 A ff.

(11) J. BONSIRVEN, *Saint Paul. Épître aux Hébreux, Verbum salutis*, 12, Paris 1943, pp. 379 ff., 437.

(12) PG 18, 109 B.

(13) In Ps. 131, 16 (CSEL, 22, 674, 11 ff.).

(14) PG 44, 381 A ff.

(15) *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, 1, 2, q. 105 ff. (CSEL, 28, 161 ff.).

(16) PL 16, 928 A (*ed.*, 1880).

Alexandria <sup>(1)</sup>, Origen <sup>(2)</sup> and Theodoretus <sup>(3)</sup> give a Christian colouring to their interpretations.

No writer of Antiquity develops the Pauline view at greater length than St. Cyril.

### 1. *Ex.* 20, 22-23

A new manner of conducting oneself is prescribed. As regards Christians, this means that they approach the Father through the Son <sup>(4)</sup>.

### 2. *Ex.* 20, 24-25

#### a) v. 24

Emmanuel is styled "the altar of earth". The Logos truly became flesh; and the nature of flesh is earth from earth.

As Christians have access to the Father "in Christ", so too their sacrifices become acceptable to God, when they are offered "in Christ" <sup>(5)</sup>.

#### b) v. 25 a

Christians have received the blessing promised to those "who stand beside the altar", since they have been enriched with every heavenly blessing by the Father "through and in Christ, and have become sealed unto adoption of sons in the Holy Spirit" <sup>(6)</sup>.

#### c) v. 25 b

Moses does not allow the stones that are consecrated to God to be cut with iron.

Christ is the chosen corner-stone, which has not been marred with sins. He knows not what it is to suffer buffets from the devil. He is not divided between God and the world.

<sup>(1)</sup> GCS, 15, 328, 1 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *In Exod. hom.* 9 *passim*. (GCS, 29, 239, 4).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 80, 284 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 68, 592 C f.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 593 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 593 B.

Though he has become flesh, he is absolutely holy. On becoming united with the flesh, he is not separated into what is properly God and what is properly man. He remains one God, who is also man. He is in no way divided, as St. Paul writes (1 Cor. 1, 13) <sup>(1)</sup>.

### 3. Ex. 25, 1-9

#### a) vv. 1-9

The people must contribute towards the construction of the Church, each according to his capacities.

The most insignificant contribution (signified by the goat-hairs and the rams' skins) is not rejected by God, if one has nothing more valuable to offer. Such an offering can call forth great praise. That is the lesson inculcated by Christ's encomium of the widow who dropped only a mite into the treasury <sup>(2)</sup>.

#### b) v. 8

The true manifestation of God takes place only in the Church, since we behold the Father in Christ.

All the visions which were granted to the ancients, including that of Sinai, were only shadows of the true *θεοπεία* <sup>(3)</sup>.

#### c) v. 9

The prescriptions concerning the tent typify the churches and the role played by Christ the Saviour <sup>(4)</sup>.

### 4. Ex. 25, 10-16

#### a) *The ark*

The ark is a type and image of Christ's body which he received from the Virgin, and in which the Logos dwelt as in an ark or temple <sup>(5)</sup>.

According to Philo, the ark, if interpreted allegorically (*φυσικώτερον*), is a symbol of God's power. If, however, it is explained *ἡθικώτερον*, it symbolizes

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 593 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 593 C ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 596 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 596 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 597 C.

b) *The wood not liable to corruption*

This represents Christ's incorruptible body. The prerogative of incorruption is to be ascribed to the gold, that is to say, to the power of the indwelling Logos and to the vivifying nature and energy of the Holy Spirit. It is in virtue of this prerogative that Christ is said to vivify. The Logos, from the Father, is life by nature; He vivified his own temple by the power of his own Spirit, thus exempting it from corruption <sup>(1)</sup>.

c) *The gold*

The gold symbolizes Christ's divinity which "is smeared over" his body, thus conferring incorruption on it <sup>(2)</sup>.

d) *The poles and the rings*

These, as well as everything in the ark, were of gold.

All around Christ participated in his glory and were fixed firmly and made serviceable by means of charity and sanctity. Such in the first place were the

the mind which completes within itself the work of grace <sup>(3)</sup>.

Clement of Alexandria suggests three explanations of the ark:

(1) It signifies the *νοητὸς κόσμος*, which is hidden and closed to the mass <sup>(4)</sup>.

(2) Clement prefers to assign to the ark the meaning implied by its Hebrew designation, *θηβωθά*, i. e., "in the place of another everywhere". He postpones deciding whether this signification refers to the *ὁδοὺς* and the *νοητὸς κόσμος*, or to the God who includes all things in himself having no form and being invisible <sup>(5)</sup>.

(3) The ark signifies repose with the spirits who sing God's praises (symbolized by the cherubim) <sup>(6)</sup>.

St. Gregory of Nyssa is of opinion that the tent admits of a double symbolism: it is a type of Christ, inasmuch as he is God-Man and Saviour <sup>(7)</sup>; it also typifies the Church <sup>(8)</sup>. Generally speaking, St. Gregory selects different items of the fur-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, 597 C f.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 597 D f.

<sup>(3)</sup> *De vita Mosis*, lib. 2, 95 ff. (COHN'S *editio maior*, vol. 4, 233, 4 ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> GCS, 15, 249, 18 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 350, 16 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 350, 21 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 44, 381 A ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 385 A.

disciples, who had received divine power from Christ as well as heavenly excellence. In virtue of these gifts they were able to perform miracles <sup>(1)</sup>.

niture of the tent to illustrate each symbolism. Thus, the objects of gold and silver connected with the ark, such as the poles, rings and cherubim, represent the heavenly spirits, who sustain τὸ πᾶν, that is to say, Christ <sup>(2)</sup>. The true ἀναφορεῖς are those "who minister to those destined to inherit salvation". These spirits exercise an influence on the souls of those who are being saved, which uplifts them to the heights of virtue.

The ark, inasmuch as it is covered by the wings of the cherubim, indicates that the divine nature is incomprehensible <sup>(3)</sup>.

St. Hilary offers an explanation which partly resembles that of St. Cyril: the ark represents Christ's body; the gold signifies the divinity to which it was united <sup>(4)</sup>.

St. Ambrose likens the ark to Christ's doctrine <sup>(5)</sup>.

St. Augustine's point of view somewhat resembles that of the Bishop of Milan: "Aurum quippe significat sapientiam, arca significat secretum Dei <sup>(6)</sup>".

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 600 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 44, 384 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 384 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> In Ps 131, 16 (CSEL, 22, 674, 11 ff.).

<sup>(5)</sup> PL 16, 928 A (*ed.* 1880).

<sup>(6)</sup> PL 34, 633 f.

e) *The μαρτύρια*

The μαρτύρια which were placed in the ark represent the God-Logos <sup>(1)</sup>.

Concerning these Origen offers a moralizing explanation: "Ha-beat et arcam testamenti in qua sint tabulae legis ut 'in lege Dei meditetur die ac nocte', et memoria eius arca et bibliotheca efficiatur librorum Dei, quia et prophetae beatos dicit eos qui memoria tenent man-data eius, ut faciant ea" <sup>(2)</sup>.

5. *Ex.* 25, 17-29a) *The "propitiatory" (ἱλαστήριον)*

The ἱλαστήριον represents Christ who became a propitiation for our sake. He merits this appellation, because it is on his account that the Father becomes propitious to us: all prayer terminates in him; it is through him that we draw nigh to the Father, since we become acceptable in no other way <sup>(3)</sup>.

b) *The cherubim*

The posture of these creatures signifies the fact that the highest spirits stand around Christ and are ready to serve him <sup>(4)</sup>.

Their continuous gazing on the "propitiatory" indicates their insatiable desire for vision of God <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril infers from their posture a proof that the Logos, after he had submitted to the κένωσις, continued to be God as before <sup>(6)</sup>.

Philo draws attention to the fact that the expression "cherubim" means ἐπίγνωσις and ἐπιστήμη πολλή. He quotes the opinion of those who hold that the cherubim (in keeping with the fact that their faces are turned towards each other) symbolize the two hemispheres (the one under the earth and the one over it). The symbolism is

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 597 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> In *Exod.*, hom. 9 (GCS' 29, 242, 16 ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 600 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 601 A.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 601 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 68, 601 A. Cyril introduces an explanation of the seraphim that Isaias describes in the inaugural vision (*Is.* 6, 1 f.); seraphim means



c) *Ex. 25, 22*

Two explanations are proposed between which the reader is free to choose:

(1) Though Christ is man, he continues to be God. Hence he will speak about things which transcend mere human nature and the limits of the *κένωσις* <sup>(1)</sup>.

(2) Though Christ is man, he will be recognized as having greater dignity than any other created being, including the cherubim, who belong to the highest grade of created being <sup>(2)</sup>.

d) *The fact that the propitiatory and the cherubim were made of gold*

God's nature is most beautiful. Creatures resemble him, inasmuch as they participate in him. Those, however, who stand round him in a circle, receive a share of his natural brightness, which Cyril likens to the reflection that a light causes in objects that are near it <sup>(3)</sup>.

justified by the fact that the universe is winged <sup>(4)</sup>.

The Jewish exegete prefers to think that the cherubim symbolize the two prerogatives that belong exclusively to the Supreme Being: the power of creating and of ruling creatures with sovereign power <sup>(5)</sup>.

In addition to mentioning the symbolism of the two hemispheres and the etymology of the word cherubim <sup>(6)</sup>, Clement of Alexandria writes: "... In the heavens there is no living being perceptible to the senses that is fashioned like these; in virtue of the fact that they have the face of the rational soul and have wings, the cherubim symbolize the services and activities that are accomplished to the right and the left in heaven above; their voices utter grateful praise in uninterrupted contemplation" <sup>(7)</sup>. On this point St. Gregory of Nyssa <sup>(8)</sup> and St. Cyril rejoin Clement.

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either "plenitude of knowledge" or "the effusion of wisdom". The circumstance that they veil both their faces and their feet symbolizes that God is incomprehensible (PG 68, 601 B f.).

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 604 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 604 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 604 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> *De vita Mosis, lib.*, 2, 95 f. (COHN's *editio maior*, vol. 4, p. 233, 13 ff.).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>(6)</sup> GCS, 15, 347.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 350.

<sup>(8)</sup> PG 44, 384 D.

For St. Ambrose, the cherubim denote knowledge of Scripture; the propitiatory represents the Word, the image of the invisible God, who speaks "intelligibilia", not "mundana" to his followers <sup>(1)</sup>.

According to St. Augustine, the propitiatory represents God's mercy. Of the cherubim, he proposes two interpretations:

(1) They denote the two Testaments, both of which commend God's mercy.

(2) If they are regarded as rational creatures, the fact that they are two constitutes a commendation of charity; and the circumstance that their wings shadow the propitiatory shows that they honour God by their virtues; the position of their faces intimates that there is no progress in knowledge without reliance on God's mercy <sup>(2)</sup>.

In the opinion of Theodoretus, the propitiatory symbolizes prophecy; the cherubim represent the bodiless spirits <sup>(3)</sup>.

Philo says that the loaves symbolize the means of subsistence. The table, on which they

e) *Ex.* 25, 23-29

The table symbolizes the heavenly bread which in due time will be placed on the tables

<sup>(1)</sup> PL 16, 928 AB (ed. 1880).

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 604 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 604 A.

of churches, and which gives life to the world <sup>(1)</sup>.

The dishes, censers, bowls and cups are types of the divine treasures <sup>(2)</sup>.

were placed, lay towards the north, since the northern winds are favourable to growth <sup>(3)</sup>.

Clement repeats the explanation given by Philo, but introduces an allusion which is specifically Christian: "The bread denotes the dwellings for the assemblies destined to form one body and one society <sup>(4)</sup>.

Theodoretus implies that the table refers to the "mystic service of the holy table" <sup>(5)</sup>.

#### 6. *Ex.* 25, 31-32, 36-40

##### a) *The lampstand*

The lampstand, which was worked with a lathe-chisel, signifies Christ's comeliness of form. It is such as is worthy of the divinity <sup>(6)</sup>.

Philo holds that the position of the lampstand at the south side of the tent hints at the movements of the stars that give light. The sun, moon and stars complete their course in a long interval, stretching from north to south. The seven branches symbolize the seven planets <sup>(7)</sup>.

##### b) *The branches that extend from the sides of the lampstand to the right and the left*

These signify that the Only-begotten, though one in nature and simple in substance, is multiple by reason of different energies <sup>(7)</sup>.

As noted in previous instances, Clement first mentions the opinion of Philo, and next gives a distinctively Christian interpretation: "The golden lamp-

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 604 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 604 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *De vita Mosis, lib.*, 23, 104 (COHN'S *editio maior*, 4, 225, 8 ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> GCS, 15, 349.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 80, 284 B.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 68, 605 D.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 605 D f.

<sup>(8)</sup> *De vita Mosis, lib.* 2 (COHN'S *editio maior*, vol. 4, 224, 12 ff.).

- c) *The circumstance that the calyxes and branches form a single piece of beaten gold with the lampstand*

This signifies that the Only-begotten is God by nature, and fully so. In him there is nothing which has been created (ἐἰσποιητός). He is not sanctified in the manner that creatures are; even the angels are adorned with his grace, and are anointed with the gift of the Spirit <sup>(1)</sup>.

- d) *The seven lamps*

These signify the perfect illumination that proceeds from Christ <sup>(2)</sup>.

- e) *The circumstance that the lamps are so arranged that they shed light only on the space in front of the lampstand (Num. 8, 1-3)*

This draws attention to the fact that the divine light does not illumine those who are turned away from God, but only those who have been enabled to see, because they have been sanctified, or those who have

stand has also another mysterious meaning, namely, that of Christ's sign, not only on account of its form, but also on account of the fact that "*in various ways and manners*" (Heb. 1, 1), it brings into the regions of light all who believe and hope in him and look towards him – thanks to the service of the πρωτόκτιστοι <sup>(3)</sup>.

In Origen's opinion, the lamps denote the vigilant conscience of a Christian who is keenly alert to the wiles of the devil <sup>(4)</sup>.

St. Gregory of Nyssa relates the lamps with Is. 11, 2 ff. It denotes the multiform flashings of the Spirit that were emitted by Christ <sup>(5)</sup>.

For Theodoretus, the seven lamps represent the seven days of the week <sup>(6)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 608 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 608 B f.

<sup>(3)</sup> GCS, 15, 349.

<sup>(4)</sup> *In Exod.*, hom 9 (GCS, 29, 241, 26).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 44, 384 C.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 80, 284 A.

been brought face to face with God on account of audacious faith or exceptional moral probity <sup>(1)</sup>.

### 7. *Ex.* 27, 1-4

#### a) *The circumstance that the altar of holocausts was not made of gold*

This signifies that worship according to the law was not rewarded by the gift of the Spirit.

It was only after his resurrection that Christ conferred this gift on his followers; it was then that human nature was "gilded" by the communication of the Spirit <sup>(2)</sup>.

#### b) *The circumstance that this altar was made of brass*

Cyril recalls that the brass covering of the altar was made

Philo claims that the name, given by Scripture to this altar (*θυσιαστήριον*), refers to the dispositions of the sacrificer, rather than to the divided parts of the victim offered in sacrifice. A person, who offers sacrifices and is proud and arrogant at the same time, ensures that his sins are remembered, rather than remitted. The offering of a pious person is not unavailing, even if no material victim is presented. The pious attitude of a soul that loves God is already

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 608 C. At this juncture Cyril expounds *Zach.* 4, 1-5, 11-14. The following observations are intended as complements to significations already given: 1) The article placed on the lampstand is a type of Christ. 2) The branches to the left and right are the believing Jews and Gentiles. They are styled "sons of fatness" because they are fattened by oil, namely, the Holy Spirit who "irrigates" the minds of believers. 3) They are styled branches rather than olive trees because they were tender shoots that had been broken off from the parent trees, namely, the Jews and the Gentiles considered in their entirety. They had just come into the divine light and were running riot in the abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit. This is signified by the fact that the branches were placed in the nostrils of the lamps (PG 68, 612 A-B). St. Cyril expands this explanation in his commentary on *Zachary* (PUSEY II, 328-347.)

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 613 C.

from the fire-pans, which had been rescued from the conflagration described in *Numbers* 16. The episode in question was occasioned by the revolt of Dathan, Abiron and others against Aaron.

According to Cyril, this incident typified the revolt of the Jews against Christ the Priest.

The altar itself constitutes a warning that the whole Mosaic system of worship will be "contradicted", that is to say, will cease to exist <sup>(1)</sup>.

a holy sacrifice. His gratitude becomes clothed with immortality and abides with God, as if it were written on a monument that stands eternally with the sun and moon and the whole universe <sup>(2)</sup>.

Origen develops the moralizing interpretation of Philo: "...Habeat, inquam, in se defixum et altare, in quo orationum hostias et misericordias victimas offeret Deo in quo continentiae cultro superbiam quasi taurum immolet, iracundiam quasi arietem iugulet, luxuriam omnemque libidinem tanquam hircos et hoedos litet" <sup>(3)</sup>.

According to Methodius of Olympus, the tent is the symbol of the Church; the bronze altar denotes old age and the place reserved for widows <sup>(4)</sup>.

From the fact that sacrifices offered on this altar should be performed outside the tent, Theodoretus infers that they were unnecessary for those inside. "We, however", he continues, "perform worship which is distributed within. Because we offer God incense and illuminating light and the mystic service of the holy table" <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 616 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> *De vita Mosis*, lib. 2, 106, (COHN'S *editio maior*, vol. 4. 225, 14 ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> *In Exod. hom.* 9 (GCS, 29, 241, 18 ff.).

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 18, 112 AB.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 80, 284 B.

8. *Ex.* 30, 1-10a) *The altar of incense*

This symbolizes Christ, inasmuch as he is the "firstfruits" and the "root" of the human race, which has been re-created unto incorruption on account of its union with God <sup>(1)</sup>.

The four horns prefigure the Cross <sup>(2)</sup>.

The fact that the vision of the horns was the same from all angles, signifies that Christ, inasmuch as crucified, is known everywhere <sup>(3)</sup>. The moulding of gold denotes his comeliness <sup>(4)</sup>.

The rings and the poles signify the disciples who "carried Christ everywhere by means of their preaching" <sup>(5)</sup>.

Philo draws the following conclusions from the prescriptions concerning the altar of incense: "Hence the altar of incense is remarkable, not only for its precious materials and its position (in the holy of holies), but also because each day it served to express man's thanks to God. For it was forbidden to offer the holocaust before offering incense early in the morning. This indicates symbolically, that God does not attach much value to the sacrifices of victims, but rather to the perfect purity of the thinking spirit of the sacrificer" <sup>(6)</sup>.

Elsewhere Philo says that this altar symbolizes the sacrifice of the earth and water <sup>(7)</sup>.

Clement notes that the altar of incense was placed midway between the curtain and the veil, the spot that was accessible only to the priests; it is a symbol of "the land placed in the midst of our world, whence exhalations come" <sup>(8)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 617 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 617 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 617 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 617 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 68, 617 D.

<sup>(6)</sup> *De specialibus legibus*, (COHN's *editio maior*, vol. 5. p. 66, 13 ff.).

<sup>(7)</sup> *De vita Mosis*, lib. 2, (COHN's *editio maior*, vol. 4, 224, 6 ff.).

<sup>(8)</sup> GCS, 15, 347, 11 ff.

Cyril makes a fleeting reference to the moralizing opinion of Origen: Καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ δὴ μᾶλλον εὐωδιάζομεν τῷ Πατρὶ τὴν νοητὴν εὐοσμίαν (PG 68, 616 C).

Origen moralizes: "... Habebat in penetralibus pectoris sui etiam altare incensi ut et ipse dicat 'quia Christi bonus odor sumus' " (1).

In the opinion of Methodius of Olympus, this altar symbolizes those who are living in the state of virginity. Gold is the symbol of virginity which abhors all impure stains and is always resplendent with the light of the Word (2).

According to Theodoretus, the golden θυσιαστήριον symbolized the fruits of the earth that are given to men (3).

St. Gregory of Nyssa attaches the same symbolism to the θυσιαστήριον and the θυμιατήριον: they indicate the constant adoration that the celestial spirits offer Christ (4).

b) *The circumstance that the altar of incense is placed before the veil that screens the ark*

To introduce the appropriate signification that he assigns this circumstance, Cyril first explains that the veil in question was styled ἱλαστήριον (5). Its position above the cherubim sym-

Philo comments upon the position of the altar of incense as follows: it is placed in the middle of the space that is shut off on the outside by the κάλυμμα and on the inside by the καταπέ-

(1) *In Exod. hom.* 9 (GCS, 29, 242, 14 ff.).

(2) PG 18, 112 B.

(3) PG 80, 284 A.

(4) PG 44, 384 D.

(5) *Ibid.*, 620 A.



bolizes Christ's glorification after his death <sup>(1)</sup>.

Of *Ex.* 30, 22 he gives the following interpretation: it reminds us that the divine nature must be sought outside the realm of created beings. Accordingly, "the place above the cherubim" is a representation (perceptible to the senses) of the divine nature in the tent <sup>(2)</sup>.

Finally, the position of the altar of incense opposite "the place above the cherubim" signifies the fact that Christ reinstated the human race with the Father <sup>(3)</sup>.

τασμα; the altar is the image "of the thanksgiving of land and water"; the suitability of its role is shown by the fact that land and water occupy the middle of the world <sup>(4)</sup>. Further on, Philo explains why the table, the altar and the lampstand are placed beside each other. He notes again that the table signifies the means of subsistence which come from heaven and earth. It is through the intermediary of rain that they come from heaven; they come from the earth, too, since it causes seeds to grow, once it has been moistened with rain. Accordingly, they are placed beside each other, since the lampstand symbolizes heaven and the altar of incense is the symbol of earthly things "from which exhalations come" <sup>(5)</sup>.

c) *The incense which was compound and fine*

The incense represents Christ the Priest <sup>(6)</sup>.

The circumstance that it was σύνθετον denotes the union of the two natures in Christ <sup>(7)</sup>.

The quality of λεπτόν alludes to the role of victim played by Christ. Conformity to his Father's will was the mark that character-

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 620 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 620 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 620 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *De vita Moysis*, lib. 2, (COHN's *editio maior*, vol. 4, 224, 6 ff.).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 225, 8 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 621 A.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 621 A.

rized this victim, who, accordingly, was far removed from the crudeness peculiar to the sacrificial victims prescribed by the Mosaic law <sup>(1)</sup>.

d) *Ex. 30, 7 b*

The fact that the oblation of the incense was closely connected with the lighting of the lamps signifies, that, when we are illumined by the divine light, we are richly filled with Christ's sweet fragrance "and we begin to perceive the furnishings of the outer tabernacle, namely, the gifts that Christ distributes to those who are worthy." Cyril here speaks of the necessity of faith, "which is an approach that leads to understanding, and which opens the mind to the reception of the divine light" <sup>(2)</sup>.

e) *Ex. 30, 8 b*

This oblation is styled "a constant incense offering" because Christ "exhales sweet odours at all times in the Church" <sup>(3)</sup>.

f) *Ex. 30, 9 b*

The forbidden oblations represent the prescriptions of the law which Christ annulled <sup>(4)</sup>.

g) *Ex. 30, 9 a*

Christians should recognize nobody but Christ as their teacher and instructor <sup>(5)</sup>. The fragrance (τὸ εὐώδες), that is characteristic of Christ, is produced by the exercise of these functions. St. Cyril insinuates that it is found in the Church alone <sup>(6)</sup>.

h) *Ex. 30, 10*

The purifying of the horns depicts Christ as he besprinkles the Cross with his blood for the salvation and life of all <sup>(7)</sup>. Cyril

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, 621 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 621 D.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 624 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 624 A f.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 624 B.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 624 B f. At this juncture St. Cyril betrays his anti-Jewish bias.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 625 A.

notes that the whole of creation (including the angels) was sanctified "in the Holy Spirit" through the instrumentality of Christ's death <sup>(1)</sup>.

### 9. *Ex.* 30, 18-21

#### a) *The bronze laver*

This signifies the grace of Baptism which washes us from the stains of sins <sup>(2)</sup>.

Philo says that the bronze laver symbolizes a stainless life <sup>(3)</sup>.

#### b) *The circumstance that Aaron and his sons washed themselves before performing their ministrations*

This shows that the rites of the old law were unable to effect purity <sup>(4)</sup>.

We are warned by this admonition not to perform sacred duties (especially not to participate in the mystical εὐλογία) <sup>(4)</sup>, if we are not free from sin <sup>(5)</sup>.

#### c) *Ex.* 38, 28

##### 1. *The mirrors offered by the Israelite women*

This incident signifies that, after the founding of the Church, souls, who had been previously devotees of the demons, were

The fact that the bronze laver was made from mirrors constitutes a reminder that man should regard his own spirit as

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 625 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 628 B.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 628 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> The text that Cyril quotes here (1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 11, 30 f) shows that the εὐλογία envisaged here by him is the Eucharist.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 68, 629 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> *De vita Mosis*, lib. 2, (COHN'S *editio maior*, vol. 4, 232, 14 ff.).

destined to be changed into vessels suitable to receive Baptism <sup>(1)</sup>.

2. *The circumstance that the women fasted at the door of the tent*

This signifies that one enters the Church, not by offering bloody sacrifices, but rather the spiritual sacrifices that the gospel way of life and mortification of the flesh imply <sup>(2)</sup>.

a kind of mirror from which every stain, no matter what its origin is, should be removed <sup>(4)</sup>.

The circumstance, that the women offered their mirrors spontaneously, indicates the offering of their moral uprightness, their conjugal chastity, and, above all, their beauty of soul <sup>(5)</sup>.

According to St. Gregory of Nyssa, the washing utensils typify the ministers of Baptism <sup>(6)</sup>.

10. *Ex. 26, 1-3*

a) *The ten curtains*

These signify the πλήρωμα of all the churches, which are closely associated with each other "in the union that is in Christ through faith" <sup>(3)</sup>.

b) *Each curtain was four cubits in width and twenty eight cubits in length*

This circumstance signifies that the παιδευσις of the law, even when it is received in the churches, is most narrow, chiefly on account of the obscurity of "the

Here Philo underlines the symbolism of the numbers: "He makes ten (of what the Scripture styles) αὐλαίαι out of the materials just mentioned, each of which is twenty-eight cubits long and four cubits wide, in order that they include the number ten (which is the the number of highest perfection), the number four (which is the essence of ten as far as the sum of the numbers is concerned) <sup>(7)</sup>, the perfect number twenty-eight

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 632 A f.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 632 B f.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 633 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> *De vita Mosis*, lib. 2 (COHN'S *editio maior*, vol. 4).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 232, 1 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 44, 385 C.

<sup>(7)</sup> = 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10

letter". However, "as time advances in length", the mystery of Christ will reach its end, namely, the ὀγδόη, *i. e.*, the resurrection (which took place on the eighth day), because Christ is the end of the law and of the prophets <sup>(1)</sup>.

(which is like the sum of its fraction) <sup>(2)</sup>, and the number forty (which is ζωογονικωτάτη = creative of life, in which, as it is said, man is formed in the workshop of nature) <sup>(3)</sup>.

According to Origen, the curtains denote the "Reliqua credentium plebs quae haeret et pendet in funibus fidei". The cords used for hanging the curtain is faith in the Trinity on which the whole Church is sustained. The number twenty-eight signifies the law, inasmuch as it is inserted in the gospels. Origen plays with the symbolical meanings of four, seven, and ten <sup>(4)</sup>.

For St. Gregory of Nyssa, these details denote the peace and concord of believers amongst themselves <sup>(5)</sup>.

St. Augustine devises a moralizing explanation: the ten curtains denote the decalogue; their width denotes the fact that charity renders the observance of the precepts easy; the mystic numbers bring home the fact that the grace of the Spirit is required in order to fulfil the law <sup>(6)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 633 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> 1 = 1/28; 2 = 1/14; 4 = 1/7; 7 = 1/4; 14 = 1/2.

<sup>(3)</sup> *De vita Moysis*, lib. 2, 84, (COHN'S *editio maior*, vol. 4, p. 220, 1 ff.). See relevant notes in BADT'S translation of *De vita Moysis* in *Schriften der judisch-hellenistischen Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung, Die Werke Philos von Alexandria, Erster Teil*, p. 317, notes 2 and 3.

<sup>(4)</sup> *In Exod.*, hom. 9. (GCS, 29, 239, 19 ff.).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 44, 385 C.

<sup>(6)</sup> PL 34, 634 towards the middle.

c) *The materials of which the curtain was made*

These represent Christ as the author of the Church's ornamentation and beauty.

(1) *The woven linen*

This typifies the God-Logos, inasmuch as he is "interwoven" with human flesh <sup>(1)</sup>.

(2) *The violet colour*

This indicates that Christ does not belong to this earth, but to heaven <sup>(2)</sup>.

(3) *The purple colour*

Christ is like purple because he is not a slave (as is a γενητός), but the King and Lord of all <sup>(3)</sup>.

(4) *The scarlet colour*

Scarlet is the sign of blood. Accordingly, it intimates that the Logos gave his own blood for our sakes <sup>(4)</sup>.

(5) *The cherubim*

The description given of them signifies that the Church on earth is united with the spirits in heaven <sup>(5)</sup>.

In Philo's opinion, the materials chosen represent the four elements of which the universe is formed: earth, water, air and fire. Linen is derived from the earth, purple from water; the violet cloth is like air, for the latter is naturally dark; the scarlet cloth is like fire, since both are red. It was natural that, in a sanctuary erected by man in honour of the Father and ruler of all, one should employ the selfsame substances with which he made the universe <sup>(6)</sup>.

Clement <sup>(7)</sup>, Origen <sup>(8)</sup>, and Theodoretus repeat the explanation given by Philo <sup>(9)</sup>; Josephus differs from these in certain details <sup>(10)</sup>.

In his ninth homily on the book of *Exodus*, Origen gives a moralizing explanation of the colours. They represent the virtues which actually adorn the Church: "Fides eius auro conferri potest... lignis imputribilibus scientia, quae per lignum venit, aut incorruptio castita-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, 636 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 636 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 636 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 636 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 636 B.

<sup>(6)</sup> *De vita Mosis*, lib. 2, 88 (COHN'S *editio maior*, vol. 4, 220, 22 ff.).

<sup>(7)</sup> GCS 15, 347, 7 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *In Exod. hom.* 13, 3. (GCS, 29, 274, 20 ff.).

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 80, 284 CD.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Antiq. Iud.*, 3, 183 (NIESE'S edition, vol. 1, p. 146, 21 ff.).

tis, quae nunquam veterascit; bysso virginitas; cocco confessionis gloria; purpurae charitatis fulgor; hyacintho spes regni coelorum " (1).

11. *Ex. 26, 14 - The external coverings of blue and the sheepskins dyed red*

These signify Christ, inasmuch as he is protector of the Church. The colour violet alludes to his heavenly origins, while red (the colour of flesh) refers to his human nature (2).

We have already noted that St. Gregory of Nyssa proposes two explanations of the tent: it typifies Christ and the Church. If the tent is regarded as a type of Christ, God and man, the external coverings represent his saving passion, which had been decreed in advance. The colour red denotes blood and the hair is the symbol of death (3).

If the tent is taken as the symbol of ἡ κάτω σκηνή, namely, the Church, the purple skins denote mortification of sinful human flesh, and the hairskins signify the virtue of continence, which is one of the Church's ornaments. In this instance, the colour red denotes either the grace of the Holy Ghost (who dwells only in a mortified man), or the modesty that characterizes the wise (4).

(1) *In Exod. hom.* 9. (GCS, 29, 240, 3 ff.).

(2) PG 68, 636 B f.

(3) *Ibid.*, 636 C.

(4) *Ibid.*, 636 D.

St. Augustine devotes a few lines to the spiritual signification of the outer coverings: sin is signified by the number eleven, whereas the number seventy-seven signifies the remission of sins. "Deinde iubet ea vela cooperiri pellibus arietinis rubricatis. Aries autem rubricatus, cui non occurrat Christus passione, cruentatus? Significatur his etiam martyres sancti, quorum orationibus propitiatur Deus peccatis populi sui. *Ipsis* denique superiaciuntur *pelles hyacinthinae*, ut significetur vita aeterna viriditate tamquam vigore perpetuo" <sup>(1)</sup>.

## 12. *Ex. 26, 15-20*

### a) *The columns*

Each column represents Christ who is the fixed foundation of the Church (1 *Tim.* 3, 15). It is he who holds fast and contains all things <sup>(2)</sup>.

According to Origen, the columns signify the apostles <sup>(3)</sup>.

In the opinion of St. Gregory of Nyssa, the *στυλοι* are all the ministers of the mystery, who collaborated in the founding of the Church <sup>(4)</sup>.

### b) *Each column was one and a half cubits wide*

This circumstance signifies that Christ was perfect by reason of his divinity, but imperfect by reason of his human nature. Christ could not make his human nature equal to the splendours of his divinity <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PL 34, 635 towards the beginning.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 636 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> In *Exod. hom.* 9, (GCS, 29, 239, 4 ff.) 97 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 44, 385 AB.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 68, 636 D.



c) *Each column was ten cubits in height*

Allusion is made once again to the perfection that was Christ's in virtue of his divinity <sup>(1)</sup>.

d) *The gold ornamentation*

This symbolizes the fact that Christ's body (the temple which he borrowed from the Virgin) was enriched by the indwelling of the Logos <sup>(2)</sup>.

e) *The silver pedestals, two of which were assigned to each column*

These intimate that Christ will be acknowledged as illustrious in a twofold manner, namely, as God and as man <sup>(3)</sup>.

13. *Ex. 26, 7-10*

St. Cyril only explains the spiritual signification of the number eleven: it signifies that Christ and his Church appeared in the last part of this age, at the eleventh hour, as it were <sup>(4)</sup>.

14. *Ex. 26, 31-37*a) *The fact that the ark was hidden by the veil*

This signifies that the Logos remained hidden on purpose and deferred manifesting himself to all until his resurrection <sup>(5)</sup>.

St. Paul likens the veil covering the entrance to the holy of holies to Christ's flesh.

St. Gregory of Nyssa suggests the reason underlying this symbolism: Christ's body, like the veil, was comprised of the four elements <sup>(6)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 637 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 637 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 637 A.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 640 A.

<sup>(5)</sup> St. Cyril explains this text in book 10.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 44, 381 D.

b) *The circumstance that the veil was hung on four pillars*

This alludes to the fact that Christ was raised aloft by the preaching of the apostles <sup>(1)</sup>. The number four refers to the four evangelists <sup>(2)</sup>.

c) *The veil covering the entrance to the outer tent*

This impeded the altar of bronze from being seen by those outside the tent. The circumstance alludes to the fact that the meaning of the law is not clear even to those who observe it; "the letter" acts as a veil and thus makes the meaning obscure <sup>(3)</sup>.

According to Clement of Alexandria, the four columns on which the veil is suspended signify the four covenants of the Old Testament <sup>(4)</sup>.

Generally speaking, the exegetes of Antiquity paid more attention to the signification of the parts of the tent marked off by the veil, than to the meaning of the veil itself. Thus, for St. Gregory of Nyssa, the holy of holies signifies that the Christian mystery is not accessible to all; it should be believed just as it is expounded by the Church, without curious prying; it cannot be seen by the eyes of all, but remains ἀπόρρητον in the inaccessible regions of the mind <sup>(5)</sup>.

St. Augustine suggests that the holy place represents the Old Testament and that the holy of holies signifies the New Testament <sup>(6)</sup>.

In the opinion of Theodoretus, the veil represents the firmament; the holy place denotes τὰ ἐπίγεια and the holy of holies represents τὰ ἐπουράνια <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 661 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 661 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 661 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> GCS, 15, 348, 14 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 44, 388 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> PL 34, 635.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 80, 281 CD.

In determining the symbolism of the parts of the tent both Philo and Josephus include the atrium as well. According to the former, the tent itself represented τὰ νοητά; the atrium signified τὰ αἰσθητά<sup>(1)</sup>. Josephus holds that the accessible parts of the tent denote the land and sea, "which are accessible to all"; the remaining part is reserved to God and represents heaven<sup>(2)</sup>.

15. *Ex.* 27, 9-12, 17-19

- a) *The circumstance that the area described in Ex. 27, 9-12 is larger than that described in Ex. 26, 7-10*

This signifies that in the beginning Christ's church was narrow, but became extended to the east, west, north and south in the course of time<sup>(3)</sup>.

Origen gives the following moralizing interpretation apropos of the atrium: "Potest in se et atria distendere cum dilataverit cor suum secundum Apostoli dicentis ad Corinthios: Dilatamini et vos... Decem vero atria potest in semetipso distendere, cum non in uno tantum verbo legis dilatatur, neque duobus aut tribus, sed in toto decalogo legis spiritalis intelligentiae dilatare amplitudinem potest, aut cum fructum spiritus gaudium, pacem, patientiam, benignitatem, modestiam, fidem, continentiam, adiecta quae est mater omnium, charitate, protulerit"<sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *De vita Mosis*, lib. 2, 81 (COHN'S *editio maior*, vol. 4, p. 219, 9 ff.).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Antiq. Iud.*, 3, 180 ff. (NIESE'S edition vol. 1, p. 146, 8 ff.).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 640 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *In Exod. hom.* 9. (GCS 29, 241, 4 ff.).

- b) *The columns of the larger court were made of silver and had brass pedestals*

Cyril offers two explanations: 1. The silver signifies the illumination that Christ, as God, confers. On last analysis this illumination is the evangelical κήρυγμα <sup>(1)</sup>.

Now brass is resonant. Accordingly the brass pedestal reminds us of the fact that the κήρυγμα resounded throughout the whole world <sup>(2)</sup>.

2. The columns may be regarded as types of the apostles and evangelists. The silver plating signifies that "they were participants in Christ the illuminator". The foundation on which they rested was the resonant word that they preached <sup>(3)</sup>.

#### 16. *Ex.* 27, 20-21

- a) *The circumstance that the oil is pure and extracted from olives*

The seven lamps, that burned continually in the tent, symbolize the illumination which Christ imparts <sup>(4)</sup>.

The qualities of the oil remind us that Christ's doctrine is undiluted heavenly wisdom, being completely free from the dregs of error <sup>(5)</sup>.

- b) *The circumstance that only Aaron and his sons are permitted to light the lamps*

This signifies that Christ's illumination is unquenchable. It is continued by the members of the priesthood, who enlighten the minds of the faithful by preaching to them right doctrine <sup>(6)</sup>.

#### 17. *Ex.* 30, 23-34

- a) *Ex.* 30, 23

The oil mixed with myrrh indicates the sanctification that the Spirit administers "in Christ" to those who have obtained mercy <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 641 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 641 A.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 641 A f.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 641 C.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 644 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 641 D.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 645 B.

h) *Ex.* 30, 26

The anointing of the tent and of its furnishings shows that the place itself participates in the sanctity of the one who dwells within it <sup>(1)</sup>.

The vessels are sanctified so as to become suitable for use in public worship <sup>(2)</sup>.

c) *Ex.* 30, 32

The prohibition to make similar oil for themselves indicates that the act of sanctifying belongs to God alone. Creatures become holy, because they are permitted to participate in God's sanctity <sup>(3)</sup>. However, it is Christ who is the fount of sanctity; he sanctifies those, who are worthy, by distributing the Spirit to them <sup>(4)</sup>.

d) *Ex.* 30, 30

The anointing of Aaron and of his sons signifies the eminent dignity of priests, who are raised to a dignity which transcends human nature; they are cut off from earthly things and are consecrated to what is heavenly <sup>(5)</sup>.

e) *Ex.* 30, 33

This prescription warns Christians not to give "hidden things" to unbelievers. There is danger of profanation, because unbelievers are impure since they have not received Baptism <sup>(6)</sup>.

18. *Ex.* 30, 34-38a) *The circumstance that the tent and its furnishings were made by Beseleel of the tribe of Judah and by Eliab of the tribe of Dan*

Judah and Dan were both descended from Jacob; the former was born of Lea, the freewoman, the latter of Bala, the slave.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 645 C.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 645 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 645 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 645 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 645 D.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 648 A.

Beseleel typifies Christ, who was descended from the tribe of Judah, and was from a truly free nature, namely, the divine <sup>(1)</sup>.

Eliab signifies those who were descended from Jerusalem, the slave. These were the apostles and evangelists who cooperated with Christ, by founding the churches <sup>(2)</sup>.

b) *The others who contributed to making of the tent*

These represent the διδάσκαλοι, who were destined in due time to do God's work, by performing whatever conduces to the utility of Christ's churches <sup>(3)</sup>.

*Concluding Remarks*

The preceding analysis permits us to formulate the following conclusions:

1° The exclusively Christian flavour of St. Cyril's explanations of the tent and of its appurtenances clearly differentiates them from those of Philo, Josephus and writers dependent on them.

2° Between the Patriarch of Alexandria and other exponents of Christian exegesis there are incidental *rapprochements* and points of contact, which, in the present instance, do not, however, furnish proof of his dependence on them.

3° It is undeniable that the ecclesiastical writers, whose opinions we have reviewed, obey the same inspiration and follow, broadly speaking, the same method. Considered from this point of view, the explanations advanced by St. Cyril are the conclusions (logical in their way) of an exegesis initiated by St. Paul, and, to mention only one outstanding exponent, continued by St. Gregory of Nyssa.

4° The originality of St. Cyril resides principally in the dexterity with which he reads theological significations into the correspondences seized by him <sup>(4)</sup>. From the remarks that he makes in the course of the ninth book of *De adoratione in spiritu et veri-*

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 649 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 649 B.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 649 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> St. Cyril seems to point to *Heb.*, 8, 2 as the source of this symbolism (PG 68, 589 C).

*tate*, one can construct an outline of his doctrine concerning the Church of which the salient points seem to be:

a) The Church exclusively assures the continuation of Christ's activities as priest, victim and illuminator <sup>(1)</sup>.

b) In the discharge of these functions the priesthood plays a primordial role <sup>(2)</sup>.

c) The sanctity possessed by both priests and laity is a participation in Christ's sanctity <sup>(3)</sup>.

d) Christ himself confers sanctity on his followers by distributing his Spirit to them <sup>(4)</sup>. This sanctification takes place during the performance of certain rites, three of which, at least, are mentioned by St. Cyril, namely, Baptism <sup>(5)</sup>, Eucharist <sup>(6)</sup> and Orders <sup>(7)</sup>.

e) Moral and ascetical efforts are exacted of members of the Church <sup>(8)</sup>. These endeavours participate in the dignity of sacrificial worship <sup>(9)</sup>.

f) Intimate relations exist between the Church and the heavenly spirits <sup>(10)</sup>.

g) Faith is the chief bond that unites the local churches with each other <sup>(11)</sup>.

h) From the prominence that St. Cyril gives to the soteriological functions devolving on Christ (in virtue of the union of his human nature with the divine), it is evident that he regards

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 589 B; 596 B; 621 A; 624 B f.; 641 A.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 68, 641 D. St. Cyril frequently refers to the historical contribution made by the apostles and their successors to the founding and the propagating of the Church (See PG 68, 600 A; 617 D; 661 B; 641 A; 649 B).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 68, 645 D.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 68, 645 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 68, 628 B.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 68, 604 C; 629 A.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 68, 645 D. Perhaps St. Cyril alludes to Confirmation in 68, 641 D.

<sup>(8)</sup> See PG 68, 632 B f.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 68, 589 C and 593 A.

<sup>(10)</sup> PG 68, 636 B.

<sup>(11)</sup> PG 68, 633 D.

correct doctrine on these points as of fundamental importance in ecclesiology <sup>(1)</sup>.

From the theological point of view, St. Cyril's remarks are excellent and presage the high quality of the speculations found in his later writings <sup>(2)</sup>. Obeying in this respect a tendency encountered in the exegetical works of many of the Fathers, our author interprets the passages of Scripture, which interest him, not only in the light of the Bible, taken as a whole, but also in the light of data derived from Tradition. Frequently the views expressed by him are but distantly connected with the texts themselves. Cyril's opinions are based on revelation as he knew it, that is to say, in its last stages. His eyes were fixed on God in whom the truth is whole and is not divided into morsels. Accustoming himself to read the Bible from God's point of view, our author becomes so fixed in God that, like the Bible and with it, he speaks the things of God <sup>(3)</sup>.

#### Art. 9. — THE RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN ORIGEN'S HOMILIES AND THE SPIRITUAL EXPLANATIONS OF GLAPHYRA

In the present article we shall compare some of St. Cyril's spiritual explanations which are contained in *Glaphyra* with relevant passages of Origen's homilies. In what follows the left hand column contains the elements that are common to both writers; the differences existing between them are noted in the right hand column:

##### 1. Origen's second homily on *Genesis* compared with Περὶ τοῦ Νῶε καὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ <sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 68, 593 D; 597 C f.; 600 D; 605 D; 608 A; 617 B; 621 A; 636 A; 636 B f. etc.

<sup>(2)</sup> Compare *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, lib. 9 with the synthesis of St. Cyril's ecclesiology given by H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, in *Dogme et spiritualité chez saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1944, pp. 289-306.

<sup>(3)</sup> G. JOUASSARD, *Les Pères devant la Bible. Leurs perspectives particulières (Études de critique et d'histoire religieuses, II, Lyon, 1948)* p. 33.

<sup>(4)</sup> *In Gen. hom.* 2; (GCS, 29, 22-39; PG 69), 49 C-73 B.).



a) Noe represents Christ and the ark signifies the Church.

b) The etymology of Noe = "rest" or "just".

c) The texts *Gen.* 5, 29, *Gal.* 3, 13, *Mt.* 11, 28 f<sup>(1)</sup>.

a) Cyril develops the etymology Noe = δικαιοσύνη<sup>(2)</sup>. His speculations are more theological than those of Origen.

b) Cyril applies the measurements of the ark to the Trinity<sup>(3)</sup>, whereas Origen regards them as indicative of the stages, which mark the soul's return to God<sup>(4)</sup>.

c) Origen has some moralizing explanations, which Cyril altogether avoids<sup>(5)</sup>.

2. Origen's seventh homily on *Exodus* compared with Περὶ Μερόα, καὶ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδειχθέντος τῷ μακροίῳ Μωσῇ<sup>(6)</sup> and Περὶ τοῦ μάννα, καὶ τῆς δρυνομήτρως<sup>(7)</sup>

a) The removal of the bitterness of the waters by contact with the wood signifies the removal of the bitterness, attached to "the letter of the law", by the mystery of the Cross.

b) The twelve fountains represent the twelve apostles and the seventy date-palms signify the seventy disciples.

a) For Origen, the bitterness of the law seems to consist in the discomfort (physical and moral) that its observance entailed<sup>(8)</sup>, or in the temporal punishments inflicted on its transgressors.

b) Cyril's speculations are framed in terms of the theology of St. Paul and St. John<sup>(9)</sup>: the law when interpreted spiritually

(1) Compare GCS, 29, 31, 14-32, 7 with PG 69, 61 A-C.

(2) PG 69, 60 A f. (see p. 376).

(3) PG 69, 65 D ff. (see p. 383).

(4) GCS, 29, 34, 11 ff.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 36 f.

(6) *In Exod.*, hom. 7, 1-3 (GCS, 29, 204-208); PG 69, 441 D-449 A.

(7) *In Exod.*, hom. 7, 4 ff. (GCS, 29, 208-217); PG 69, 449 A-465 C.

(8) GCS, 29, 205, 7 ff.

(9) PG 69, 445 C ff.

frees Christians from the fear of judgement and punishment (presumably, eschatological punishment). To this negative aspect of the spiritual sense of the Old Testament Cyril joins a positive one: the law, understood in the light of Christ's mystery, becomes "vivifying" <sup>(1)</sup>.

c) The law is inferior to the gospel.

The manna represents Christ's grace and teaching.

c) Our author speculates on the etymology of Ἐλεῖν (= ἀνδραβασίς), and attempts to justify by scriptural proofs why the apostles are styled fountains and the disciples date-palms <sup>(2)</sup>.

Origen attaches this theme to *Ex.* 16, 4-5: God prefers the Christian sabbath to the Jewish sabbath. He treats this theme rather summarily in one paragraph <sup>(3)</sup>. In the remaining paragraphs he touches on other moral and doctrinal topics.

Throughout the section Cyril pursues but one thesis <sup>(4)</sup>. He develops his ideas in organic fashion and illustrates them

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 445 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 448 C ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> No. 5. (GCS, 29, 211).

<sup>(4)</sup> "So far we have treated only of τὰ αἰσθητά. Those who are intent on attaining to the truth must necessarily investigate what is the meaning of the spiritual θεωρίαι. We shall see that without doubt the legal πολιτεία is inferior to the evangelical one, and it is not free from accusations of φιλοσαργία nor removed from earthly desires, but that the divine evangelical one is spiritual and blameless and possesses incomparable beauty. We shall consider the proof of each of these statements..." (PG 69, 452 D).

with copious citations from the New Testament <sup>(2)</sup>.

An example will show how Cyril's leanings differ from those of Origen in the treatment of the present subject: Origen interprets the circumstance that worms consumed the manna, which the Israelites hoarded up (in contravention of God's command), as a warning not to gather for the present life or for love of this world <sup>(3)</sup>. Cyril, on the other hand, seizes on this circumstance with a view to pursuing his thesis to its logical conclusion: the incident shows that punishment awaits those, who persist in clinging to the types of the law after the period of their utility has altogether lapsed <sup>(4)</sup>.

d) The fact that Moses's spirit was conferred on the seventy elders is a symbol of the sanctification which is accomplished by the Holy Ghost.

Both exegetes warn us not to contemplate a material division of the Spirit <sup>(1)</sup>.

a) Origen prefers to treat of the moral qualities that are presupposed before the Spirit takes up his abode in the soul <sup>(5)</sup>.

b) Cyril interprets the incident as a type of the call of the Gentiles to the truth <sup>(6)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Compare in *Num. hom.* 6, 2 (PG 12, 608 A) with PG 69, 464 D.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 456 A-465 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> No. 6, GCS, 29, 213.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 460 A.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 12, 608 B ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 464 C f.

3. Origen's eighth homily on *Leviticus* compared with Περί τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ τῆς λέπρας <sup>(1)</sup>.

a) Leprosy represents sinful man.

b) The rites of purification signify the process of remission of sin.

c) The scarlet string represents Christ's blood.

a) Origen extends the symbolism of the Old Testament rites to penitential exercises as well as to Baptism <sup>(2)</sup>. Cyril seems to envisage Baptism exclusively <sup>(3)</sup>.

b) Origen draws attention to the six species of leprosy: they represent different kinds of sin <sup>(4)</sup>. He scrutinizes details of the rite of purification from which Cyril prescind. They represent different stages of progress <sup>(5)</sup>.

On the other hand, Cyril draws attention to the circumstance that, on the completion of the sacrifice, the leper did not enter his own house immediately, — a detail neglected by Origen <sup>(6)</sup>.

c) Origen and Cyril do not agree concerning the symbolism of the objects introduced.

<sup>(1)</sup> Compare GCS, 29, 400-417 with PG 69, 553 B-561 D.

<sup>(2)</sup> Unde et hic video omnia ista compleri. [Spiritus enim est gallina istius quae occiditur, et aqua viva quae in vase est, et sanguis qui super eam diffusus est, non quod per haec iterandum baptismi gratiam sentiamus, sed quod omnis purificatio peccatorum, etiam haec quae per poenitentiam quaeritur, illius ope indiget, de cuius latere aqua processit et sanguis (PG 12, 504 AB).

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 69, 560 B and 561 B.

<sup>(4)</sup> Nos. 5-10 (GCS, 29, 400, 17 ff.).

<sup>(5)</sup> GCS, 29, 410, 16 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 561 C.

1. For Origen, the wood represents the Cross <sup>(1)</sup>; Cyril claims that it represents Christ's incorruptible flesh <sup>(2)</sup>.

2) Origen holds that the hyssop is included among the materials employed in the rite of purification, because of its purgative quality <sup>(3)</sup>. Cyril regards it as a type of the energy of the Holy Spirit, which causes sin to melt within us <sup>(4)</sup>.

3. In Origen's opinion, the bird that is killed represents the Spirit <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril claims that both birds symbolise Christ's mystery: the living bird indicates that his divinity cannot be vanquished by death; the dead bird shows that the Logos experienced death in his own flesh <sup>(6)</sup>.

d) The hyssop is an herb that purges.

Cyril leaves us under the impression that he wishes to show theologically why Baptism has the efficacy of remitting sins. He draws attention to the fact that Christ is one, though he has two natures <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> GCS, 29, 410, 1 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PG 69, 560 C.

<sup>(3)</sup> GCS, 29, 410.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 560 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> No. 10 (PG 12, 504 A).

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 69, 560 Bf.; 561 Aff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 560 BC.

4. Origen's eighth homily on *Numbers* compared with Περί τῶν κατασχεψαμένων τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας <sup>(1)</sup>

The generation, destined to replace the one rejected by God, represents the new people that Christ will create.

a) Cyril pays no attention to a point that Origen stresses in this homily: God's anger can be mollified by the prayers of men <sup>(2)</sup>.

b) Origen merely enunciates the doctrine concerning the new people <sup>(3)</sup>.

Cyril elaborates three features of the episode, which illustrate the three successive parts of his thesis:

1) The Jewish masses perished, because they allowed themselves to be influenced by the opinions of their leaders <sup>(4)</sup>.

2) The attitude of Caleb and Josue intimates that a remnant of the Jewish people will be saved <sup>(5)</sup>.

3) The "other generation" represents the Gentiles, who, together with the Jewish remnant, are destined to become heirs <sup>(6)</sup>.

Cyril's interpretation incorporates theological arguments based on citations from the *Epistle to the Hebrews* <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> GCS, 30, 49-53; PG 69, 605 A-616 D.

<sup>(2)</sup> GCS, 30, 49, 15 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, 49, 23 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 69, 612 D.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 613 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 613 D ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Heb.*, 3, 7-9, 12-19: 4, 1-3 (PG 69, 616 A-C).

5. Origen's ninth homily on *Josue* compared with Περὶ τῶν λίθων κεκοιναμένων<sup>(1)</sup>.

The altar made of stones represents the spiritual temple consisting of living stones; of this edifice Christ is the cornerstone.

a) Origen attaches his considerations to the narrative contained in *Jos.* 8, 30 ff., whereas Cyril bases his views on the injunctions issued by Moses to *Josue*, before the conquest properly speaking was undertaken.

b) Both writers differ in regard to details of the symbolism.

1) Origen stresses the moral dispositions that characterize the "living stones". He suggests that the unanimity and concord, which reigned among the apostles, entitle them to be considered as "integral" stones<sup>(2)</sup>. The laws of *Deuteronomy*, written on the stones, represent the law, that Jesus writes on the hearts of the faithful by means of the Holy Spirit<sup>(3)</sup>.

2) In St. Cyril's opinion:

a) The large stones represent the apostles and disciples.

b) The fact that they were whitewashed denotes that the explanations of the Mosaic law,

<sup>(1)</sup> *In librum Jesu Nave hom.* 9 (PG 12, 870 D-879 B); PG 69, 664 D-669 B.

<sup>(2)</sup> No. 2 (PG 12, 872 A).

<sup>(3)</sup> No. 3 (PG 12, 873 A).

given by them, were clear "and free from the shadow of the letter".

c) The spiritual temple, which is Christ, as well as the living stones, constitute an altar, "because we have been gathered into a spiritual unity; we exhale faith in Christ as a pleasant odour; we offer the glories of virtue as fragrant oblations of incense to God the Father through Christ" <sup>(1)</sup>.

In the sequel Cyril shows why Christians deserve to be regarded as "undressed" stones <sup>(2)</sup>.

These investigations, based on passages of Scripture representative of the whole of the *Pentateuch*, show that many of Origen's exegetical opinions were still held in honour at Alexandria in St. Cyril's time. Though dependent on the older exegete, Cyril does not copy him in slavish fashion. He frequently changes details of symbolic signification and, more consistently than Origen, tries to make the spiritual meaning of a passage directly subserve the theme which he is elucidating. The chief difference between them resides in their leanings; Origen prefers moralizing explanations, whereas Cyril revels in theological speculations.

#### Art. 10. — ALTERNATIVE SPIRITUAL EXPLANATIONS

Occasionally St. Cyril provides alternative spiritual explanations, copying in the domain of spiritual exegesis a trait that is characteristic of his method of literal exegesis. As in the instance of his literal interpretations, the introductory formulae used by him sometimes mention expressly the twofold signification: *Λιχὴ νοήσεις τὸ εἰρημένον* <sup>(3)</sup>; *Διττὴν ἔχει θεωρίαν τῶν προκειμένων ὁ νοῦς* <sup>(4)</sup>;

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 69, 668 D.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 668 D f.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 328 AB; 824 AB; 1180 BC; 1249 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 126, 15 f.



Καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ὁρίστων ἐκλήψη καὶ ταῦτα <sup>(1)</sup>. At other times, the formulae used politely remind the reader of his freedom to accept or reject a given interpretation: "Ἡ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον εἰ βούλει, τρόπον ἐκδέξῃ τὸ εἰρημένον <sup>(2)</sup>". In this paragraph we present some examples of St. Cyril's alternative spiritual explanations; they are studied chiefly in the light of the problem of his dependence on other exegetes.

1. *Is.* 11, 10. — Our author thinks that the expression ἀνάπαυσις admits of two explanations:

a) It denotes Christ's death in the flesh, which was not so much death as a permission to rest which he accorded to his flesh. This rest brought Christ honour, since he was glorified precisely as a reward for having endured death for the sake of mankind.

b) Or the expression refers to Christ's abiding with the Gentiles (destined to be a source of honour and glory for them) on rising from the dead and subjecting them to his rule <sup>(3)</sup>.

We have encountered neither of these opinions in the works of other commentators consulted by us. St. Jerome says something that distantly resembles the first opinion <sup>(4)</sup>; Eusebius may have suggested the outline of the second interpretation <sup>(5)</sup>.

2. *Is.* 19, 1. — Of the three opinions enumerated by our author, the first is known to Eusebius, and the first and second are known to St. Jerome <sup>(6)</sup>. The third opinion discovers in the text of *Isaias* a reference to Baptism. It has Cyril's preference <sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 1428 AB.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 74, 28. See also *ibid.*, 43, 1 ff.; *Comment. on Habacuc*, PUSEY II, 137, 1 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> PG 70, 328 AB.

<sup>(4)</sup> Et est sensus: erit mors eius gloriosa, ut impleatur illud quod Salvator in Evangelio deprecatur: "Pater, glorifica me gloria, quam habui prius quam mundus esset apud te" (*Ioan.* 17, 5). Dictum est de nativitate eius, dictum est de caeteris in medio sacramentis; venit ad mortem, quae non consueto mortalium nomine sed quia in Christo erat vita perpetua, requies appellatur. Nos vero, ut manifestum legenti sensum faceremus, pro *dormitione* et *requie*, altero verbo sed eodem sensu, sepulcrum vertimus (PL 24, 149 AB).

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 24, 173 D f. THEODORETUS somewhat repeats EUSEBIUS (PG 81, 317 BC).

<sup>(6)</sup> Compare PG 24, 220 B with PL 24, 250 C.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 70, 452 C ff.

3. *Is.* 40, 29 ff. — Cyril proposes two explanations of the clause *Kaì τοῖς μὴ ὀδυνομένοις λύπην*, which we have not discovered in the writings of other commentators:

a) The first claims that, as regards those, who sinned in ignorance and were involved unwittingly in calamities, God will cause them sorrow with a view to helping them to attain salvation;

b) the second regards the clause as a prediction dealing with the fate of those who crucified Christ and rejoiced in their crime: God will cause them sorrow by ensuring that they will be involved in calamities and war <sup>(1)</sup>.

4. *Is.* 53, 7 f. — Of the two spiritual explanations expounded here by St. Cyril, Eusebius prefers the first <sup>(2)</sup>; St. Jerome alludes to both <sup>(3)</sup>.

5. *Is.* 56, 9-12. — According to our author, the expression *θηρία* refers

a) either to the nations, inasmuch as they have been educated under the supervision of the devil and live more like beasts than human beings;

b) or to those who devastated and devoured Israel in punishment of the crimes committed against Christ <sup>(4)</sup>.

There are no traces of these opinions in either Eusebius or St. Jerome; Theodoretus somewhat rejoins Cyril's second explanation <sup>(5)</sup>.

6. *Is.* 65, 25. — St. Cyril claims that the oracle alludes either to the union cemented by faith between the Jews and Gentiles, or to the harmonious relations existing between the Church and her former persecutors <sup>(6)</sup>. Eusebius approves of an opinion that resembles Cyril's second opinion <sup>(7)</sup>.

7. *Os.* 1, 11. — The expression "day" refers either to the day on which Christ will raise the whole human race from the dead, or to the time of his historical mission when he conceded the remission of sins to both Greeks and Jews <sup>(8)</sup>. We have found no trace of these interpretations in St. Jerome.

<sup>(1)</sup> PG 70, 824 AB.

<sup>(2)</sup> Compare PG 24, 460 A with PG 70, 1180 BC.

<sup>(3)</sup> Compare PL 24, 509 C ff. with PG 70, 1180 C.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 70, 1249 C.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 81, 452 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> PG 70, 1428 AB.

<sup>(7)</sup> PG 24, 516 BC.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 43, 1 ff.

8. *Os.* 2, 19. — Two interpretations of this verse are proposed by St. Cyril which we have not discovered in any other patristic commentary:

a) The pronoun *ἐμαυτῷ* stresses the fact that the espousals between Christ and the Church were concluded without the good offices of a third party, such as Moses or the angels. As the *Epistle to the Ephesians* says, the Logos from the Father, having become man, presented the Church to himself <sup>(1)</sup>.

b) Or it insinuates that the espousals which took place in Egypt were concluded with Moses, rather than with God himself. Cyril finds a proof of this in *Dt.* 9, 12. He infers that the people, which had been thus espoused to Moses, was unworthy of being on familiar terms with God. Neither Moses nor the law sufficed to attach them to God in a pure and entire manner. That function was reserved to Christ <sup>(2)</sup>.

9. *Hab.* 3, 2 a. St. Jerome enumerates five interpretations of the Septuagint rendering <sup>(3)</sup>. Of these, St. Cyril rejects the first <sup>(4)</sup>. The second is judged to be tenable and left to the reader's choice <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril passes over in silence the opinion which Jerome mentions in the third place: Christ between the two thieves. He shows his

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 74, 16 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, 74, 28 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> "*In medio duorum animalium cognosceris*". Quod multi putant de Filio intelligi, et Spiritu Sancto, eo quod Pater per Filium intelligatur et Spiritum. Quae quidem et duo seraphim in Isaia (cap. 6), et duo cherubim, scribi interpretantur in Exodo (cap. 25), quae contra se respiciunt, et in medio habent oraculum; et in Isaia (cap. 6) velantia caput et pedes Domini in praesenti tantum saeculum volent, et alter ad alterum mysterium inclamant Trinitatis; et mittatur unus de seraphim, quod interpretatur ardens, et veniat in terram et mundet prophetae labia, et dicat: "*Ignem veni mittere super terram, et quam volo ut ardeat*" (*Lc.* 12, 49). Hoc aestimant alii, et ad hanc interpretationem multis Scripturarum utuntur testimoniis. Porro simplex interpretatio, et opinio vulgi de Salvatore intelligit, quod inter duos latrones crucifixus agnitus sit (*Mc.* 15 et *Joan.* 19). Qui autem melius, hoc dicunt, quod in prima Ecclesia quae de circumcisione fuit et de praeputio congregata, duobus populis se hinc inde cingentibus, intellectus sit Salvator et creditus. Sunt qui duo animalia, duo intelligent Testamenta, novum et vetus quae vere animantia sint atque vitalia, quae spirent, et in quorum medio Dominus cognoscantur (PL 25, 1309 CD).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 120, 5 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, 121, 5 f.

preference for an interpretation, that is really an amalgamation of the interpretations which Jerome mentions in the fourth and fifth place <sup>(1)</sup>.

10. *Hab.* 3, 3 a. — Although in inverse order, the twofold interpretation proposed by St. Jerome <sup>(2)</sup> reappears in Cyril <sup>(3)</sup>. Theodoretus mentions Cyril's second opinion <sup>(4)</sup>.

11. *Hab.* 3, 6. — Cyril proposes two interpretations which are unknown to the Latin exegete:

a) The verb ἔσται is predicated of Christ; in other words, the text stresses the fact that all his actions have been fully completed and were contemplated by the inhabitants of this earth, who were much moved in consequence.

b) The earth is represented as being drunk and violently shaken by Christ and then being made firm and steady by him <sup>(5)</sup>.

12. *Hab.* 3, 11 a. — In the first interpretation given by him here, Cyril identifies the sun with the gospel and the moon with the law <sup>(6)</sup>; in the second, however, the sun represents Christ, whereas the moon denotes the Church <sup>(7)</sup>. Jerome has the opinion that Cyril mentions in the second place, but develops it differently <sup>(8)</sup>.

13. *Hab.* 3, 11 b. — The twofold interpretation of βολίδες (which signifies either the apostles or the armour described by St. Paul in *Eph.* 6, 16 f.) seems to be peculiar to Cyril <sup>(9)</sup>.

14. *Zach.* 2, 9. — Our author proposes a doctrinal <sup>(10)</sup> and mo-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 121, 6 ff. See F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique*..., p. 222.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Audivi ergo Hebraeum istum locum ita disserere: Quod Bethlehem sita sit ad austrum in qua natus est Dominus atque Salvator, et ipsum esse de quo nunc dicatur: Dominus ab austro veniet, hoc est nascetur in Bethlehem, et inde consurget. Et quia ipso qui natura est in Bethlehem, legem quondam dedit in monte Sinai, ipse est sanctus qui venit de monte Pharan: Pharan quippe vicinus est locus monti Sinai (PL 25, 1311 D).* See F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique*..., p. 114 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 126, 15-127, 16.

<sup>(4)</sup> PG 81, 1825 C.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 136, 6-137, 17.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Ibid.*, 150, 20 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Ibid.*, 151, 9 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> PL 25, 1323 C f.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Comment. on Hab.*, PUSEY II, 152-154.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 308, 14 ff.

ralizing <sup>(1)</sup> interpretation of this verse. The latter resembles the opinion, which St. Jerome here styles "iuxta tropologiam" <sup>(2)</sup>.

15. *Zach.* 2, 10. — Jerome enumerates three opinions in regard to this text: the first claims that the oracle refers to the Christian Church <sup>(3)</sup>; the second, advanced by some trends of Jewish interpretation, holds that it refers to events accomplished by Zorobabel, Josue and others <sup>(4)</sup>; the third thinks that the oracle alludes to events yet to come <sup>(5)</sup>. Cyril's twofold interpretation (*i. e.*, Jerusalem signifies either the heavenly or the earthly Jerusalem (the Church)) corresponds somewhat to the interpretations mentioned by Jerome in the third and first place respectively <sup>(6)</sup>.

16. *Zach.* 4, 7. — Cyril claims that the expression "mountain" denotes either Satan <sup>(7)</sup> or God the Father <sup>(8)</sup>. According to Jerome, it alludes either to Satan <sup>(9)</sup> or Christ himself <sup>(10)</sup>.

17. *Zach.* 10, 10. — Jerome offers no parallel to the opinions which Cyril mentions apropos of this verse <sup>(11)</sup>.

18. *Zach.* 11, 3. — Cyril mentions in the first place <sup>(12)</sup> the only opinion noted by Jerome <sup>(13)</sup>. Cyril's second interpretation is peculiar to himself <sup>(14)</sup>.

19. *Zach.* 14, 8. — In his first interpretation, Cyril claims that the text refers to the distribution of the Holy Spirit in the future age; the expression ἤμῶν stresses the fact that both Jews and Gentiles will be treated with perfect equality <sup>(15)</sup>. The alter-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, 309, 5 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> PL 25, 1433 D f.

<sup>(3)</sup> PL 25, 1434 BC.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1434 C.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.* It is not clear whether Jerome regards this view as sponsored by Jewish exegetes or not.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 309, 24 ff; 311, 15 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 334, 27 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 336, 4 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> PL 25, 1443 AB.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1443 C.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 442, 9 ff.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 448, 8 ff.

<sup>(13)</sup> PL 25, 1490 CD.

<sup>(14)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 449, 17 ff.

<sup>(15)</sup> *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 521, 20-524, 15.

native explanation proposed by him regards the oracle as a prediction that the whole earth (east, west, south, and north) will be filled with Christs's *χαρίσματα* <sup>(1)</sup>. Jerome thinks that the water refers to the Church's doctrine; he does not explain the expression "half"; he rejoins Cyril, inasmuch as he recognizes that expressions "*mare orientale*" and "*mare novissimum*" designate the Jews and Gentiles respectively <sup>(2)</sup>.

20. *Mal. 3, 1 b*. — Of the clause *Καὶ ἐξάλφνης ἦξει εἰς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ Κύριος ὃν ὑμεῖς ζητεῖτε*, Cyril allows us to choose between four meanings:

a) The Logos became man and dwelt in the holy body of the Virgin as in a temple.

b) The Logos, in accordance with a definite purpose, was immediately united to a perfect human nature consisting of body and soul.

c) The temple alluded to is the holy city of Jerusalem.

d) The temple alluded to is a type of the Church <sup>(3)</sup>.

St. Jerome notes succinctly: "*Templum autem vel Ecclesiam interpretatur vel unumquemque credentium*" <sup>(4)</sup>. In the opinion of Theodoretus the expression "*temple*" denotes the human nature assumed by the Logos <sup>(5)</sup>.

The examples just reviewed show that, even with regard to the spiritual sense, Cyril is not shy to include the opinions of other exegetes among his alternative explanations. Withal, he is not servile in his borrowings; not all the suggestions of his sources meet with his approval, as is proved by his rejection of Eusebius's exegesis of *Is. 49, 8 ff.* <sup>(6)</sup> and his defence of the interpretation which Jerome seems to reject apropos of *Zach. 14, 20* <sup>(7)</sup>. We are unable to test the originality of Cyril's opinions; it is not unlikely that

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, 524, 16-525, 9.

<sup>(2)</sup> PL 25, 1527 D ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Comment. on Mal.*, PUSEY II, 595, 20 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> PL 25, 1565 B.

<sup>(5)</sup> PG 81, 1977 A.

<sup>(6)</sup> Compare PG 70, 1056 Bff. with PG 24, 433 BC.

<sup>(7)</sup> Compare *Comment. on Zach.*, PUSEY II, 540, 11 ff. with PL 25, 540 A.

many of the opinions, to which we have discovered no parallels in the extant commentaries of Antiquity, belong to exegetical works now lost. Our investigations authorize us to formulate at least one conclusion: the commentaries of St. Jerome are not the only literary sources on which St. Cyril depends. That is proved by the opinions whose authorship he expressly ascribes to "others" and which are not quoted by St. Jerome (<sup>1</sup>).

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(<sup>1</sup>) *Is* 49, 8 ff. (Compare PG 70, 1056 B ff. with PL 24, 468 CD); *Zach.* 4, 10 (Compare PUSEY II, 342, 1 ff. with PL 25, 1445 A) etc.

## CONCLUSION

### 1. *St. Cyril's sources*

The manner, in which our investigations have been conducted hitherto, suggests that in our conclusion we should first deal with the thesis of St. Cyril's dependence upon St. Jerome, enunciated and defended by Père Abel in the early numbers of *Vivre et Penser* during 1941. To that thesis we long remained opposed, in spite of the able presentation made by its author, chiefly for two reasons: 1) in no instance did the arguments urged by Père Abel prove *apodictically* that Jerome was Cyril's source; since the possibility of Cyril's borrowing from other sources was nowhere excluded, the very most one could say was that the opinions of both exegetes offered striking parallels; 2) no reason was put forward to explain why St. Cyril followed St. Jerome in one place, and either abandoned or rejected him in another.

Subsequent acquaintance with the writings of St. Cyril taught us to modify these views; in problems of literary criticism apodictic proofs are rarely available; besides, one may never stipulate for an author *a priori* rules that determine what precisely he should do and what not; being a free agent, even when he borrows from others, he follows and abandons his sources as he pleases.

Two points of contact sufficed to create in us the conviction that Cyril was influenced by Jerome: the variant readings of *Os.* 11, 3 and *Abdias* 20, peculiar to the Vulgate, that the Patriarch of Alexandria embodies in his own explanations of these texts. Once such contacts were proved, the possibility of further borrowings could never be excluded *a priori*. At every stage of our researches appropriate investigations were made, with a view to ascertaining if Jerome furnishes other interesting parallels. The number of points of contact is rather large, particularly with regard to the literal sense of Scripture. Undoubtedly, dependence of both expositors upon a common source was an hypothesis to be reckoned with. But in the instance, what could that common source have been? Of the writers of Antiquity, Origen, Eusebius and Didymus are the most likely to have been consulted by *both* Jerome and Cyril. Now, the commentaries of Origen and Didymus were mainly



allegorical. Though Origen commented on *Isaias* and all the *Minor Prophets* (except *Abdias*), Jerome, in his own commentaries, only makes express mention of those on *Isaias*, *Osee* and *Zachary*; Didymus explained only the last mentioned prophets; the commentaries of Eusebius certainly expounded literal exegesis, but included only the prophecies of *Isaias* and *Osee* <sup>(1)</sup>. Now, the parallels between Cyril and Jerome, examined by us in the preceding pages, are found in their respective commentaries on *Joel*, *Amos*, *Nahum*, *Habacuc* and *Malachy*; moreover, these parallels are concerned with the literal sense. To these should be added other parallels between Cyril's exegesis on *Abdias* and that of Jerome <sup>(2)</sup>. These resemblances are all the more significant because of the facts that, with regard to *Abdias*, Cyril devotes himself almost exclusively to literal exegesis, and that neither Origen nor Didymus wrote any commentary on *Abdias*. To account adequately for the resemblances between Cyril and Jerome in this respect, their supposed common source necessarily cultivated literal exegesis. We are in a quandary as to who was its author. Was he one of the commentators mentioned by Jerome in his prologues, on whom, presumably, he was dependent? The expressions, which the Latin exegete uses in their regard, do not incline one to think that he relied on them for literal exegesis <sup>(3)</sup>. That being so, the supposed source, common to Jerome and Cyril, was composed, presumably, by an author whose name neither commentator reveals.

Matters become more complicated, when one introduces the problem of the origin of the spiritual interpretations which are com-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Epistula* 33 ad Paulum (CSEL, 54, 255, 10 ff); PL 24, 21 A; PL 25, 819 AB; 1418 A. See p. 247.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Abdias* 2-4 (Compare PUSEY I, 549, 18 ff. with PL 25, 1103 AB); *Abdias* 5-6 (Compare PUSEY I, 550, 25 ff. with PL 25, 1104 D-1105 B); *Abdias* 7-11 (Compare PUSEY I, 552, 1 ff.; 553, 3 ff. with PL 25, 1106 AB; 1107 C); *Abdias* 12-14 (Compare PUSEY I, 554, 1 ff. with PL 25, 1109 BC); *Abdias* 17-19 (Compare PUSEY I, 556, 9 ff., 557, 9 ff. with PL 25, 1111 C; 1115 CD. Jerome's geographical references are more detailed than those of Cyril); *Abdias* 20-21. Cyril here notes that the returned exiles will possess territory stretching from Arabia to Sidonia of the Phenicians (PUSEY I, 558, 1 ff.). Jerome mentions Arabia in his explanation of v. 19 (PL 25, 1114 A).

<sup>(3)</sup> In his prologue to *Zachary* St. Jerome expressly says that Origen, Hippolytus and Didymus scarcely touch on the literal sense; their commentaries are almost completely allegorical (PL 25, 1418 A).

mon to Cyril and Jerome. Origen and Didymus, it is true, may have been the source in question. But in this hypothesis we should have to admit a coincidence, which is surely rare in literature, namely, that Jerome and Cyril, working independently, derived from their sources the same blend of Antiochian and Alexandrian exegesis. It is far more likely that Cyril used a source that had already achieved this synthesis, namely, Jerome.

These considerations are fully borne out by certain observations of Père Abel, the import of which escaped us on a first reading:

1° Historical circumstances, which account for the fact that St. Jerome's commentaries were accessible to St. Cyril (<sup>1</sup>).

2° Resemblances that extend to the very expressions employed by both exegetes. *Os.* 6, 9 (<sup>2</sup>), *Joel* 2, 17 (<sup>3</sup>), *Amos* 1, 10 (<sup>4</sup>), 2, 1 (<sup>5</sup>) and 3, 9 (<sup>6</sup>) are cases in point.

(<sup>1</sup>) F. M. ABEL, *Parallélisme exégétique entre s. Jérôme et s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Vivre et penser...*, 1<sup>re</sup> série, 1941, pp. 96 ff.

(<sup>2</sup>) Compare Jerome's remark: *Ponebant in itinere latrones, qui insidiarentur pergentibus...* (PL 25, 871 B) with Cyril's... *Παρασκευάζον γὰρ τινὰς κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ὁδὸν ληστρικαῖς ἐφοδοῖς κεχρησθαι* (PUSEY I, 149, 12 ff.).

(<sup>3</sup>) Compare ... *Apertum est aenigma quod latebat...* (PL 25, 969 B) with ... *Ὡς ἐν τοῖς αἰνίγμασι τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἀκριδοῦς...* (PUSEY I, 325, 8 ff.) and... *Iuxta litteram, greges locustarum magis auster quam aquilo consuevit adducere... verum quoniam de Assyriis loquebatur, locustarum ponens similitudinem, ideo aquilonem interposuit, ut non veram locustam quae ab austro venire consuevit, sed sub locustis intelligamus Assyrios atque Chaldaeos...* (PL 25, 971 C) with *Ὑπισχνεῖται δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἀφανίσαι τὸν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ, τουτέστι τὸν Ἀσσύριον· βορειότερα γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ἀκτίνα μᾶλλον ἢ χώρα...* (PUSEY I, 327, 8 ff.). See F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 217.

(<sup>4</sup>) Compare ... *Unde montes Idumaeorum vocantur montes Seir, et ab Edom graeco sermone Idumaea dicitur...* (PL 25, 1000 C) with ... *Ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ Ἰδουμαῖοι κέκληνται λοιπὸν οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότες...* (PUSEY I, 392, 1 ff.). See F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 218.

(<sup>5</sup>) Compare ... *Ut ossa eius usque ad cinerem concremarent, et saevitiam suam et rabiem nec in morte finirent* (PL 25, 1003 A) with the corresponding passage of Cyril (PUSEY I, 397, 6 ff.). PÈRE ABEL holds that Cyril's expressions *ἀπανθρωπία καὶ ἀχάλινος ἀγρίότης* (qualified as *κατὰ τῶν ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ*) translate Jerome's "*saevitiam et rabiem*" (*art. cit.*, p. 111).

(<sup>6</sup>) Compare ... *Pulchreque intulit: Super montes Samariae, vel civitatis, quae nunc Sebaste, tunc Samaria vocabatur, vel universae provinciae quae in montuosis sita est...* PL 25, 1018 B) with ... *Ἦτοι τὴν χώραν αὐτὴν ὀρεινὴν γὰρ εἶναι φασιν* (PUSEY I, 431, 8).

3° In the light of St. Cyril's dependence on the Latin expositor in *Os.* 11, 3 and *Abdias* 20, the particular similarities, noted between them in the following instances, can scarcely be otherwise explained than by Jerome's influence: *Is.* 5, 2 <sup>(1)</sup>, 15, 5-7 <sup>(2)</sup>, 60, 19 <sup>(3)</sup>, 64, 6 <sup>(4)</sup>, *Os.* 1, 11 <sup>(5)</sup>, 6, 7 <sup>(6)</sup>, 9, 9 <sup>(7)</sup>, *Joel* 2, 25 <sup>(8)</sup>, *Amos* 1, 3 <sup>(9)</sup>, 3, 3 f. <sup>(10)</sup>, 4, 7 <sup>(11)</sup>, *Hab.* 3, 2 <sup>(12)</sup>, *Agg.* 1, 13 <sup>(13)</sup>.

All these literary data, together with others which we have assembled, combine to form a convincing cumulative proof that Cyril consulted Jerome frequently. It has been shown that Cyril does not adhere to his model slavishly; he criticises Jerome's opinions at times; he abandons him, when and to the extent

<sup>(1)</sup> Compare PL 24, 76 BC with PG 70, 137 B, (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 226).

<sup>(2)</sup> Compare PL 24, 169 B with PG 70, 401 C ff. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 227).

<sup>(3)</sup> Compare PL 24, 597 AB with PG 70, 1345 CD (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 227).

<sup>(4)</sup> Compare PL 24, 623 C with PG 70, 1400 B (F. M. ABEL *art. cit.*, p. 228.)

<sup>(5)</sup> Compare PL 24, 829 AB with PUSEY I, 41, 15 ff; 43, 7 ff. It is remarkable that both exegetes cite *Ez.* 24, 23 and *Ps.* 117, 24 (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 214).

<sup>(6)</sup> Compare PL 25, 869 D-870 A with PUSEY I, 142, 24 ff. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 215).

<sup>(7)</sup> Compare PL 25, 895 B with PUSEY I, 191, 29 ff., especially 195, 16 ff. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 215).

<sup>(8)</sup> Compare PL 25, 972 D-973 A with PUSEY I, 333, 10 ff. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 217). It is quite striking that the tirade made by both exegetes ends up with an admonition addressed to heretics.

<sup>(9)</sup> Compare PL 25, 994 B with PUSEY I, 382, 25 ff. PÈRE ABEL maintains that the LXX could not possibly suggest the idea of the instrument mentioned by both exegetes (*art. cit.*, p. 218).

<sup>(10)</sup> Compare PL 25, 1017 ABC with PUSEY I, 418-425. It is certainly remarkable that both commentators introduce a note of mercy into an oracle that predicts chastisement (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.).

<sup>(11)</sup> Compare PL 25, 1028 D-1029 A with PUSEY I, 444, 21 ff. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 219 ff.).

<sup>(12)</sup> Compare PL 25, 1309 Bff. with PUSEY II, 120, 5 ff. Cyril's explanation is an amalgamation of no. 4 and no. 5 of Jerome's (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 222).

<sup>(13)</sup> Compare PL 25, 1399 CD with PUSEY II, 258, 3 ff. (F. M. ABEL, *art. cit.*, p. 224).

that he pleases; even when he depends on him, Cyril sometimes manages to add new details or paraphrases his materials freely. Indeed, one not initiated might readily infer, from the manner in which these materials are presented, that he was dealing with views excogitated by Cyril himself.

Cyril recurs to sources other than Jerome. When interpreting the first chapters of *Genesis* in *Contra Iulianum*, he does not hesitate to quote pagan authors <sup>(1)</sup>. Nor is he shy at times to exploit arguments forged by the Antiochians <sup>(2)</sup>. On occasion, concrete instances can be pointed out, in which he seemingly cites the opinions of Origen <sup>(3)</sup>, Eusebius <sup>(4)</sup> and St. Basil <sup>(5)</sup>. The eclectic character of his exegesis, at which his prologues to *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets* hint, is fully corroborated by a study of the contexts of his commentaries.

## 2. *The historical significance of St. Cyril considered as an exegete*

In the history of Christian exegesis, Cyril emerges as an exponent of the Alexandrian school who has progressive leanings <sup>(6)</sup>. Practically all the tenets of the system evolved by his predecessors reappear in his writings. Modifications and improvements of certain positions are made by him occasionally, with a view to satisfying either his own intellectual leanings or the requirements of controversy. Here are some features which illustrate his outlook:

1° He tries to place spiritual exegesis on firmer foundations, by justifying its *raison d'être* in terms of scriptural arguments. It is therefore something more than a vogue imposed on expositors by the culture then prevailing <sup>(7)</sup>.

2° He revives an idea espoused by Clement, but, as far as we can judge, subsequently abandoned by Origen and Didymus,

(1) See pp. 281 ff. The problem of the provenance of Cyril's quotations from pagan sources in *Contra Iulianum* does not concern us here. See H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité chez s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, pp. 441 ff.

(2) See pp. 356 ff.

(3) See pp. 419 ff.

(4) See pp. 338 ff.; 347 ff.; 352 ff.

(5) See pp. 351.

(6) This expression is borrowed from PÈRE ABEL (*art. cit.*, p. 95).

(7) See pp. 136 ff.

namely, that parables constitute the very style of the Old Testament <sup>(1)</sup>. Moreover, he somewhat simplifies interpretation, by prescribing the same hermeneutical rules for the parables of the Old Testament and the New <sup>(2)</sup>.

3° He insists on the idea of a gradual spiritualization of the religion of the Old Testament, [for which the prophets were chiefly responsible <sup>(3)</sup>]. Even in his early works on the Old Testament, he seems to have a keener sense of historical evolution than either Clement or Origen <sup>(4)</sup>. This trait is still more accentuated in his treatment of the literal sense in the commentaries on *Isaiah* and the *Minor Prophets*.

4° On modifying them, Cyril manages to harmonize conceptions of the *κήρυγμα* and the *παίδευσις*, which Clement and Origen evolve on different lines <sup>(5)</sup>.

5° He is more alive than Origen to the fact that prophecy is a vision of future things <sup>(6)</sup>. His theory of prophetic vision is not unlike that described in certain texts of St. John Chrysostom <sup>(7)</sup>.

6° The trait, that distinguishes Cyril most sharply from Origen, is the emphasis with which he insists that all the details of the Old Testament do not yield a spiritual signification <sup>(8)</sup>. Perhaps Cyril owes this principle to Didymus, who, in a fragment purporting to be his, remarks apropos of *Job* 3, 18: Οὐκ ἀνάγκη δὲ ταῖς θεωρίαις τὰς ιστορίας ἐξομαλίζειν ἐξῆς <sup>(9)</sup>.

Although many of St. Jerome's spiritual interpretations are found in St. Cyril's writings, the latter does not appear to be influenced by the former, at least as far as the *theory* of the spiritual sense is concerned. Padre Vaccari has pointed out that St. Jerome's typology bears an undeniably Antiochian stamp, that is to say, it regards the realities of the Old Testament as symbols of the *histo-*

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 191 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 364 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> See pp. 171 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> See pp. 132 ff. H. DE LUBAC claims that Origen had a very keen historical sense (*Histoire et Esprit...*, p. 257).

<sup>(5)</sup> See pp. 140 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> See pp. 235 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> See p. 240.

<sup>(8)</sup> See pp. 236, note 2 and 366 ff.

<sup>(9)</sup> PG 39, 1133 C.

rical realities of the New <sup>(1)</sup>. Examples of this kind of typology are particularly frequent in Cyril's commentary on *Joel* <sup>(2)</sup>. But they offer no points of contact with St. Jerome, a fact that is not without significance, seeing that St. Cyril borrows generously from St. Jerome's commentary on *Joel* in other departments of exegesis. Similar explanations are found in *Glaphyra* <sup>(3)</sup> where he enunciates the principle that all the details of Scripture do not lend themselves to a spiritual interpretation <sup>(4)</sup>. In other words, St. Cyril shows that he was interested in these exegetical principles before Jerome's influence on him had asserted itself. The remarks, that Cyril makes concerning the "interpretation of names", were called forth by his desire to combat the rather widely spread errors concerning Melchisedech <sup>(5)</sup>. Lastly, the Patriarch of Alexandria is not shy to weave symbolical significations devised by pagans into his own spiritual explanations <sup>(6)</sup>.

As far as the literal sense is concerned, Cyril's commentaries on *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets* mark a notable progress in comparison with the treatises *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* and *Glaphyra*. It is to St. Jerome that the lion's share of the credit for this progress is due. His influence is perceptible in the manner in which Cyril treats the *sensus literalis improprius* <sup>(7)</sup>, the anthro-

(1) "La tipologia di S. Girolamo porta uno stampo ben più antiocheno che alessandrino. I tipi per gli alessandrini erano piuttosto emblemi di verità speculative o di visioni celestiali, che precursori e figure di realtà storiche, terrene..." (A. VACCARI, *I fattori della esegesi geronimiana* (Biblica 1 (1920), p. 469).

(2) *Comment. on Joel*, PUSEY I, 299, 26 ff. (compare with PL 25, 955 D ff.); 304, 11 ff. (compare with PL 25, 957 B ff.); 309, 15 ff. (compare with PL 25, 959 C ff.); 311, 18 ff. (compare with PL 25, 961 A ff.); 316, 18 f. (compare with PL 25, 963 B ff.).

(3) See p. 166, notes 2 and 3.

(4) PG 69, 192 B. See pp. 366 f.

(5) See p. 297.

(6) In a note contributed to *Tradition* II (1944) pp. 484-486 W. J. BURGARDT claims that St. Cyril, in PG 69, 749 C, enunciates a neo-Pythagorean principle which takes wool as the symbol of death; Cyril mentions also the Neoplatonic idea that wool represents those works of the flesh that bring about spiritual death; finally, into this complex of ideas Cyril brings a new element, namely, that linen represents the means of controlling one's passions.

(7) See pp. 61 ff.

pomorphisms of Scripture <sup>(1)</sup>, the historical situation presupposed by the different books of Scripture and by particular texts <sup>(2)</sup>, and the feature peculiar to prophetic style known as "changes of persons" <sup>(3)</sup>. Though exegetes of another generation, such as Origen and Eusebius, could have inspired Cyril with the idea of illustrating biblical texts by means of the legends of the Jews, it is likely that our author had in mind the particular versions of these legends quoted by Jerome <sup>(4)</sup>. It was the latter who stimulated Cyril's interest in geography <sup>(5)</sup>, as it was from him that he borrowed many of the opinions quoted under the heading of "alternative explanations" <sup>(6)</sup>.

Owing to the fact that the commentaries of Origen and Didymus on the prophets have been lost, it is impossible to determine adequately how far St. Cyril's treatment of the literal sense is in advance of theirs. Recently, Père de Lubac has tried to show that Origen, at least in his homilies on *Genesis*, pays greater attention to the literal sense than his many critics would have us believe <sup>(7)</sup>. By historians Didymus is generally credited with showing greater respect for the literal sense than Origen <sup>(8)</sup>. It is our intention to study at a future date the manuscript tradition of the fragments on the *Psalms* ascribed to Origen <sup>(9)</sup>, St. Athanasius <sup>(10)</sup>, Didymus <sup>(11)</sup> and Cyril himself <sup>(12)</sup>, with a view to editing a sufficient number of them as the basis of a critical appraisal of their treatment of the *Psalter*. Meanwhile, as far as Origen is concerned, we must

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 81 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 294 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> See pp. 333 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> See pp. 309 ff.

<sup>(5)</sup> See pp. 322 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> See pp. 346 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Origène. Homélie sur la Genèse* . . . , pp. 40 ff.

<sup>(8)</sup> J. LEIPOLDT, *Didymus der Blinde von Alexandria*, Texte und Untersuchungen, zweite Reihe, 14, Heft 3, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 57-59.

<sup>(9)</sup> The critical problems that arise in connection with these fragments are outlined by R. DEVRESSE in *Chaînes exégétiques grecques. Psaumes et Cantiques*, *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, 1, 1120 ff.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1125.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1125 f.

<sup>(12)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1134. Cardinal MERCATI has some excellent remarks on certain "chains" containing fragments ascribed to Cyril (*Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio* . . . , pp. 129 ff.).

content ourselves with the conclusions reached by us, when comparing his homilies on the *Pentateuch* with selected sections of *Glaphyra* <sup>(1)</sup>; his treatment of the literal sense is neither more elaborate nor more thorough than Cyril's; one could hardly claim that, in the passages studied by us, either exegete explains the literal sense for its own sake. However, in his commentaries on the prophets Cyril gives positive evidence of such leanings. And in these works he strides remarkably far in advance of Origen, by associating the figurative sense of Scripture with its literal sense <sup>(2)</sup>.

In regard to the last mentioned point, Cyril's progressive tendencies lead him towards positions, commonly thought to be peculiar to Antioch <sup>(3)</sup>. The points of contact with Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus, noted in the section dealing with our author's use of Bible History, show that his treatment of the problems arising there compares quite favourably with theirs. As already remarked, Jerome's influence is perceptible in this sphere; however, Jerome's own treatment of *historia* was influenced by Antioch <sup>(4)</sup>; withal, this trait, though inspired directly by Jerome, can be suitably cited as evidence of Cyril's acceptance of the tenets of Antioch. Our author has other points of contact with Antioch, which were not inspired by Jerome: his theory of prophetic vision <sup>(5)</sup>, and the arguments employed by him to prove that the first chapter of *Osee* describes events that really happened <sup>(6)</sup>. To these should be added Cyril's interest in the *σκοπός* of the hagiographer, an interest that he shares with Theodore and Theodoretus, but not with Jerome <sup>(7)</sup>; here Alexandrian factors exercised their influence, namely, Athanasius and, probably, the exponents of profane exe-

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 419 ff. There we only note the resemblances between Origen's spiritual explanations and Cyril's.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 56 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> See quotation on p. 51 notes 3 and 4. PÈRE DUBARLE credits Antioch with having been the first to recognize that the figurative sense belongs to the literal sense.

<sup>(4)</sup> A. VACCARI, *I fattori della esegesi geronimiana* (*Biblica*, I (1920), pp. 460-470).

<sup>(5)</sup> See pp. 235 ff.

<sup>(6)</sup> See pp. 356 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> See pp. 94 ff.



genesis <sup>(1)</sup>. Again, Cyril's restriction of the number of the traits of Scripture, capable of giving rise to spiritual significations, can be interpreted as a gesture to the tenets of Antioch <sup>(2)</sup>.

Inspired by influences that are certainly independent of either Jerome or the Antiochians, but otherwise unknown to us, are the curious references to ancient Egyptian religious customs with which St. Cyril occasionally illustrates his literal explanations; to the remarks of E. Drioton we have nothing new to add <sup>(3)</sup>.

### 3. *The value of St. Cyril's literal exegesis*

Rosenmüller is somewhat favourable to Cyril's treatment of the literal sense: "In eo quidem laudandus est, quod mysticae interpretationi semper praemittit historicam narrationem earum rerum quarum cognitio orationi propheticae intelligendae inservire possit. Sic statim initio commentarii in Isaïam de rebus gestis et moribus regnum Iudaici et Israelitici populi qui illo tempore regnarunt, exponit ac deinde ad interpretationem textus prophetici grammaticam progreditur, in quo explicando interdum haud infeliciter versatur..." <sup>(4)</sup>. Quite unfavourable is the verdict of Merx (whose acquaintance with Cyril, however, is restricted to the book of *Joel*): the prologue contains only vague generalities, in which there is no trace of the message peculiar to Joel; nobody could be more mistaken about the prophet's meaning than Cyril himself <sup>(5)</sup>; Merx regards it as a defect that Cyril (and, for that matter,

<sup>(1)</sup> See pp. 91 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 236, notes 2 and 3, pp. 366 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> Examples of instances where Cyril recurs to the customs of ancient Egypt to illustrate the literal sense are: PG 68, 188 C ff; 189 D f. (*Ex* 5, 3); 197 A (*Ex* 8, 26); 236 B (*Ex* 3, 5); 629 D f. (*Ex* 38, 8); PG 70, 336 CD and 469 B-C (*Is* 11, 15 f); *Comment. on Osee*, PUSEY I, 183, 19 ff. (*Os* 9, 3); *Comment. on Amos*, PUSEY I, 524, 2-7 (*Amos* 8, 13). See E. DRIOTON, art., *Cyrille d'Alexandrie et l'ancienne religion égyptienne*, (*Kyrilliana. Spicilegia edita sancti Cyrilli Alexandrini XV recurrente saeculo 444-1944*, Cayri, Scribae Aegyptiaci editio, anno Domini 1947, Rue Kantaret el Dekka, Le Caire, pp. 233-246).

<sup>(4)</sup> D. ROSENMÜLLER, *Historia interpretationis librorum sacrorum in ecclesia christiana graeca...*, pp. 159 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> A. MERX, *Die Prophetie des Joel und ihre Ausleger von den ältesten Zeiten bis zu den Reformatoren, eine exegetisch-Kritische und hermeneutisch-dogmengeschichtliche Studie*, Halle a. S., 1879, p. 152.

Ephrem and Theodoretus) does not opt for a consistent and uniform exegesis instead of juxtaposing historical, messianic and apocalyptic meanings, between which the reader is free to choose<sup>(1)</sup>. These objections affect the eclectic aspect of Cyril's exegesis; he leaves us under the impression that he composed his works at top speed, lumping together various opinions gleaned from his readings, such a method hardly facilitated the discovery of views that were really personal and original; nor was it likely to ensure consistency and uniformity in sifting his materials.

In view of the enormous progress which has been accomplished in the realm of biblical sciences in modern times, the commentaries of Antiquity are not frequently consulted on exegetical problems by inquirers. When they recur to them, it is with a view either to acquiring erudition or to ascertaining the views of Tradition on definite problems. It would be a mistake to claim that ancient commentators are incapable of shedding light on exegetical matters. Modern scholars, who have questioned St. Cyril on such points, have reached rather gratifying results<sup>(2)</sup>. Other occasions may yet arise, on which it may be worth one's while to consult the Patriarch of Alexandria. Admittedly, it would be most unfair to pass judgement on his efforts according to modern standards of exegesis. Yet, one may not prescind from a disadvantage from which his commentaries suffer: his exegesis is not based on the original text of Scripture. On this score he is inferior to St. Jerome, as he is inferior to other interpreters, who, though ignorant of Hebrew, were more expert than he with regard to problems of textual criticism. Indeed, since many of Cyril's exegetical opinions are common to Jerome, perhaps the criticism levelled by Julian of Eclanum at the latter, is somewhat applicable to Cyril also<sup>(3)</sup>. For the

(1) A. MERX, *Die Prophetie...*, p. 156.

(2) F. M. ABEL commends the identification of Azael proposed by Cyril (*Ašal dans Zacharie XIV, 5* (*Revue biblique*, 45 (1936), pp. 325-400). F. CEUPPENS rallies to the interpretation of *Zach. 12, 10* proposed by Cyril and revived in modern times by Van Hoonacker (*De prophetiis messianicis in antiquo testamento*, Romae, 1935, pp. 476 ff.).

(3) ... Hieronymus porro et ingenii capacis vir et studii peritissimus, in prophetarum quidem libros commenta digessit, sed quasi inter gentium traditiones ire contentus, de perquirenda consequentia, nihil aut voluit, aut potuit sustinere curarum. Ita, vel per allegorias Origenis, vel per fabulas Iudaeorum traditiones, tota eius defluxit oratio... (PL 24: 962 A)

sake of completeness, let it be said that the tests, made by us in our own researches, reveal that not all of Cyril's solutions are countenanced by modern expositors.

As far as we can judge, the significance of [St. Cyril's literal exegesis resides less in its intrinsic value, than in the witness which he personally bears to the importance of the literal sense itself. In an Alexandrian that is a sign of extraordinary progress, which considerably enhances St. Cyril's intellectual stature.

#### 4. *Cyril's spiritual exegesis of the Old Testament in the light of recent discussions*

In recent years a crusade connected chiefly with names, such as Paul Claudel<sup>(1)</sup> and Père Daniélou<sup>(2)</sup>, has been advocating the revival of a system of exegesis less severe and more pliant than critical exegesis — one more intent on giving edification and more open to the inspirations of the Holy Spirit<sup>(3)</sup>. A plea has been made to restore certain features of the method of the Fathers, which, it is claimed, alone can make the Old Testament cease to be an archaeological curiosity and become the vivifying nourishment of souls<sup>(4)</sup>. Not all exegetes have responded favourably to this call. One writer has stated frankly that reversion to the method of the Fathers would bring about the decadence of exegesis<sup>(5)</sup>. Another has claimed that such a return might easily lead to a renewal of

(1) P. CLAUDEL, *Introduction au livre de Ruth. Texte intégral de l'ouvrage de l'abbé Tardif de Moidrey*, Paris, 1938; *Art poétique. Connaissance du temps. Traité de la connaissance du monde et de soi-même. Développement de l'Église*, new edition, Paris (s. d.) (1946); *L'Écriture sainte. Allocution aux étudiants des sciences politiques (La vie intellectuelle*, 16 (1948), pp. 6-14).

(2) J. DANIELOU, *La Bible dans la vie (L'anneau d'or*, 1 (1945), pp. 18 ff.; *Le symbolisme des rites baptismaux (Dieu Vivant*, 1 (1945), pp. 17-45); *Les orientations présentes de la pensée religieuse (Études*, 249 (1946), pp. 5-21); *Autour de l'exégèse spirituelle (Dieu Vivant*, 8 (1947), pp. 123-126); *L'autorité de l'Ancien Testament d'après Hebert (Dieu Vivant*, 11 (1948), pp. 109-117).

(3) A. GELIN, *Notes bibliques II. Le sens spirituel de l'Écriture* in *L'ami du clergé* 60 (1950), pp. 641-646.

(4) J. DANIELOU, *Les orientations présentes de la pensée religieuse* in *Études*, 249 (1946), p. 9.

(5) J. COPPENS, *L'Allégorisme au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* in *Ephemerides theologiae Lovanienses*, 23 (1947), p. 187.

the most fantastic forms of "gnosis" and arbitrariness<sup>(1)</sup>. A third writer, while admitting that the Fathers deeply penetrated the religious sense of Scripture (an aspect of Scripture neglected by scientific exegesis) has proclaimed that "it is impossible to regard the exegesis of the Fathers as a treasure from which one may draw with full confidence; it is not even an example to emulate"<sup>(2)</sup>. The patristic method gives rise to childish exaggerations, of which the Fathers themselves were more or less conscious, although they managed to correct themselves at times by means of a sense of humour that prevented them from becoming the dupes of their own subtleties<sup>(3)</sup>. A. Gelin reminds us that modern readers are likely to find extravagances like these exceedingly tiresome<sup>(4)</sup>.

In his defence of patristic exegesis Père Daniélou takes pains to point out that it is but the prolongation of the typology, used by the Hebrew prophets in their descriptions of the messianic kingdom as a new Paradise, a new Exodus and a new Deluge<sup>(5)</sup>. The apostles in their preaching devoted much time to showing that these figures were realized in Christ<sup>(6)</sup>. Typological exegesis follows the example given by the apostles, when it extends to other passages of the Old Testament with a similar orientation those figurative meanings that they judged to be certain<sup>(7)</sup>. Père Daniélou admits that the tendency to discover spiritual senses in every text of Scripture is contrary to true typology, "which regards as figures of the New Testament only such episodes as sketch in broad outline the deeds that Christ will accomplish in their fullness"<sup>(8)</sup>. From typology, thus understood, Père Daniélou distinguishes allegory,

(1) C. SPICQ in *Bulletin de théologie biblique (Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques)*, 32 (1948), p. 89.

(2) A. M. DUBARLE, *Le sens spirituel de l'Écriture* in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 31 (1947), p. 55.

(3) Th. G. CHIFFLOT, *Comment lire la Bible* in *La vie spirituelle*, octobre 1949, pp. 255 f. See also the same writer's strictures on Paul Claudel in *Exégèse claudélienne (La vie intellectuelle)*, mai 1950, pp. 607-612.

(4) A. GELIN, *Notes bibliques...*, p. 642.

(5) J. DANIELOU, *Sacramentum Futuri. Études sur les origines de la typologie biblique*, Paris 1950, p. 257.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 43.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 128

which, far from being a sense of Scripture, is but Christian philosophy and ethics presented in imagery borrowed from the Bible<sup>(1)</sup>.

More than a hundred and twenty-five years ago, the German theologian, Moehler, expressed regrets that the role, played by the mystical interpretation of the Fathers in Christian propaganda among Jews and pagans, was never given the praise it richly deserved<sup>(2)</sup>. Père de Lubac, endorsing this opinion, adds that this kind of exegesis is intimately connected with the permanent strata of Christian thought. The expressions, in which the Christian mystery has been handed on to us, are more than biblical imagery used merely for the sake of illustration. In Christ's own consciousness the Old Testament was the womb of the New Testament; it was the instrument with which he created the latter. He purified the categories of the old dispensation and unified them, by causing them to converge in himself. In the completely new use, that he made of them, these categories were neither abstractions nor alien images. In the Old Testament, they refer to certain precise facts and events in the history of the Chosen People. While they retain this aspect in the New Testament, they have become the materials of which the latter in its very newness is woven. Indeed, the links between both Testaments are so close, that one wonders if the literal sense of the New can be understood, save through the intermediary of the spiritual sense conferred "in Christ" on the facts of the Old<sup>(3)</sup>. Even a cursory reading of the New Testament should convince one that its authors constantly interpret the ancient Scriptures spiritually, in so far as they show that these were accomplished by way of symbolical realization. In most instances these interpretations, whether spontaneous or reflex, should not be likened to embellishments added from without; they belong to the weft and woof of the cloth<sup>(4)</sup>. The spiritual sense, envisaged by Père de Lubac, is concerned with the realities of the spiritual life itself. These are not the object

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 48.

(2) J. A. MOEHLER, *L'unité dans l'Église ou le principe du catholicisme d'après l'esprit des Pères des trois premiers siècles de l'Église. Traduction de A. de Lilienfeld* (Collection *Unam Sanctam*, 2) Paris, 1938, pp. 260-264.

(3) H. DE LUBAC, *Histoire et Esprit. L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène*, Paris, 1950, pp. 378-381.

(4) *Op. cit.*, p. 383.

of mere scientific curiosity, and cannot, therefore, be grasped save by living the Christian mystery in its fullness. It follows, therefore, that the process of understanding the Scriptures spiritually is to be identified with the interior transformation which is brought about, when one is converted to Christ <sup>(1)</sup>. Père de Lubac claims that an archaizing imitation of patristic exegesis is altogether undesirable <sup>(2)</sup>. What really counts is to set going a spiritual movement, in which the facts of Jewish history are appraised in terms of the present realities of the Christian life. The sense resulting "is found only in the heart of the Church by such as are enlightened by Christ and are aided by his Spirit" <sup>(3)</sup>.

Even enthusiastic supporters of spiritual exegesis admit that the problem of the extent of the typological sense <sup>(4)</sup>, as well as that of discriminating between authentic typology and allegory <sup>(5)</sup>, are very difficult.

As far as the Old Testament is concerned, the theory of the higher sense is thought to rest upon the similarities existing between both Testaments, purposely arranged by God so that the events of the Old are signs of those of the New <sup>(6)</sup>. Although this arrangement is occasionally expressly revealed in the New Testament, it is claimed that an express revelation is not needed to justify each type <sup>(7)</sup>. That being so, in order to recognize the typical character of the former, it suffices to "fix the similarities that arise from the organic unity of both Testaments. Indeed, the typical character of the features of the Old Testament shows itself to be all the more probable, in the proportion that the mutual correspondence is the more undisguised and striking. It has a degree of internal certitude comparable to an explanation of the literal sense, which is based on the proper application of the

<sup>(1)</sup> H. DE LUBAC, *Histoire et Esprit...*, 391-392.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 395 and 433.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>(4)</sup> J. SCHILDENBERGER, *Vom Geheimnis des Gottes Wortes*, Heidelberg 1950, p. 436.

<sup>(5)</sup> C. MOELLER, *Chronique biblique. Belgique 1949 in Esprit et Vie*, juin 1950, pp. 269-270.

<sup>(6)</sup> J. SCHILDENBERGER, *Vom Geheimnis...*, p. 436. See also A. MILLER, *Zur Typologie des Alten Testaments in Antonianum* 25 (1950) p. 427.

<sup>(7)</sup> J. SCHILDENBERGER, *Vom Geheimnis...*, pp. 437-438.

rules of exegesis" (1). "The higher sense rests upon the literal sense and must proceed from the whole context of the latter" (2). While all the details of the Old Testament do not give rise to spiritual meanings (3), three of its parts are likely to be very promising in this respect, namely, the law, the historical books (4) and the Psalms (5). At times, it is claimed, the higher sense concerns, not only the things denoted by the words of Scripture, but also the very words themselves (6). Circumstances may require that modern expositors devote most of their care to the literal sense. They should take care, however, to indicate in broad outline the trend of the spiritual sense, leaving the development of it to the discretion of their readers. Such a course is thought to be opportune, lest readers be partially repelled by the literal sense, since, generally speaking, they behold only the foundations and the lower parts of the walls but never the spiritual edifice itself (7). While some writers still claim that in spiritual interpretation the fullest freedom possible should be allowed to Christians (provided, of course, that they do not ascribe their fancies to the Holy Spirit) (8), others are inclined to subordinate the spiritual interpretation of Scripture to the tradition of the Church, "which is a source of knowledge that is homogeneous to the principle that guided the writing of Scripture" (9).

Catholic commentators have not given an uniform interpretation to the references to the spiritual sense contained in the Encyclicals *Divino afflante Spiritu* (10) and *Humani generis* (11). From the latter document, a very authoritative writer deduces a condemnation of the trend of opinion, that tends to rehabilitate the alle-

(1) J. SCHILDENBERGER, *Vom Geheimnis...*, pp. 440 and 495.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 448.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 449-450.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 450 and 495-496.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 451.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 435 (see also pp. 104 f.); C. MOELLER, *Chronique biblique...*, p. 174 note 1.

(7) J. SCHILDENBERGER, *Vom Geheimnis...*, p. 498.

(8) TH.-G. CHIFFLOT, *Comment lire la Bible...*, pp. 255-256.

(9) Y. CONGAR, *L'Ancien Testament, témoin du Christ in La vie intellectuelle*, octobre 1949, p. 338; C. MOELLER, *Chronique biblique...*, p. 271.

(10) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 35 (1943), pp. 297-325.

(11) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 42 (1950), pp. 561-578, especially 569-570.

gorical exegesis of Origen <sup>(1)</sup>. Yet, on close examination, *Humani generis* contains nothing more than a reproof "addressed to those who wish to *replace* the literal sense of Scripture by pious meditations that are in no way connected with it" <sup>(2)</sup>. With regard to *Divino afflante Spiritu*, Professor Cerfaux of Louvain thinks that it is a plea for the moderate use of the spiritual sense. This author holds that the divine intention (which alone guarantees a determined typical signification) can only be demonstrated with certainty, either by the *consensus* of the Fathers in matters pertaining to faith, or, if there is question of the liturgy, by the proper application of the principle "*lex precandi lex credendi*". Since proofs of this kind are rare and rather difficult to establish, expositors would be well advised "to be sparing of the higher sense and be content to nourish their audience with food that is certainly solid. Such is the literal sense of Scripture, which is a more effectual stimulus to good than one's own conceits" <sup>(3)</sup>. Dom A. Miller gives a more liberal interpretation of the relevant passages of this Encyclical. Though he agrees that, at first sight, they leave one under the impression that the papal document commends only the strictly typical sense which is explicitly revealed by God in the sources of revelation, he argues that in this instance the tone of the Encyclical is preponderantly apologetical, since the passages under discussion have in mind certain systems (that made sacred Scripture the playground of the most foolish fancies imaginable) already condemned in a letter of the Biblical Commission addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of Italy on August 20th 1941. Accordingly, "certain concessions can unquestionably be made to spiritual interpretations of Scripture which, though they fall short of what is strictly required to establish the typical sense in a scientific manner, do not exclude

(1) A. BEA, *L'Enciclica "Humani generis" e gli studi biblici in La civiltà cattolica*, 1950, iv, p. 425. S. GAROFALO gives a similar interpretation of the encyclical (*Tentazioni dell'esegeta in Euntes Gentes*, 1951, pp. 115 ff.).

(2) G. LAMBERT, *L'Encyclique "Humani generis" et l'Écriture sainte, Nouvelle revue théologique*, 73 (1951) p. 228; J. LEVIE, *L'Encyclique "Humani generis" in Nouvelle revue théologique*, 72 (1950), pp. 790-791; F. ASCENSIO, *La enciclica "Humani generis" y la Escritura (Gregorianum*, 31 (1950), pp. 554-558).

(3) S. S. *Pie XII, Encyclique sur les études bibliques introduite et commentée par L. CERFAUX*, Bruxelles, 1945, pp. 100-103, 109-110.



it". The expression of the Encyclical "*a Deo ipso intentum et ordinatum*", used with reference to the spiritual sense, admits of a distinction: "provided it is intended and ordained by God either *explicitly* or *implicitly*" <sup>(1)</sup>. In accordance with the principle of St. Paul, which claims that the whole of the Old Testament is a "*figura Novi*", every feature of the former, that shows an internal similarity to the truths concerning salvation peculiar to the New, yields a valid spiritual sense <sup>(2)</sup>. Dom Miller fully endorses the views of J. Schildenberger to which allusion has already been made.

Curiously enough, in spite of the fact that the method of the Fathers is regarded by many writers as definitively obsolete, efforts have been made to devise a form of spiritual exegesis "capable of being harmonized with the exigencies of the historical interpretation of Scripture". Thus, Père Dubarle pleads that "every moral or religious value, to which the Old Testament bears witness, should become the starting point of an ascension which, at times, will follow exactly the traces of the prophets or Christ, and at other times will proceed to discovery in the direction indicated by the latter" <sup>(3)</sup>. Another writer advocates a spiritual sense that consists in retracing in organic fashion the genesis of the ideas and themes of the Christian revelation <sup>(4)</sup>. In a series of stimulating articles Dom Charlier claims that the first principle of a thoroughly religious understanding of the Bible is to read it in the light of the central

<sup>(1)</sup> A. MILLER, *Zur Typologie des Alten Testaments...*, p. 431. The text referred to by Dom Miller reads as follows: Hunc igitur spiritualem sensum a Deo ipso intentum atque ordinatum exegetae catholici ea diligentia patefaciant ac proponant quam divini verbi dignitas exposcit (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 35 (1943) p. 311).

<sup>(2)</sup> "Jene Deutung einer alttestamentlichen Tatsache, Begebenheit, Person, die innere Ähnlichkeit mit einer neutestamentlichen Heilswahrheit aufweist, könnte man nach dem Grundsatz des hl. Paulus, dass das ganze Alte Testament 'figura Novi' sei, als geistigen Sinn gelten lassen, und je grösser die Ähnlichkeit ist, desto wahrscheinlicher auch der geistige Sinn" (A. MILLER, *op. cit.*, p. 431).

<sup>(3)</sup> A. M. DUBARLE, *Le sens spirituel de L'Écriture...*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> "L'exégèse spirituelle n'aura de fondement, si ce qui précède est exact, que dans la mesure, où elle sera une simple génétique des idées ou des thèmes de la révélation finale, de la révélation chrétienne" (L. BOUYER, *Liturgie et exégèse spirituelle* in *La Maison Dieu*, 7 (1946), p. 44).

themes which traverse it <sup>(1)</sup>. Under the nomenclature of "*le sens plural*" Père Buzy commends the idea of a multiplicity of meanings, superimposed on each other unknown to the inspired writer <sup>(2)</sup>. Dom Gribomont seems to favour a kind of spiritual sense, which happens to be the object of an obscure intuition in the subconsciousness of the hagiographer <sup>(3)</sup>. As a criterion and principle of discernment of the spiritual sense, Père Guillet [proposes that one should follow from book to book the history of the principal themes of Scripture, noting carefully at the same time the evolution of the words and formulae with which they are clothed <sup>(4)</sup>. Hoping thereby to improve on the suggestions of the writers just enumerated, Professor Coppens champions a "*sens plénier*" consisting of "the totality of the virtual relations that connect a text of the Old Testament with the Christian faith, and which may be deduced both from the bearings that it has with Christian doctrine, as well as from its share in the doctrinal and historical development, which has led the Old Testament to the New" <sup>(5)</sup>. Some of the opinions just expounded have not been received favourably <sup>(6)</sup>. Père Danié-

<sup>(1)</sup> C. CHARLIER, *La lecture sapientielle de la Bible* (*La Maison Dieu*, 12, pp. 14-52); *Les thèmes convergents de la Bible* (*Esprit et Vie*, janvier 1948, pp. 43-55); *Les thèmes bibliques et leurs transpositions successives* (*Esprit et Vie*, avril 1948, pp. 152-168); *Les thèmes bibliques et leur transposition chrétienne* (*Esprit et Vie*, juillet 1948, pp. 292-318); *Exégèse patristique et exégèse scientifique* (*Esprit et Vie*, février 1949, pp. 52-69); *Typologie ou évolution. Problèmes d'exégèse spirituelle* (*Esprit et Vie*, novembre 1949, pp. 578-597); *La lecture chrétienne de la Bible*, Maredsous 1950, p. 301.

<sup>(2)</sup> D. BUZY, *Un problème d'herméneutique sacrée: sens plural, plénier et mystique* (*L'Année théologique*, 5 (1944), pp. 385-408).

<sup>(3)</sup> J. GRIBOMONT, *Le lien des deux testaments selon la théologie de S. Thomas* (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 22 (1946), p. 76); *Sens plénier, sens typique et sens littéral* (*Analecta Lovaniensia biblica et orientalia*, ser. II, fasc. 16, pp. 21-31).

<sup>(4)</sup> J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche...*, pp. 301 f. This author has worked out his principles in a series of studies published under the title of *Thèmes bibliques. Études sur l'expression et le développement de la révélation*, Paris 1951.

<sup>(5)</sup> J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux testaments...*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>(6)</sup> C. SPICQ does not approve of the solution suggested by A. M. DUBARLE (*Bulletin de théologie biblique* in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 32 (1948) pp. 91 f.). The same writer is of opinion that the only conclusion to be drawn from the examples proposed by D. Buzy is

lou is of opinion that the total sense, advocated by Professor Coppens, contains an internal contradiction which can be stated as follows: either it represents the meaning willed by the author, and is consequently the literal sense; or it is unknown to the author, and then we are dealing, not with the literal, but with the spiritual sense <sup>(1)</sup>. The Professor of the Catholic Institute of Paris describes the idea of his Louvain colleague as "a myth, unheard of in the whole of tradition, invented by literal exegesis in a desperate attempt to monopolize the whole of exegesis, by annexing typology to it" <sup>(2)</sup>. Père Congar avers that he fails to understand the fierce animosity some writers show to senses which they style "spiritual" or "symbolical", although they introduce again under different names the substance of what they find fault with in the case of others <sup>(3)</sup>. Enough has been said to prove that the existence of a higher sense of Scripture, which is consonant with critical exegesis, has not yet been demonstrated with certainty <sup>(4)</sup>. Padre Bea states quite frankly that the real spiritual sense of Scripture is the literal sense, expounded in a manner so as to make it the foundation of the whole doctrinal edifice of the New Testament <sup>(5)</sup>. One should bear in mind that, for this writer (who invokes the authority of the *Pontificia commissio de re biblica*), the literal sense of a passage is determined, not only by means of the text and context, but also by considerations which take due cognizance of parallel passages, the interpretation of the Fathers, the principle known as *analogia fidei*, and, if need be, the decisions of the Church <sup>(6)</sup>.

that the signification of the so called *sens plural* corresponds to that traditionally ascribed to the typical and the spiritual senses (*ibid.*, p. 93). J. GUILLET points out certain weaknesses discovered by him in the opinion proposed by DOM GRIBOMONT (*Les exégèses d'Alexandrie...*, p. 301, note 99).

<sup>(1)</sup> J. DANIELOU in *Dieu Vivant* 16 pp. 150-151.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.* See, however, J. COPPENS, *Nouvelles réflexions sur les divers sens des saintes Écritures* in *Nouvelle revue théologique*, 74 (1952), pp. 3-20.

<sup>(3)</sup> Y. CONGAR, *L'Ancien Testament, témoin du Christ* in *La vie intellectuelle*, octobre 1949, p. 357.

<sup>(4)</sup> J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux testaments...*, pp. 63 ff. See the same writer's *Le problème d'un sens biblique plénier* in *Analecta Lovaniensia biblica et orientalia*, ser. II, fasc. 16, pp. 11-19 and his *Nouvelles réflexions...*, pp. 15 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> A. BEA, *L'Enciclica "Humani generis"...*, p. 425-27.

<sup>(6)</sup> A. BEA, *La Sacra Scrittura "ultimo fondamento" del dogma dell'Assunzione* (*La civiltà cattolica* 1950, IV, pp. 556 f.); see *Acta Apostolicae*

The debate concerning this new conception of a higher sense is still in full swing. Far from desiring to take part in it, we aim at nothing more than appraising St. Cyril's system in the light of critical remarks which the controversy has already occasioned.

On St. Cyril's spiritual exegesis Rosenmüller passes judgement as follows: "Causam vero, cur ea quae de populo iudaico dicuntur etiam ad N. T. tempora referenda, ac proinde mystice explicanda sint, hanc esse putat, quod duplex fit Iudaea et Hierosolyma, altera nempe sensibilis (αἰσθητά) terra iudaica cum suis incolis, altera intelligibilis (νοητά) ecclesia christiana. Huius discriminis rationem in eo esse statuit, quod in V. et N. T. circumcisio carnis a circumcissione cordis distinguitur; itaque diligenter observandum esse, quando prophetae de hac vel illa Iudaea et Hierosolyma sit sermo. Sed vagam et prorsus arbitrariam esse hanc regulam, nemo non intelligit, ipseque Cyrillus suo exemplo demonstravit, omnem interpretationem per eam reddi incertam et lubricam; quod paucis ostendendum esse videtur"...<sup>(1)</sup>. The exegetical principle, to which Rosenmüller takes exception, states that "things perceptible to the senses" (τὰ αἰσθητά), though covering and hiding "intelligible things" (τὰ νοητά), reveal and translate them at the same time. Clearly reminiscent of Platonism<sup>(2)</sup>, this norm is invoked by St. Cyril in metaphysics as well as in exegesis. Père du Manoir has shown that the Patriarch of Alexandria recurs to it in his doctrine of religious knowledge, with a view to justifying a kind of idealistic symbolism and analogy of proportion<sup>(3)</sup>. Cyril stresses not only the parallelism but also the union, that exists bet-

*Sedis*, 42 (1950), p. 501. With regard to the nature of Catholic exegesis Professor CERFAUX writes; "Le travail essentiel de l'exégèse consiste dans la recherche et la mise en valeur du sens littéral. Cette recherche et cette mise en valeur se font par des méthodes scientifiques. Les méthodes scientifiques sont assumées dans la lumière de la foi. Ainsi se constitue l'exégèse catholique, harmonie de la foi et de l'intelligence, lumière divine surnaturelle se répandant à travers toute l'activité humaine et la vivifiant". (*S. S. Pie XII, Encyclique sur les études bibliques...*, p. 111).

<sup>(1)</sup> D. ROSENMÜLLER, *Historia interpretationis librorum sacrorum in ecclesia christiana graeca...*, pp. 156 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> See pp. 125 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> H. DU MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Le problème de Dieu chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie (Recherches de science religieuse, 27 (1937), p. 404)*.

ween this idealistic symbolism and scriptural symbolism, thereby underlining forcibly the realistic unity of his vision of the world <sup>(1)</sup>. These statements sound well; but do they stand up to criticism? Viewing the principle of the dual world from a purely metaphysical standpoint, we must admit that, if τὰ αἰσθητὰ reveal τὰ νοητὰ, it is because they participate in the latter. But, can it seriously be urged that St. Cyril teaches such a doctrine? To judge from the antecedents of the school of Alexandria, it is more likely that he teaches exemplarism rather than participation <sup>(2)</sup>. What about the application of the theory of the dual world to exegesis? Here it would appear that arbitrariness practically belongs to the essence of this system. By hypothesis, the element perceptible to the senses is absolutely heterogenous to the spiritual; no intrinsic reason makes such and such a reality of the senses apt to signify the spiritual reality "X" rather than any other <sup>(3)</sup>. It is true that St. Cyril insists on the fact that the types of Scripture bear an external resemblance to their corresponding spiritual objects <sup>(4)</sup>. Withal, this criterion is subject to subjective applications incapable of furnishing explanations that are really certain <sup>(5)</sup>. The restrictive norms, stipulated by our author <sup>(6)</sup>, may successfully eliminate absurdities, but they provide no guarantee that the interpretations proposed are not arbitrary. At times, St. Cyril speaks of a μεταπλασμός... καὶ μεταχάραξις ἐπὶ τὸ ἀληθές <sup>(7)</sup>, to which an interpreter must subject the Old Testament. Statements like

<sup>(1)</sup> " Bien que, pour lui, les symboles de l'Ancien Testament dans leur rapport au Nouveau ne soient pas entièrement assimilables aux symboles matériels par rapport à l'esprit, en d'autres termes, bien que différent soit pour lui le symbolisme prophétique du symbolisme idéaliste, cependant il souligne le parallélisme, il marque leur union avec une rigueur rarement atteinte par ses illustres devanciers, et, par là, il nous montre la splendide et réaliste unité de sa vision du monde... " (*ibid.*, p. 403).

<sup>(2)</sup> We have borrowed this remark from P.-Th. CAMELOT, *Foi et gnose chez Clément d'Alexandrie...*, p. 72.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>(4)</sup> See pp. 125 f.

<sup>(5)</sup> "...La ressemblance est en somme soumise à des appréciations trop subjectives pour fonder une exégèse certaine..., (J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie...*, p. 299).

<sup>(6)</sup> See pp. 366 ff.

<sup>(7)</sup> See pp. 128 f.

this, together with avowals to the effect that "Christ peeled off the shadows of the law and the veil of the prophetic writings, thereby showing us the whitened and beautiful word contained in them" <sup>(1)</sup>, even if they do not amount to a denial of the literal sense <sup>(2)</sup>, may incline modern scholars to look upon his spiritual interpretations as introducing meanings that are not in historical continuity with the Old Testament <sup>(3)</sup>. Here, however, it may be possible to defend St. Cyril to a certain extent. For he regards the Old Testament as a *παιδαγωγία* that leads to Christ. And with greater insistence than the Alexandrians, his predecessors, he describes how God in his providence led Israel from a primitive to a more spiritual religion <sup>(4)</sup>. If there is anything on which he harps in the opening pages of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, it is certainly the idea that the metamorphosis of the Old Testament, accomplished by Christ, did not constitute a complete rupture with the past <sup>(5)</sup>. To modern objectors it must be conceded, however, that Cyril takes no pains to prove the historical continuity of his types in each successive phase of revelation. Perhaps a defender of St. Cyril may urge in his favour the fact that he associates the spiritual signification of Scripture with the conscious activity of the hagiographer <sup>(6)</sup>. As an expedient to give an objective basis to the various types of Scripture, this doctrine is praiseworthy. Against its sheer possibility few objections can be raised. But what criterion guarantees that such and such a spiritual reality formed the object of the prophet's vision? Besides, modern commentators are likely to protest against the tendency that represents the hagiographers as mystics, credited with having visions outside of time; it is urged that the true characteristic of prophetic inspiration is that "it operates in time and is concerned with a future, placed likewise on the line of an historical development, which is

(1) PG 69, 241 B. See pp. 178 f.

(2) Origen uses expressions at times, which insinuate that since Christ's advent, certain passages of the Old Testament have lost their literal sense. (see J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux testaments...*, pp. 56 f.).

(3) This is the substance of Professor COPPEN's criticism of the spiritual exegesis of Origen (*ibid.*).

(4) See pp. 170 ff.

(5) PG 68, 137 A ff.

(6) See pp. 218 ff.

that of time" (1). One writer asserts that the true type does not suppose consciousness; it is normally an unconscious and unperceived prophecy (2). Again, what are modern writers likely to say with regard to St. Cyril's doctrine concerning the aids conferred on interpreters by the Holy Ghost? A cognate, though more elaborate teaching, rallied to by theologians such as Scheeben and Père Garrigou-Lagrange (3), holds that man's faculties, when enriched with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, receive a power of penetration of the truths of faith, capable of reaching unto the hidden depths of Scripture and Tradition by a process of intuition. Now, to St. Cyril's theory of illumination can be applied some of the objections urged against "knowledge by connaturality", the term used to designate this modern opinion: the knowledge of Scripture, conferred by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, is a gift as personal as the grace itself; incapable of being submitted to control, this criterion guarantees the certainty of individual spiritual explanations only to those who have been endowed with this charism (4). On examining St. Cyril's speculations on the passage through the Red Sea in *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate* (5), Père Daniélou is led to define allegorical exegesis as "typological exegesis developed so as to subserve a particular thesis" (6); in addition, he claims that it is allegory, but not typology, which is peculiar to

(1) J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux testaments*..., p. 50.

(2) "...Le type ne suppose donc pas la conscience. Bien au contraire, prophétie dans les faits, le type est normalement une prophétie inconsciente et inaperçue..." (J. GUILLET, *Les exégèses d'Alexandrie*..., p. 300).

(3) M. J. SCHEEBEN, *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik*, I, Freiburg-im-Br., 1873, p. 413; R. GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, *L'Assomption est-elle formellement révélée de façon implicite?* (*Doctor Communis. Acta et Comm. Pont. Acad. Romanae S. Thomae Aq.*, 1948, I, p. 60). We are indebted to Professor Coppens' article for these references. See his remarks on the opinions of these authors (*op. cit.*, p. 64, notes 66 and 67).

(4) J. COPPENS, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

(5) J. DANIELOU, *Traversée de la mer rouge et baptême aux premiers siècles* (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 33 (1946), pp. 415-417).

(6) "Nous arriverions ainsi à cette définition de l'exégèse allégorique: elle consiste en un développement de l'exégèse typologique dans le sens d'une thèse particulière. En ce qu'elle a de particulier, elle est personnelle à son auteur; par la typologie qui lui est sous-jacente, elle témoigne de la tradition de l'Église..." (*art. cit.*, p. 416).

the Alexandrians <sup>(1)</sup>. It is true that the moralizing explanations, taken from *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, on which Père Daniélou bases this definition, are arguments used by St. Cyril to demonstrate a thesis, namely, the continuity of the law and the gospel and the superiority of the gospel. One should bear in mind, however, that not all the interpretations contained in this treatise are moralizing; for instance, the "ecclesiological" explanations contained in book 9 are as typological in character as the examples cited by Père Daniélou himself apropos of the different kinds of spiritual interpretation that were current in primitive Tradition <sup>(2)</sup>. Moreover, Cyril in his other writings on the Old Testament gives no inkling whatever that his spiritual exegesis subserves a particular thesis; typological and moralizing interpretations are juxtaposed without any evidence of an *arrière pensée*; it should be noted, too, that the typological kind is more numerously represented there than the other. What in this respect has been relevantly remarked of Origen <sup>(3)</sup>, holds good for St. Cyril also: his moralizing explanations are dependent on his typology; they are actually part of the latter. Père Daniélou asserts that the explanations, which he styles "allegorical", "are concerned with hidden mysteries to which those alone, who have the gift of *γνώσις*, have access" <sup>(4)</sup>. Undeniably, St. Cyril's commentaries have esoterical leanings. Yet, it is equally true that he treats extensively of mysteries in his Easter letters and his homilies, notably those on *St. Luke* <sup>(5)</sup>; it can hardly be argued that these writings were intended for the chosen few. Perhaps Cyril's experience gradually created in him the conviction that practically

(1) "Il est notable en effet que ce qui est propre aux Alexandrins, ce n'est pas la typologie, mais l'allégorisme..." (*Traversée...*, p. 416).

(2) J. DANIELOU, *Les divers sens de l'Écriture dans la tradition chrétienne primitive* (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 24 (1948), pp. 109-117). See pp. 25 ff.

(3) H. DE LUBAC, "Typologie" et "Allégorisme" (*Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), p. 219).

(4) "Il est remarquable que chez les allégoristes les lignes de la typologie apparaissent presque effacées sous le foisonnement des allégories secondaires. Pour eux, la typologie rentre dans la foi des πολλοί, dans l'enseignement catéchuménal; elle n'est pas un mystère caché à quoi la gnose seule donne accès..." (J. DANIELOU, *art. cit.*, p. 417).

(5) See p. 149, note 47.



all his flock complied with the standard required of the *vouvéε-στέροι*! We are under the impression, that his esoterical maxims belonged more to a theory inherited from the past, than to the norms that immediately inspired his pastoral activities <sup>(1)</sup>.

The foregoing remarks suggest that St. Cyril's exegetical principles are not likely to be employed by those, who are now in quest of a new brand of spiritual exegesis which can be harmonized with rigorously scientific method. The reader may be surprised that this essay ends with such an admission. Students, who write theses, frequently have loud words of praise for the heroes around whom their labours centre. Our primary scope has been to depict St. Cyril's place in the history of exegesis; it matters little then, if his teaching is considered neither topical nor "actual" nowadays, provided that the appraisal made of him respects the truth. St. Cyril's chief title to greatness is not that he was an outstanding exegete, but that he was a theologian, who ranks with the very best by reason of the depth, clarity, orthodoxy and spiritual value of his doctrine <sup>(2)</sup>. To prescind altogether from their exegetical value, his commentaries on the Old Testament are treasures of theological learning <sup>(3)</sup>. To convince himself on this point, the reader need only turn to the powerful description of the favours which God showers down on his faithful adorers <sup>(4)</sup>, and the stirring considerations on God's omnipotence and majesty <sup>(5)</sup>, found in the commentary on *Isaias*. His first exegetical work is in reality a theological treatise, the main thesis of which is developed point by point in the different books of which it is composed; indeed, Cyril himself

<sup>(1)</sup> Concluding his study of the spirituality of St. Cyril, PÈRE DU MANOIR writes: "Cette théologie mystique de Cyrille... elle est aussi éloignée d'un ésotérisme orgueilleux que d'une contemplation stérile, réservée à quelques privilégiés, qui ne ferait qu'enfler l'esprit et dessécher le coeur; elle est une doctrine spirituelle d'autant plus pratique et sociale qu'elle est plus sublime puisqu'elle nous fait voir dans le prochain le Christ présent par la grâce ou en train d'y venir..." (*Dogme et spiritualité*..., pp. 437 f).

<sup>(2)</sup> H. DE MANOIR DE JUAYE, *Dogme et spiritualité*..., p. 431.

<sup>(3)</sup> See pp. 389 ff.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cyril develops this theme apropos of *Is. 25*, in the commentary on *Isaias*.

<sup>(5)</sup> These doctrines are worked out in the pages that he devotes to chapters 40 and 41 of same commentary on *Isaias*.

seems to regard his interpretations as aids, of which he avails in order to render less abstract the truths he is trying to inculcate; they bring home in concrete fashion, by way of example, doctrines which his readers might otherwise find difficult to grasp<sup>(1)</sup>. To interpretations such as these perhaps the following remarks may be appositely applied: "... Let us not forget that there is question here of processes of the spontaneous intellect, which are of a far different flexibility and of a more disconcerting complexity than those of the logical intellect. In the materials offered us by Tradition let us not be over anxious to discriminate between intuitions that are well founded and artifices that are perishable. A rapidly constructed sieve of rational notions will not aid us, as far as the Fathers are concerned, to separate the grain of things from the chaff of words... Such and such a traditional interpretation of a sacred text, which seems to be purely gratuitous when it is separated from its remote and proximate context, may very readily have an indirect but, nevertheless, precious value"<sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> This reasoning is a generalisation based on a remark made by Palladius (who, throughout the dialogue never fails to voice Cyril's views) in the first book of *De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*. Palladius expressly styles the abstract theological truths rehearsed by Cyril in cc. 145 C-149 C as "*cold reasonings*" (ψυλοὶ λογισμοί). Contrasted with these *cold reasonings*, the spiritual explanations of the Old Testament that immediately follow (149D ff.) (which, incidentally, deal with the same religious truths) are described as lively and graceful illustrations (PG 68, 149 C). The following extract shows that A. MILLER ascribes a similar role to the spiritual sense: "Erste Aufgabe des typischen Sinnes kann also überhaupt nicht die sein, zu beweisen, sondern dem beschränkten Menschenverstande die erhabene, geistige Wahrheit mit konkreten, leicht fassbaren Bildern nahezubringen und ihn so langsam einzuführen in die Geheimnisse des Glaubens und die Herrlichkeit des Reiches Christi und seiner Gnade" (*Zur Typologie des Alten Testaments...*, p. 432).

<sup>(2)</sup> L. BOUYER, *Liturgie et exégèse spirituelle* (*La Maison Dieu*, 7 (1946), p. 48).

## A) INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Abel, F. M. VII<sup>2</sup>; 1<sup>1</sup>; 1<sup>2</sup>; 1<sup>3</sup>; 7<sup>3</sup>; 8<sup>1</sup>; 8<sup>2</sup>; 8<sup>4</sup>; 9<sup>4</sup>; 9<sup>5</sup>; 10<sup>5</sup>; 40<sup>9</sup>; 67<sup>3</sup>; 86<sup>3</sup>; 87<sup>3</sup>; 249<sup>4</sup>; 258<sup>7</sup>; 265<sup>3</sup>; 297<sup>3</sup>; 309<sup>6</sup>; St. Cyril's use of Jewish traditions 310-311; 314<sup>4</sup>; 318<sup>3</sup>; 318<sup>4</sup>; 318<sup>5</sup>; 318<sup>6</sup>; 318<sup>7</sup>; 318<sup>8</sup>; 318<sup>9</sup>; 318<sup>10</sup>; 318<sup>11</sup>; 319-322; St. Cyril's contribution to sacred geography 323<sup>2</sup>; 324<sup>2</sup>; 325<sup>6</sup>; 325<sup>9</sup>; 327<sup>2</sup>; 327<sup>3</sup>; 329<sup>3,2</sup>; 331<sup>7</sup>; 333<sup>2</sup>; 333<sup>3</sup>; 333<sup>4</sup>; 333<sup>5</sup>; 333<sup>6</sup>; 355<sup>5</sup>; 358<sup>5</sup>; 431<sup>1</sup>; 431<sup>2</sup>; St. Cyril's dependence on the St. Jerome 435; 437<sup>1</sup>; 437<sup>3</sup>; 437<sup>4</sup>; 437<sup>5</sup>; 438<sup>1</sup>; 438<sup>2</sup>; 438<sup>3</sup>; 438<sup>4</sup>; 438<sup>5</sup>; 438<sup>6</sup>; 438<sup>7</sup>; 438<sup>9</sup>; 438<sup>10</sup>; 438<sup>11</sup>; 438<sup>12</sup>; 438<sup>13</sup>; 439<sup>6</sup>; 445<sup>2</sup>.
- Abydenus 290<sup>2</sup>.
- Aigrain, R. 10<sup>6</sup>.
- Alexander of Hales 60.
- Alexander (the philosopher) 286<sup>3</sup>; 286<sup>4</sup>.
- Alexander Polyhistor 290<sup>2</sup>.
- Allo, E. B. 139<sup>6</sup>; 275<sup>4</sup>.
- Altaner, B. 39<sup>3</sup>; 249<sup>5</sup>.
- Amann, E. 25<sup>1</sup>; 126<sup>11</sup>.
- Ambrose (St.) develops the Pauline interpretation of the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>6</sup>; 395<sup>5</sup>; 397<sup>3</sup>.
- Amélineau, E. 2<sup>1</sup>.
- Amelli, A. M. 39<sup>3</sup>; 249<sup>5</sup>.
- Ammonius 91<sup>6</sup>.
- Apollinarism in Alexandria 3-4.
- Apollinaris of Laodicea 249<sup>1</sup>.
- Aquila variant readings of 253; 254; 257<sup>2</sup>; 259<sup>3</sup>; 260; 261; 263; 264.
- Arabia the geography of 327-329.
- Archer-Hind, R. D. 283<sup>8</sup>.
- Arians (the) at Alexandria 3; 15-17.
- Aristotle 89.
- Arnon 328<sup>1</sup>.
- Arnou, R. 93.
- Asael 326-327.
- Ascensio F. 451<sup>2</sup>.
- Asclepius 91<sup>7</sup>.
- Athanasius (St.) 3; 11; 17; 20; the σκοπός of Scripture 94<sup>1</sup>; 94<sup>4</sup>.
- Atticus of Constantinople 16<sup>3</sup>.
- Augustine (St.) 40<sup>6</sup>; and the *sensus litteralis improprius* 58 ff.; exegetical terminology 59<sup>1</sup>; 59<sup>2</sup>; 346<sup>2</sup>; develops the Pauline interpretation of the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>15</sup>; 394<sup>6</sup>; 397<sup>4</sup>; 408<sup>6</sup>; 411<sup>1</sup>; 413<sup>6</sup>.
- Azotus 325<sup>5</sup>.
- Bardenhewer, O. 2<sup>4</sup>; 5<sup>4</sup>.
- Bardy, G. V<sup>1</sup>; 5<sup>5</sup>; 5<sup>6</sup>; 5<sup>7</sup>; 9<sup>4</sup>; 319<sup>2</sup>; 372<sup>1</sup>.
- Baronian, S. 15<sup>3</sup>.
- Basan 327<sup>4</sup>.
- Basil (St.) 11; 39<sup>4</sup>; 109<sup>1</sup>; 203-204; definition of παροιμία 212; 249<sup>6</sup>; 339<sup>3</sup>; 339<sup>8</sup>; 351<sup>5</sup>; 363; influence on St. Cyril 439<sup>5</sup>.
- Bate, H. N. 56<sup>6</sup>; 116<sup>2</sup>.
- Bea, A. interpretation of *Humani generis* 451<sup>1</sup>; the genuine spiritual sense 454<sup>5</sup>; 454<sup>6</sup>.
- Beeson, C. H. 3<sup>7</sup>.
- Behm, J. 127<sup>4</sup>; 183<sup>7</sup>; 274<sup>5</sup>.
- Bertram, G. 275<sup>3</sup>.
- Bethel 329<sup>9</sup>.
- Bethlehem 325<sup>8</sup>.
- Bewer, J. A. 280<sup>4</sup>.
- Bigg, C. 195<sup>7</sup>.
- Bonaventure (St.) 60.
- Bonsirven, J. 390<sup>11</sup>.
- Bouyer, L. 25<sup>1</sup>; 26<sup>2</sup>; advocates a new form of spiritual exegesis 452<sup>4</sup>; 461<sup>2</sup>.
- Bréhier, E. 164<sup>3</sup>; 195<sup>4</sup>; 196<sup>1</sup>.
- Brown, F. — Driver, S. R. — Briggs,

- C. A. 270<sup>6</sup>; 273; 277; 277<sup>6</sup>; 278<sup>8</sup>; 280<sup>6</sup>.
- Bultmann, R. 125<sup>2</sup>; 183<sup>2</sup>; 189<sup>7</sup>; 205<sup>4</sup>.
- Burghardt, W. J. 441<sup>6</sup>.
- Busse, A. 91<sup>6</sup>; 92<sup>1</sup>; 92<sup>2</sup>.
- Buzy, D. 25<sup>1</sup>; 112<sup>6</sup>; "*le sens plural*" 453<sup>2</sup>; 453<sup>6</sup>.
- Cadion, R. 116<sup>6</sup>.
- Camelot, Th. 26<sup>2</sup>; 135<sup>2</sup>; 135<sup>3</sup>; 136<sup>3</sup>; 456<sup>2</sup>.
- Cayré, F. 19<sup>5</sup>; 145<sup>2</sup>.
- Celestine I (Pope) 6.
- Cerfaux, L. interpretation of *Divino afflante Spiritu* 451<sup>2</sup>; chief task of Catholic exegesis 454<sup>6</sup>.
- Ceuppens, F. 445<sup>4</sup>.
- Charles, R. H. 8<sup>1</sup>.
- Charlier, C. directives for a new spiritual exegesis 453<sup>1</sup>.
- Charlier, N. 16<sup>5</sup>.
- Charran 328<sup>9</sup>.
- Cheminant, P. 25<sup>1</sup>; 112<sup>2</sup>; 112<sup>4</sup>; 112<sup>5</sup>; 216<sup>5</sup>.
- Chiffot, Th. G. 450<sup>8</sup>; 474<sup>2</sup>.
- Chrysostom, (St. John) 5; 39<sup>10</sup>; and the *sensus literalis improprius* 54f.; exegetical terminology 54<sup>1</sup>; 55<sup>1</sup>; 55<sup>3</sup>; 116<sup>5</sup>; and the *συναγωγὴ* of Scripture 92<sup>7</sup>; description of *αἰνιγμα/ παραβολή* 212; theory of prophetic vision 240<sup>2</sup>; 240<sup>3</sup>; 250<sup>1</sup>; master of anti-Jewish invective 387<sup>10</sup>; resemblances with St. Cyril 440<sup>7</sup>.
- Claudé, P. 446<sup>1</sup>.
- Clement of Alexandria division of the senses of Scripture 28-29; 46<sup>5</sup>; 83<sup>2</sup>; 132<sup>8</sup>; 132<sup>9</sup>; 133<sup>1</sup>; 135<sup>3</sup>; 145<sup>2</sup>; 146<sup>1</sup>; 146<sup>2</sup>; 146<sup>3</sup>; 146<sup>4</sup>; 181<sup>8</sup>; 182<sup>1</sup>; 182<sup>2</sup>; 182<sup>3</sup>; 182<sup>4</sup>; the hieroglyphics 193-194; the Pythagorean precepts 194<sup>4</sup>; 195<sup>6</sup>; notion of *παραβολή* 206-207; a second definition of *παραβολή* 207<sup>3</sup>; 282<sup>2</sup>; 282<sup>3</sup>; "cosmic" interpretation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>4</sup>; 393<sup>4</sup>; 393<sup>5</sup>; 393<sup>6</sup>; 396<sup>8</sup>; 402<sup>8</sup>; 409<sup>7</sup>; other elements in his interpretation of the "tent of meeting" 391<sup>1</sup>; 396<sup>7</sup>; 398<sup>4</sup>; 399<sup>3</sup>; 413<sup>4</sup>; influence on St. Cyril 440<sup>1</sup>; 440<sup>5</sup>; differs from St. Cyril 440<sup>4</sup>; 440<sup>6</sup>.
- Clement of Rome 11.
- Cohn, L. 390<sup>1</sup>; 393<sup>3</sup>; 396<sup>4</sup>; 396<sup>5</sup>; 398<sup>3</sup>; 398<sup>8</sup>; 401<sup>2</sup>; 402<sup>6</sup>; 402<sup>7</sup>; 404<sup>4</sup>; 404<sup>5</sup>; 406<sup>6</sup>; 407<sup>4</sup>; 407<sup>5</sup>; 408<sup>3</sup>; 409<sup>6</sup>; 414<sup>1</sup>.
- Congar, Y. 450<sup>8</sup>; 454<sup>3</sup>.
- Connolly, R. H. 167<sup>1</sup>; 168<sup>2</sup>.
- Conybeare, F. C. 15<sup>2</sup>; 287<sup>3</sup>.
- Cooke, G. A. 292<sup>10</sup>.
- Coppens, J. 25<sup>1</sup>; 112<sup>2</sup>; 119<sup>1</sup>; 218<sup>1</sup>; 240<sup>1</sup>; criticism of spiritual exegesis 446<sup>5</sup>; "*le sens plénier*" 453<sup>5</sup>; 454<sup>2</sup>; 454<sup>4</sup>; 457<sup>2</sup>; criticism of Origen 457<sup>3</sup>; criticism of the tendency that regards hagiographers as mystics 458<sup>3</sup>; criticism of "knowledge by connaturality" 458<sup>4</sup>.
- Corderius, B. 210<sup>6</sup>; 210<sup>8</sup>.
- Cornely, R. - Merk, A. 37<sup>4</sup>; 215<sup>1</sup>.
- Couvreur, P. 91<sup>5</sup>.
- Cretans (the) their origins 324.
- Cruveilhier, P. 294<sup>2</sup>.
- Cumont, F. 349<sup>5</sup>.
- Curtis, E. 298<sup>4</sup>.
- Cyril of Alexandria (St.) and the Jews 3; ardent faith 6-7; not educated by John of Jerusalem 7-8; knowledge of Greek and Latin 8-9; classical culture 9; training in theology 9-10; a monk? 10-11; attitude to Origen 11-12; training in philosophy 12; the theologian 12; 19-20; 460-461; the chronology of his writings 12 ff.; date of *De adoratione* 13; date of *Glaphyra* 13; date of commentary on the *Minor Prophets* 13-14; date of commentary on *Isaias* 13-14; commentary on the *Psalms* 14-15; commentary on *Ezekiel* 15; commentary on *St. John*, 15-16; attitude to Arianism 15-17; homilies on *St. Luke* 19; commentary on *St. Matthew* 19; his piety 19-20; scriptural sources of his doctrine 21; divisions of

senses of Scripture 32-33; esteem for the literal sense 40-42; specifies the senses of Scripture according to the *nature* of their objects 42-44; the *nature* and properties of the objects of the literal sense 45-51; esoterical leanings 49; 186-187; 460-461; synonymy of αἰνίγμα / παραβολή / παράδειγμα 61-65; the objects of the literal sense perceived *obscurely* at times by the prophets 61-62; obscurity of prophetic utterance 62; includes αἰνίσματα in the literal sense 64-65; the αἰνίσματα of *Joel* 65-71; the αἰνίσματα of *Zachary* 71-74; includes μεταφοραί in the literal sense 74-75; figure of προσωποποιία 78; figure of ἔμφασις 79-80; figure of ὑπερβολή 80-81; includes anthropomorphisms in the literal sense 81-86; treatment of the σκοπός in general 88; 108-110; influenced by systems of pagan exegesis 94; 110; σκοπός of *Genesis* 95-96; innovations seen in the light of the problems discussed by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus in their prologues 96 ff.; 110; argument of *Joel* 98; σκοπός of *Amos* 99-100; σκοπός of *Abdias* 101; σκοπός of *Micneas* 102; argument of *Nahum* 102-103; σκοπός of *Habacuc* 103-104; argument of *Sophonias* 104-105; σκοπός of *Aggeus* 105-106; argument of *Zachary* 106-107; σκοπός of *Malachy* 108; affinities with Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus of Cyrrhus 110; the need of outstepping the literal sense 111; 138-140; connotation of θεωρία 121-122; interchanges expressions denoting objects with terms that are directly exegetical 123-124; origin of terminology used by him to designate the spiritual sense 125-126; the spiritual sense and the objects of the literal

sense 126-129; identifies the objects of the spiritual sense with the realities which belong to "Christ's mystery" 129-131; unity of both Testaments 132; differs from the older Alexandrians with regard to the extent of prophetic knowledge 134; builds his theory of the spiritual sense on a scriptural foundation 136-140; the κήρυγμα 141-142; 143<sup>4</sup>; the παιδευσίς 142-145; 147-148; sources of his views on the κήρυγμα and the παιδευσίς 147-148; aspects of Christ's mystery discussed in the παιδευσίς δογματική 149-151; moralizing interpretations of *De adoratione (liber I)* compared with those of Philo 155-164; compared with Pseudo-Chrysostom 167-168; keener sense of historical development than Origen 176-177; γνώσις, an emanation produced by Christ's illumination 183-185; relations between πίστις and γνώσις 185-187; θεωρία πνευματική his favourite expression to denote a method of spiritual interpretation 190-191; explains why the αἰνίσματα of Scripture are obscure 196<sup>2</sup>; the enigmas of the Old Testament governed by the same norms of interpretation as the parables of the gospels 199-201; the constitutive elements of his definitive notion of αἰνίγμα / παροιμία / παραβολή as applied to the spiritual sense 201; conception of αἰνίγμα κ. τ. λ. differs from that of Origen 209-210; definition of παραβολή resembles that of Titus of Bostra 211; conception of αἰνίγμα κ. τ. λ. differs from that of Didymus 211; definition of παροιμία differs from that of St. Basil 212-213; conception of αἰνίγμα differs from that of Diodorus of Tarsus 212; conception of αἰνίγμα κ. τ. λ. depends on that of

Clement of Alexandria 214; the human authors of Scripture were conscious of its spiritual signification on occasion 218-224; the objects of the spiritual sense made known to the prophets by revelations and visions 221-222; the mode of prophetic vision 222-223; the spiritual sense belongs to the objective structure of Scripture 224-226; God is the author of the spiritual sense 226-227; Moses *beheld* Christ's mystery 227-229; David had knowledge of Christ's mystery 229-231; does not seem to regard his moralizing explanations as belonging to the objective structure of Scripture 232; *θεωρία πνευματική*, his favourite designation of the *objective* spiritual sense 238-239; his theory of prophetic vision somewhat resembles that of St. John Chrysostom 240; the dual world of Plato 33; 125; 129; 131; 198-199; 201; 204; 211; 212; presentation of exegesis in *De adoratione* 243-244; *Glaphyra* 244; *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets* 245; treatment of the literal sense 245-246; eclectic character of his exegesis 246-247; 351ff.; the variants of the "*Hebrew edition*" 254-259; the variants of the *επεροι εμνηνευται* 259-265; remarks concerning *ἡ τῆς λέξεως συνθήκη* 266-269; suggests lexicographical changes 270-273; grammatical usage of Scripture 273-274; expressions peculiar to Scripture 274-281; Scripture does not distinguish between the Assyrians and the Babylonians 281; his historical introductions to the prophets compared with those of the Antiochians 301; his reconstructions of historical contexts compared with those of modern exegetes 301-303; and Josephus 308-309; avails himself of geography to expound the literal

sense 322-333; alternative explanations of the literal sense 346-351; refuting Didymus, defends the views of Antioch apropos of *Osee* 1; 356; 358<sup>s</sup>; 359-361; norms for establishing the spiritual sense 364-376; prudent use of etymologies 382-383; his anti-Jewish leanings an Antiochian trait? 387; theological flavour of his spiritual exegesis of *Ex.* 25-30 and 35-40 compared with that of other exegetes of Antiquity 389ff., especially 417-419; the spiritual explanations of *Glaphyra* compared with Origen's homilies: points of contact and differences 419-427; alternative explanations of the spiritual sense 427-433; his sources 433-434; an exponent of the Alexandrian school with progressive leanings 439-444; the value of his literal exegesis 444-445; an appraisal of his spiritual exegesis 455-461; Antiochian leanings 371; dependence on the Antiochians 439<sup>2</sup>; dependence on St. Athanasius 94; dependence on St. Basil 439<sup>5</sup>; dependence on Eusebius 439<sup>4</sup>; dependence on St. Jerome 33; 85-87; 110; 256; 262-263; 265; 307; 319-322; 333; 338; 350-351; 363; 389; 435-439; instances of his independence of St. Jerome 440-441; influence of Origen 166<sup>5</sup>; dependence on Origen 389; 439<sup>3</sup>; dependence on pagan authors 439<sup>1</sup>.  
Damascus 328<sup>s</sup>.

Daniélou, J. 25<sup>4</sup>; senses of Scripture in early Christian tradition 26-28; Origen's division of the senses of Scripture 31; 135<sup>2</sup>; 136<sup>1</sup>; 136<sup>2</sup>; 148<sup>4</sup>; 163<sup>3</sup>; 167<sup>2</sup>; 177<sup>1</sup>; 179<sup>1</sup>; 187<sup>5</sup>; defence of patristic exegesis 446<sup>2</sup>; 446<sup>4</sup>; 447<sup>5</sup>; 447<sup>6</sup>; 447<sup>7</sup>; 447<sup>8</sup>; 448<sup>1</sup>; criticism of J. Coppens 454<sup>1</sup>; 454<sup>2</sup>; claims that St. Cyril's sp. exegesis is "allegorical" 458<sup>5</sup>; 458<sup>6</sup>; 459<sup>1</sup>; 459<sup>2</sup>; 459<sup>4</sup>.

- David (commentator of Porphyry) 92<sup>2</sup>.
- Deconinck, J. 39<sup>8</sup>.
- Delling, G. 46<sup>5</sup>; 270<sup>6</sup>.
- De Lubac, H. 25<sup>1</sup>; 26<sup>1</sup>; Origen's divisions of the senses of Scripture 29-31; 115<sup>4</sup>; 115<sup>5</sup>; 116<sup>1</sup>; 116<sup>8</sup>; defence of Origen 117-118; 442<sup>7</sup>; 131<sup>3</sup>; 135<sup>3</sup>; 164<sup>2</sup>; 176<sup>1</sup>; 177<sup>1</sup>; 179<sup>1</sup>; 228<sup>1</sup>; 235<sup>5</sup>; 237<sup>2</sup>; 294<sup>1</sup>; 440<sup>4</sup>; 442<sup>7</sup>; plea in favour of the spiritual sense 448<sup>3</sup>; 448<sup>4</sup>; 449<sup>1</sup>; 449<sup>2</sup>; 449<sup>3</sup>; 459<sup>3</sup>.
- Dennefeld, L. 172<sup>1</sup>; 172<sup>4</sup>; 173<sup>1</sup>; 173<sup>5</sup>; 174<sup>3</sup>; 174<sup>4</sup>; 174<sup>7</sup>; 267<sup>5</sup>; 276<sup>6</sup>; 279<sup>4</sup>; 303<sup>4</sup>; 303<sup>6</sup>; 309<sup>1</sup>; 339<sup>2</sup>; 339<sup>7</sup>; 340<sup>1</sup>; 340<sup>5</sup>.
- Demetrius 204<sup>1</sup>.
- Devreesse, R. 14<sup>11</sup>; 39<sup>9</sup>; 52<sup>3</sup>; 56<sup>3</sup>; 93<sup>1</sup>; 294<sup>1</sup>; 338<sup>8</sup>; 338<sup>9</sup>; 371<sup>3</sup>; 442<sup>9</sup>.
- Dempsey, P. 60<sup>9</sup>.
- Didymus 3<sup>4</sup>; 3<sup>10</sup>; 9; division of the senses of Scripture 32; 32<sup>1</sup>; 34; 39<sup>2</sup>; 116<sup>2</sup>; 116<sup>3</sup>; 186<sup>9</sup>; 187<sup>2</sup>; definition of παραβολή 210; definition of αἰνύμα 210<sup>7</sup>; commentaries on *Isaias*, *Osee* and *Zachary* 248<sup>5</sup>; the adversary envisaged by St. Cyril apropos of *Osee* 1; 358<sup>6</sup>; 359-360; 435; 436<sup>3</sup>; 437; 439; probable influence on St. Cyril 440<sup>9</sup>; treatment of the literal sense 442<sup>8</sup>.
- Diekamp, F. 14<sup>10</sup>; 39<sup>2</sup>.
- Diel, E. 91<sup>2</sup>.
- Diestel, L. VI<sup>2</sup>.
- Diodorus of Tarsus 398; and the *sensus literalis improprius* 52 f.; exegetical terminology 53<sup>2</sup>; 53<sup>3</sup>; 54<sup>4</sup>; 55<sup>6</sup>; indirect prophecy 118; meaning of θεωρεῖν 118; description of αἰνύμα 212<sup>2</sup>; 240<sup>1</sup>.
- Dionysius of Alexandria 11.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus 48<sup>1</sup>; 374<sup>7</sup>.
- Divino afflante Spiritu* V; 87<sup>4</sup>; 112<sup>6</sup>; references to the spiritual sense 450<sup>10</sup>; interpretations of L. Cerfaux 451<sup>3</sup>; A. Miller 451-452.
- Doctrina Patrum* 14.
- Drioton, E. 2<sup>2</sup>; 444<sup>3</sup>.
- Dubarle, A. M. 37<sup>5</sup>; 51<sup>4</sup>; 216<sup>2</sup>; 234<sup>1</sup>; 235<sup>2</sup>; 443<sup>3</sup>; 447<sup>2</sup>; advocates a new form of spiritual exegesis 452<sup>3</sup>; 453<sup>6</sup>.
- Duchesne, L. 6<sup>1</sup>.
- Du Manoir de Juaye, H. 6<sup>2</sup>; 6<sup>3</sup>; 7<sup>1</sup>; 9<sup>2</sup>; 10<sup>2</sup>; 10<sup>7</sup>; 11<sup>2</sup>; 12<sup>2</sup>; 12<sup>3</sup>; 12<sup>4</sup>; 12<sup>5</sup>; 12<sup>7</sup>; 20<sup>1</sup>; 20<sup>2</sup>; 21<sup>5</sup>; 40<sup>9</sup>; 94<sup>3</sup>; 189<sup>2</sup>; 419<sup>2</sup>; 439<sup>1</sup>; 455<sup>3</sup>; 456<sup>1</sup>; the high standard of St. Cyril's spiritual doctrine 460<sup>1</sup>; 460<sup>2</sup>.
- Elias (the Neoplatonist) 92<sup>1</sup>.
- Enchiridion biblicum* n. 338 92<sup>2</sup>.
- Ephrem of Antioch 14.
- Ernesti, J. C. 45<sup>2</sup>; 47<sup>6</sup>; 55<sup>2</sup>; 63<sup>3</sup>; 74<sup>2</sup>; 77<sup>9</sup>; 79<sup>6</sup>; 266<sup>1</sup>.
- Eunomius 3.
- Euripides 292<sup>3</sup>; 292<sup>4</sup>.
- Eusebius the Presbyter 4.
- Eusebius of Caesarea 11; 39<sup>4</sup>; and the *sensus literalis improprius* 58; 109<sup>1</sup>; 109<sup>3</sup>; 116<sup>7</sup>; commentaries on *Isaias* and *Osee* 248<sup>4</sup>; 260<sup>3</sup>; 285<sup>3</sup>; 290<sup>4</sup>; traditions of the Jews 311<sup>2</sup>; 312<sup>4</sup>; 313<sup>3</sup>; 314<sup>7</sup>; 317<sup>6</sup>; 319; 322; 327<sup>4</sup>; 328<sup>11</sup>; 339<sup>9</sup>; 340<sup>3</sup>; 341<sup>2</sup>; 347<sup>9</sup>; 348<sup>2</sup>; 348<sup>4</sup>; 351<sup>6</sup>; 352<sup>3</sup>; 352<sup>9</sup>; 354<sup>4</sup>; 354<sup>7</sup>; 355<sup>1</sup>; 363; spiritual interpretations 428<sup>5</sup>; 428<sup>6</sup>; 429<sup>2</sup>; 429<sup>7</sup>; 433<sup>6</sup>; 435; 436; influence on St. Cyril 439<sup>4</sup>; 442<sup>4</sup>.
- Evetts, B. 10<sup>3</sup>; 10<sup>4</sup>; 10<sup>7</sup>; 11<sup>1</sup>.
- Faivre, J. 1<sup>5</sup>; 2<sup>7</sup>; 3<sup>2</sup>.
- Faulhaber, M. 40<sup>3</sup>.
- Fernandez, A. 35<sup>1</sup>; 112<sup>2</sup>; 215<sup>3</sup>.
- Festugière, A. J. 181<sup>5</sup>.
- Feuillet, A. 299<sup>3</sup>.
- Friedlaender, P. 283<sup>8</sup>.
- Fifth edition (the) 264.
- Fritz, G. 5<sup>1</sup>.
- Fonck, L. 281<sup>2</sup>.
- Gabaa 326<sup>2</sup>.
- Galgala 326<sup>1</sup>.
- Galilee 326<sup>4</sup>.
- Garofalo, S. 451<sup>1</sup>.
- Garrigou-Lagrange, R. 458<sup>3</sup>.
- Gaza 325<sup>2</sup>.

- Gelin, A. 446<sup>3</sup>; 447<sup>4</sup>.  
 Gennadius Massiliensis 9<sup>2</sup>.  
 Gerara 325<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ginzberg, L. 311<sup>3</sup>; 312<sup>2</sup>; 312<sup>3</sup>; 313<sup>2</sup>; 313<sup>7</sup>; 315<sup>6</sup>; 316<sup>6</sup>; 317<sup>1</sup>; 317<sup>4</sup>; 317<sup>5</sup>; 319<sup>3</sup>.  
 Gray, G. B. 293<sup>2</sup>.  
 Gregory of Elvira 27.  
 Gregory of Nazianzus (St.) 4<sup>2</sup>; 39<sup>7</sup>; "cosmic" interpretation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>9</sup>.  
 Gregory of Nyssa, (St.) 4; 39<sup>6</sup>; and the *σκητός* of Scripture 93<sup>2</sup>; 116<sup>9</sup>; develops the Pauline interpretation of the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>14</sup>; 393<sup>7</sup>; 393<sup>8</sup>; 394<sup>2</sup>; 394<sup>3</sup>; 396<sup>8</sup>; 399<sup>5</sup>; 403<sup>4</sup>; 408<sup>6</sup>; 410<sup>3</sup>; 410<sup>4</sup>; 411<sup>4</sup>; 412<sup>6</sup>; 413<sup>5</sup>; 417.  
 Gribomont, J. 25<sup>1</sup>; 112<sup>7</sup>; 217<sup>2</sup>; 217<sup>3</sup>; 453<sup>3</sup>; 453<sup>6</sup>.  
 Guillet, J. VII<sup>4</sup>; 118<sup>4</sup>; 118<sup>5</sup>; 118<sup>6</sup>; 119<sup>1</sup>; 119<sup>2</sup>; 121<sup>2</sup>; 217<sup>1</sup>; 228<sup>1</sup>; 229<sup>10</sup>; differences between the schools of Alexandria and Antioch 234<sup>2</sup>; 235<sup>3</sup>; 235<sup>6</sup>; 235<sup>7</sup>; 236<sup>1</sup>; 236<sup>2</sup>; 236<sup>3</sup>; 236<sup>4</sup>; 236<sup>5</sup>; 237<sup>1</sup>; 237<sup>2</sup>; 240<sup>1</sup>; 371<sup>2</sup>; 371<sup>4</sup>; a new method of spiritual exegesis 453<sup>4</sup>; 453<sup>6</sup>; 456<sup>5</sup>; 458<sup>2</sup>.  
 Hamath 329<sup>1</sup>; 329<sup>2</sup>.  
 Harper, W. R. 274<sup>5</sup>.  
 Hatch, E. 140<sup>3</sup>.  
 Hayduck, M. 91<sup>7</sup>.  
 Heidet, L. 296<sup>7</sup>.  
 Hermaniuk, M. 28<sup>2</sup>; 28<sup>3</sup>; 28<sup>4</sup>; 28<sup>5</sup>; 29<sup>9</sup>; 57<sup>4</sup>; 63<sup>4</sup>; 64<sup>2</sup>; 83<sup>1</sup>; 146<sup>1</sup>; 146<sup>4</sup>; 146<sup>5</sup>; 146<sup>6</sup>; 147<sup>1</sup>; 147<sup>2</sup>; 181<sup>5</sup>; 181<sup>6</sup>; 182<sup>1</sup>; 205<sup>4</sup>; 205<sup>5</sup>; 205<sup>6</sup>; 205<sup>7</sup>; 206<sup>1</sup>; 206<sup>2</sup>; 206<sup>3</sup>; 207<sup>1</sup>; 207<sup>2</sup>; 207<sup>3</sup>; 207<sup>5</sup>; 207<sup>6</sup>; 207<sup>8</sup>; 208<sup>2</sup>; 208<sup>4</sup>; 209<sup>1</sup>; 209<sup>2</sup>; 209<sup>4</sup>; 209<sup>5</sup>.  
 Hermann, F. 285<sup>3</sup>.  
 Hermeias 91<sup>5</sup>.  
 Hermes 283<sup>6</sup>.  
 Hertrich, V. 277<sup>2</sup>.  
 Herodotus 285<sup>3</sup>.  
 Hesiod 282<sup>8</sup>; 285<sup>2</sup>.  
 Hesychius of Jerusalem 40<sup>3</sup>; 117<sup>2</sup>.  
 Hilary (St.) 40<sup>4</sup>; develops the Pauline interpretation of the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>13</sup>; 394<sup>4</sup>.  
 Hippolytus (the archimandrite) 8<sup>3</sup>.  
 Hippolytus of Rome 27; 249<sup>3</sup>; 436<sup>8</sup>.  
 Homer 287<sup>1</sup>; 291<sup>2</sup>; 292<sup>2</sup>.  
 Honorius of Autun 60.  
 Horst, F. 280<sup>4</sup>.  
 Hugh of St. Victor 60.  
*Humani generis* references to the spiritual sense 450<sup>11</sup>; interpretations of A. Bea 451<sup>1</sup>; G. Lambert 451<sup>2</sup>.  
 Iamblichus and the norm of *εἰς σκοπός* 89-91.  
*Initiation biblique* 297<sup>6</sup>; 299<sup>3</sup>; 299<sup>4</sup>; 300<sup>5</sup>; 301<sup>2</sup>; 302<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ireneus (St.) 27; 183<sup>1</sup>.  
 Isidore of Pelusium (St.) 5<sup>1</sup>; 10; 10<sup>6</sup>; 20-21; 40<sup>2</sup>; 117<sup>1</sup>.  
 Isigonus of Citium 287<sup>4</sup>.  
 Janssens, L. 12<sup>4</sup>.  
 Jerome (St.) 4<sup>4</sup>; 4<sup>5</sup>; 4<sup>10</sup>; 9<sup>5</sup>; division of senses of Scripture 34<sup>1</sup>; 34<sup>2</sup>; 34<sup>3</sup>; 40<sup>7</sup>; and the *sensus literalis improprius* 58; exegetical terminology 58<sup>4</sup>; 58<sup>5</sup>; 58<sup>8</sup>; 62<sup>2</sup>; 64<sup>3</sup>; 66<sup>7</sup>; 67<sup>3</sup>; 68<sup>3</sup>; 70<sup>1</sup>; 70<sup>5</sup>; 70<sup>6</sup>; 71<sup>1</sup>; 72<sup>2</sup>; 72<sup>4</sup>; 73<sup>5</sup>; 74<sup>1</sup>; 75<sup>3</sup>; 75<sup>4</sup>; 76<sup>1</sup>; 76<sup>2</sup>; 76<sup>3</sup>; 76<sup>4</sup>; 77<sup>1</sup>; 77<sup>2</sup>; 77<sup>3</sup>; 77<sup>4</sup>; 77<sup>6</sup>; 77<sup>7</sup>; 77<sup>8</sup>; 78<sup>2</sup>; 78<sup>4</sup>; 78<sup>7</sup>; 79<sup>6</sup>; 80<sup>1</sup>; 80<sup>2</sup>; 80<sup>3</sup>; 80<sup>4</sup>; 81<sup>1</sup>; 81<sup>2</sup>; anthropomorphisms 81<sup>5</sup>; 82<sup>1</sup>; 84<sup>2</sup>; 84<sup>3</sup>; 84<sup>5</sup>; 86<sup>4</sup>; 87<sup>1</sup>; and the *sensus* of Scripture 93<sup>3</sup>; 97<sup>2</sup>; 100<sup>1</sup>; 101<sup>3</sup>; 104<sup>1</sup>; 105<sup>2</sup>; 106<sup>1</sup>; 109<sup>1</sup>; 109<sup>3</sup>; 110<sup>1</sup>; 110<sup>4</sup>; 116<sup>10</sup>; rule of interpreting prophecy 120<sup>3</sup>; 175<sup>2</sup>; 176<sup>3</sup>; definitions of allegory 213<sup>2</sup>; 213<sup>6</sup>; enigma 214<sup>1</sup>; parable 214<sup>1</sup>; 214<sup>2</sup>; 214<sup>3</sup>; 219<sup>4</sup>; 238; 239<sup>1</sup>; 239<sup>2</sup>; 240; commentaries of Antiquity 247<sup>3</sup>; 248<sup>1</sup>; 248<sup>2</sup>; 248<sup>3</sup>; 248<sup>4</sup>; 248<sup>5</sup>; 249<sup>1</sup>; 249<sup>2</sup>; 249<sup>3</sup>; textual criticism 254<sup>4</sup>; 255<sup>5</sup>; 256<sup>1</sup>; 256<sup>3</sup>; 256<sup>7</sup>; 257<sup>2</sup>; 258<sup>2</sup>; 258<sup>3</sup>; 258<sup>5</sup>; 258<sup>7</sup>; 259<sup>1</sup>; 259<sup>2</sup>; 259<sup>1</sup>; 259<sup>10</sup>; 260<sup>3</sup>; 260<sup>5</sup>; 261<sup>1</sup>; 261<sup>2</sup>; 261<sup>4</sup>; 261<sup>6</sup>; 262<sup>1</sup>; 262<sup>4</sup>; 262<sup>5</sup>; 263<sup>3</sup>; 264<sup>2</sup>; 264<sup>5</sup>; 265<sup>1</sup>; 265<sup>3</sup>; 271<sup>3</sup>;



- 271<sup>3</sup>; 272<sup>2</sup>; 280<sup>5</sup>; 281; references to Bible History 297<sup>5</sup>; 298<sup>4</sup>; 298<sup>5</sup>; 299<sup>3</sup>; 299<sup>4</sup>; 299<sup>5</sup>; 300<sup>1</sup>; 300<sup>3</sup>; 300<sup>4</sup>; 301<sup>1</sup>; 302<sup>2</sup>; 303<sup>1</sup>; 303<sup>3</sup>; 305<sup>1</sup>; 305<sup>2</sup>; 305<sup>3</sup>; 306<sup>1</sup>; 306<sup>2</sup>; 306<sup>3</sup>; 306<sup>4</sup>; 307<sup>1</sup>; 307<sup>2</sup>; 307<sup>4</sup>; use of Josephus 308<sup>2</sup>; 308<sup>3</sup>; 308<sup>4</sup>; 308<sup>5</sup>; 309<sup>1</sup>; 309<sup>5</sup>; traditions of the Jews 280<sup>5</sup>; 281; 310; 311<sup>4</sup>; 312<sup>3</sup>; 313<sup>4</sup>; 313<sup>5</sup>; 314<sup>1</sup>; 314<sup>4</sup>; 314<sup>5</sup>; 316<sup>2</sup>; 316<sup>5</sup>; 317<sup>2</sup>; 318<sup>3</sup>; 318<sup>4</sup>; 318<sup>5</sup>; 318<sup>7</sup>; 318<sup>8</sup>; 318<sup>9</sup>; 318<sup>10</sup>; 318<sup>11</sup>; 319<sup>1</sup>; 319-322; interest in sacred geography 323<sup>6</sup>; 324<sup>1</sup>; 324<sup>3</sup>; 324<sup>5</sup>; 325<sup>1</sup>; 325<sup>2</sup>; 325<sup>3</sup>; 325<sup>4</sup>; 325<sup>5</sup>; 325<sup>7</sup>; 325<sup>8</sup>; 325<sup>9</sup>; 326<sup>2</sup>; 326<sup>3</sup>; 326<sup>4</sup>; 327<sup>2</sup>; 327<sup>4</sup>; 328<sup>1</sup>; 328<sup>2</sup>; 328<sup>3</sup>; 328<sup>4</sup>; 328<sup>5</sup>; 328<sup>6</sup>; 328<sup>7</sup>; 328<sup>9</sup>; 328<sup>10</sup>; 328<sup>11</sup>; 329<sup>1</sup>; 329<sup>5</sup>; 329<sup>6</sup>; 331<sup>2</sup>; 331<sup>3</sup>; 332<sup>1</sup>; 333<sup>3</sup>; peculiarities of prophetic style 334<sup>1</sup>; changes of persons speaking 334<sup>5</sup>; 335<sup>1</sup>; 335<sup>5</sup>; 335<sup>7</sup>; 335<sup>11</sup>; 335<sup>12</sup>; 335<sup>13</sup>; 335<sup>14</sup>; 336<sup>2</sup>; 336<sup>7</sup>; 336<sup>8</sup>; changes of addressees: 337<sup>2</sup>; 337<sup>3</sup>; 337<sup>5</sup>; 337<sup>7</sup>; 337<sup>9</sup>; 337<sup>12</sup>; 339<sup>5</sup>; 339<sup>9</sup>; 340<sup>4</sup>; 341<sup>1</sup>; 342<sup>2</sup>; 342<sup>8</sup>; 342<sup>12</sup>; 343<sup>3</sup>; 343<sup>8</sup>; 344<sup>5</sup>; 344<sup>7</sup>; 345<sup>4</sup>; 345<sup>5</sup>; 345<sup>6</sup>; 347<sup>9</sup>; 348<sup>2</sup>; 348<sup>4</sup>; 348<sup>5</sup>; 349<sup>3</sup>; 349<sup>4</sup>; 349<sup>5</sup>; 349<sup>7</sup>; 350<sup>2</sup>; 350<sup>4</sup>; 350<sup>6</sup>; 350<sup>8</sup>; 350<sup>10</sup>; 350<sup>12</sup>; 350<sup>14</sup>; 350<sup>15</sup>; 351<sup>6</sup>; 352<sup>1</sup>; 352<sup>10</sup>; 353<sup>4</sup>; 353<sup>7</sup>; 354<sup>5</sup>; 354<sup>8</sup>; 354<sup>9</sup>; 354<sup>10</sup>; 355<sup>1</sup>; 355<sup>5</sup>; interpretation of *Osee 1*; 358<sup>2</sup> 358<sup>3</sup>; 358<sup>4</sup>; 359<sup>2</sup>; 359<sup>8</sup>; 360<sup>7</sup>; 361<sup>4</sup>; 361<sup>5</sup>; 361<sup>7</sup>; 362<sup>4</sup>; 362<sup>7</sup>; 363<sup>4</sup>; 367<sup>5</sup>; rules for establishing types 369<sup>1</sup>; 369<sup>2</sup>; 369<sup>3</sup>; 385<sup>3</sup>; anti-heretical bias reflected in his exegesis 387<sup>14</sup>; 387<sup>16</sup>; 388<sup>1</sup>; 388<sup>2</sup>; 388<sup>3</sup>; 388<sup>4</sup>; 388<sup>5</sup>; 388<sup>11</sup>; 388<sup>12</sup>; 388<sup>13</sup>; 388<sup>15</sup>; 388<sup>16</sup>; 388<sup>18</sup>; 388<sup>21</sup>; 388<sup>22</sup>; 388<sup>24</sup>; 389<sup>1</sup>; "cosmic" interpretation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>7</sup>; spiritual interpretations 428<sup>4</sup>; 428<sup>6</sup>; 429<sup>3</sup>; 430<sup>3</sup>; 431<sup>2</sup>; 431<sup>8</sup>; 432<sup>2</sup>; 432<sup>3</sup>; 432<sup>4</sup>; 432<sup>5</sup>; 432<sup>9</sup>; 432<sup>10</sup>; 432<sup>13</sup>; 433<sup>2</sup>; 433<sup>4</sup>; 433<sup>7</sup>; 434<sup>1</sup>; influence on St. Cyril 435-439, especially, 437<sup>2</sup>; 437<sup>3</sup>; 437<sup>4</sup>; 437<sup>5</sup>; 437<sup>6</sup>; 438<sup>1</sup>; 438<sup>2</sup>; 438<sup>3</sup>; 438<sup>4</sup>; 438<sup>5</sup>; 438<sup>6</sup>; 438<sup>7</sup>; 438<sup>8</sup>; 438<sup>9</sup>; 438<sup>10</sup>; 438<sup>11</sup>; 438<sup>12</sup>; 438<sup>13</sup>; 441<sup>7</sup>; 442<sup>1</sup>; 442<sup>2</sup>; 442<sup>3</sup>; 442<sup>4</sup>; 442<sup>5</sup>; 442<sup>6</sup>; 443<sup>4</sup>; 443<sup>7</sup>; 445.
- John of Antioch 6.  
John of Jerusalem 7.  
John of Nikiu 8<sup>1</sup>.  
Joppa 325<sup>5</sup>.  
Josaphat 326.  
Josephus quoted by St. Cyril 308-309; "cosmic" interpretation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>2</sup>; 409<sup>10</sup>; 414<sup>2</sup>; 417.  
Jouassard, G. the chronology of St. Cyril's writings 12-19; 13<sup>1</sup>; 13<sup>2</sup>; 13<sup>3</sup>; 13<sup>4</sup>; 13<sup>5</sup>; 14<sup>1</sup>; 14<sup>2</sup>; 14<sup>3</sup>; 14<sup>6</sup>; 15<sup>2</sup>; 15<sup>7</sup>; 16<sup>5</sup>; 17<sup>2</sup>; 17<sup>5</sup>; 20<sup>4</sup>; 419<sup>3</sup>.  
Jouon, P. 273<sup>4</sup>; 273<sup>5</sup>.  
Judaea the geography of 323-327.  
Juelicher, A. 365<sup>1</sup>.  
Julian the Apostate the writings of 2 criticisms of cosmogony of Moses 95-96; discovers myths in: *Gen. 1*, 1 ff. (282-284); *Gen. 2*, 21 ff. (285-286); *Gen. 3*, 1 ff. (287-288); *Gen. 2*, 17 (288); *Gen. 3*, 23 f. (288-289); *Gen. 6*, 1-4 (289-290); *Gen. 6*, 5 ff. (290-291); *Gen. 11*, 1 ff. (291-292).  
Julian of Eclanum 40<sup>5</sup>; 100<sup>1</sup>; 119<sup>2</sup>; 238; 239; 296<sup>2</sup>; 297<sup>5</sup>; 297<sup>6</sup>; 298<sup>4</sup>; 310<sup>1</sup>; formulae used to introduce alternative explanations 346<sup>4</sup>; Alexandrian exegesis of *Osee 1* 356<sup>5</sup>; 357<sup>1</sup>; 357<sup>2</sup>; 357<sup>3</sup>; 357<sup>4</sup>; 358<sup>1</sup>; Antiochian exegesis of *Osee 1* 359<sup>1</sup>; 359<sup>2</sup>; 359<sup>3</sup>; 360<sup>10</sup>; personal opinion on *Osee 1* 361<sup>1</sup>; criticism of St. Jerome applicable to St. Cyril? 445<sup>3</sup>.  
Junilius Africanus and the *sensus litteralis improprius* 60; exegetical terminology 60<sup>1</sup>.  
Junker, H. 172<sup>2</sup>; 172<sup>3</sup>; 174<sup>6</sup>; 300<sup>5</sup>; 301<sup>2</sup>; 307<sup>2</sup>; 307<sup>3</sup>; 336<sup>4</sup>; 336<sup>5</sup>; 336<sup>9</sup>; 337<sup>11</sup>; 338<sup>1</sup>; 338<sup>2</sup>; 338<sup>3</sup>; 338<sup>7</sup>; 343<sup>10</sup>; 344<sup>1</sup>; 344<sup>9</sup>.  
Justin (St.) 27.  
Kallenberg, H. 285<sup>3</sup>.

- Kehoe, R. 25<sup>1</sup>.  
 Kissane, E. J. 297<sup>2</sup>; 303<sup>4</sup>; 303<sup>6</sup>; 304<sup>4</sup>;  
     305<sup>1</sup>; 305<sup>2</sup>; 305<sup>3</sup>; 306<sup>1</sup>; 306<sup>2</sup>; 308<sup>2</sup>;  
     308<sup>4</sup>; 334<sup>3</sup>; 334<sup>4</sup>; 334<sup>6</sup>; 335<sup>1</sup>; 335<sup>2</sup>;  
     335<sup>6</sup>; 335<sup>8</sup>; 335<sup>11</sup>; 335<sup>12</sup>; 336<sup>11</sup>; 355<sup>6</sup>.  
 Kitians (the) their habitat 324<sup>5</sup>.  
 Kittel, R.—Kahle, P. 271<sup>3</sup>.  
 Koenig, E. 273<sup>4</sup>.  
 Kroll, G. 91<sup>3</sup>.  
 Lachis 325<sup>8</sup>.  
 Lagrange, M. J. 9<sup>3</sup>; 137<sup>2</sup>; 378<sup>1</sup>.  
 Lambert, G. interpretation of *Hu-*  
*mani generis* 451<sup>2</sup>.  
 Landersdorfer, S. 297<sup>1</sup>; 302<sup>4</sup>; 302<sup>5</sup>;  
     302<sup>6</sup>; 302<sup>8</sup>; 302<sup>11</sup>; 303<sup>2</sup>; 304<sup>5</sup>; 306<sup>4</sup>.  
 Lebanon 328<sup>10</sup>.  
 Lebon, J. 16<sup>5</sup>.  
 Leimbach, K. 174<sup>1</sup>.  
 Leipoldt, J. 125<sup>1</sup>; 211<sup>2</sup>; 442<sup>8</sup>.  
 Levie, J. 451<sup>2</sup>.  
 Liddell and Scott 186<sup>9</sup>.  
 Lippl, J. 171<sup>2</sup>; 171<sup>3</sup>; 173<sup>3</sup>; 301<sup>3</sup>; 306<sup>3</sup>;  
     306<sup>4</sup>; 307<sup>1</sup>; 335<sup>13</sup>; 335<sup>14</sup>; 337<sup>2</sup>; 337<sup>5</sup>;  
     337<sup>7</sup>; 337<sup>9</sup>; 342<sup>4</sup>; 342<sup>9</sup>; 349<sup>5</sup>.  
 Longinus 45<sup>2</sup>.  
 Lucian 251; 252; 270<sup>2</sup>.  
 Lycophron 293<sup>2</sup>; 294<sup>1</sup>.  
 Macarius 10.  
 Mahé, J. 20<sup>3</sup>.  
 Mai, A. 14<sup>11</sup>.  
 Manicheans (the) at Alexandria 3.  
 Mansi, J. D. 6<sup>1</sup>.  
 Mariès, L. 39<sup>8</sup>; 53<sup>7</sup>; 53<sup>2</sup>; 53<sup>3</sup>; 53<sup>4</sup>;  
     118<sup>1</sup>; 118<sup>2</sup>; 118<sup>3</sup>; 118<sup>4</sup>; 212<sup>2</sup>; 212<sup>3</sup>.  
 Marsh, H. G. 149<sup>1</sup>.  
 Martin, C. 167<sup>1</sup>; 168<sup>2</sup>.  
 Maspero, J. 2<sup>2</sup>.  
 Mercati, G. 15<sup>1</sup>; 230<sup>1</sup>; 230<sup>2</sup>; 442<sup>12</sup>.  
 Merx, A. 444<sup>5</sup>.  
 Methodius of Olympus develops the  
     Pauline interpretation of the "tent  
     of meeting" 390<sup>12</sup>; 401<sup>4</sup>; 403<sup>2</sup>.  
 Migne, J. P. 15<sup>4</sup>.  
 Millar, J. 296<sup>5</sup>.  
 Miller, A. interpretation of *Dumio*  
*afflante Spiritu* 451 452, ascribes  
     to the sp. sense a role resembling  
     that expounded by St. Cyril 461<sup>4</sup>.  
 Moehler, J. A. 448<sup>2</sup>.  
 Moeller, C. 449<sup>5</sup>; 450<sup>6</sup>; 450<sup>9</sup>.  
 Mohle, A. 250<sup>2</sup>.  
 Mondésert, C. 29<sup>1</sup>; 29<sup>2</sup>; 29<sup>3</sup>; 29<sup>4</sup>; 29<sup>5</sup>;  
     29<sup>6</sup>; 29<sup>7</sup>; 29<sup>8</sup>; 49<sup>1</sup>; 116<sup>4</sup>; 125<sup>1</sup>; 149<sup>1</sup>;  
     149<sup>2</sup>; 195<sup>6</sup>.  
 Mowinckel, S. 292<sup>6</sup>.  
 Nauck, A. 194<sup>2</sup>; 287<sup>2</sup>; 287<sup>5</sup>.  
 Negeb 325<sup>7</sup>.  
 Nephtali 326<sup>4</sup>.  
 Nestorius 6; 7; 16; 18.  
 Neubauer, A. 326<sup>5</sup>.  
 Neumann, C. J. 2<sup>4</sup>; 283<sup>7</sup>; 285<sup>1</sup>; 288<sup>2</sup>;  
     288<sup>6</sup>; 289<sup>5</sup>.  
 Nimrîm 328<sup>4</sup>.  
 Odollam 325<sup>3</sup>.  
 Oepke, A. 125<sup>3</sup>; 126<sup>1</sup>; 275<sup>4</sup>.  
 Olympiodorus of Alexandria 117<sup>2</sup>.  
 Origen 4; 11-12; 27; divisions of sen-  
     ses of Scripture 29-31; and the  
     *sensus litteralis improprius* 56 ff.;  
     exegetical terminology 57<sup>1</sup>; 57<sup>2</sup>;  
     116<sup>1</sup>; 116<sup>6</sup>; the historicity of Scrip-  
     ture 117-118; the harmony of both  
     Testaments 132-134; the *κήρυγμα*  
     140-141; 135<sup>3</sup>; 136<sup>1</sup>; 158<sup>1</sup>; 159<sup>2</sup>;  
     166<sup>5</sup>; 176<sup>1</sup>; 179<sup>1</sup>; 195<sup>7</sup>; definition  
     of *παραβολή* 207<sup>1</sup>; 207<sup>7</sup>; definition  
     of *αἰνigma* 208<sup>3</sup>; definition of *δι-*  
     *ληγοεῖα* 209<sup>1</sup>; 209<sup>7</sup>; 228<sup>1</sup>; 229; 235-  
     237; 237<sup>2</sup>; commentaries on *Isaias*  
     and the *Minor Prophets* 247-248;  
     282<sup>4</sup>; 282<sup>5</sup>; 282<sup>6</sup>; 284<sup>5</sup>; 285<sup>2</sup>; 288<sup>1</sup>;  
     290<sup>1</sup>; 291<sup>2</sup>; 294<sup>1</sup>; 309; 310; 316; 319;  
     322<sup>5</sup>; 371<sup>4</sup>; source of St. Cyril's  
     etymologies 383<sup>3</sup>; source of St. Cy-  
     ril's anti-heretical bias 389; "cos-  
     mic" interpretation of the prescrip-  
     tions concerning the "tent of mee-  
     ting" 390<sup>5</sup>; 408<sup>8</sup>; 411<sup>3</sup>; 435; 436<sup>3</sup>;  
     437; homilies of O. compared with  
     the spiritual explanations of *Gla-*  
     *phyra*; resemblances and differen-  
     ces: *In Gen. hom.* 2 (419-420); *In*  
     *Exod. hom.* 7 (420-422); *In Lev.*  
     *hom.* 8 (422-424); *In Num. hom.* 8  
     (425); *In librum Iesu Nave hom.* 9  
     (426-427); influence on St. Cyril

- 439<sup>3</sup>; 442<sup>4</sup>; differs from St. Cyril 440<sup>1</sup>; 440<sup>4</sup>; 440<sup>6</sup>; 440<sup>8</sup>; 443<sup>2</sup>; 451<sup>1</sup>; 457<sup>2</sup>; 457<sup>3</sup>; 459<sup>3</sup>; other elements in his interpretation of the "tent of meeting" 391<sup>2</sup>; 395<sup>2</sup>; 399<sup>4</sup>; 401<sup>3</sup>; 403<sup>1</sup>; 408<sup>4</sup>; 410<sup>1</sup>; 414<sup>1</sup>.
- Palestine ethnography of 324.
- Patrizi, F. X., 37<sup>3</sup>; 112<sup>1</sup>; 216<sup>1</sup>.
- Paul (St.) "typical" explanation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>11</sup>; 412; 417.
- Payne Smith, R. 19<sup>1</sup>; 184<sup>1</sup>; 199<sup>4</sup>; 199<sup>5</sup>; 199<sup>6</sup>; 199<sup>7</sup>; 199<sup>8</sup>; 200<sup>4</sup>; 205<sup>5</sup>; 200<sup>6</sup>; 365<sup>2</sup>.
- Penna, A. 34<sup>1</sup>; 58<sup>6</sup>; 64<sup>3</sup>; 77<sup>8</sup>; 78<sup>1</sup>; 80<sup>4</sup>; 80<sup>5</sup>; 83<sup>4</sup>; 120<sup>2</sup>; 333<sup>6</sup>; 334<sup>1</sup>; 385<sup>3</sup>.
- Peter of Poitiers 60.
- Petra 328<sup>2</sup>.
- Philastrus 40<sup>5</sup>.
- Philo 27; twofold sense of Scripture 28; 29; 30; 31; 32; 83; moralizing explanations compared with those of St. Cyril 155-164; 166<sup>6</sup>; 166<sup>7</sup>; 195<sup>5</sup>; his allegory 205-206; 281<sup>6</sup>; 282<sup>1</sup>; 322<sup>5</sup>; source of St. Cyril's etymologies 383<sup>3</sup>; "cosmic" interpretation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>1</sup>; 393<sup>3</sup>; 396<sup>4</sup>; 396<sup>5</sup>; 398<sup>3</sup>; 398<sup>8</sup>; 401<sup>2</sup>; 402<sup>6</sup>; 402<sup>7</sup>; 404<sup>4</sup>; 404<sup>5</sup>; 406<sup>6</sup>; 408<sup>3</sup>; 409<sup>6</sup>; 417.
- Philoponus 92<sup>3</sup>.
- Philostratus 287<sup>3</sup>.
- Photius 14<sup>3</sup>.
- Pierius 249<sup>2</sup>.
- Pinard, H. 169<sup>7</sup>.
- Pirot, L. 51<sup>3</sup>; 121<sup>2</sup>.
- Plato 89; 90; 91; cosmogony of 95-96; 283-284; the dual world of 28; 29; 32; 33; 125; 129; 131; 198-199; 202<sup>2</sup>; 205<sup>3</sup>; 206; 207; 285<sup>3</sup>; 288<sup>1</sup>; the weakness of the principle of the dual world: in metaphysics 455-456; in exegesis 456-457.
- Pohl, A. 268<sup>2</sup>.
- Pope, H. 51<sup>1</sup>.
- Porphyrus exegesis of 89<sup>2</sup>; 194<sup>2</sup>; 286<sup>3</sup>; 286<sup>5</sup>; 287<sup>2</sup>; 287<sup>5</sup>; 289<sup>3</sup>.
- Pouget, C. — Guitton, J. 25<sup>1</sup>.
- Powis Smith, J. M. 273<sup>2</sup>; 279<sup>2</sup>.
- Praechter, K. 89<sup>1</sup>; 89<sup>2</sup>; 89<sup>3</sup>; 90<sup>1</sup>; 90<sup>2</sup>; 91<sup>2</sup>; 91<sup>3</sup>; 91<sup>4</sup>; 91<sup>5</sup>; 91<sup>6</sup>; 94<sup>1</sup>; 286<sup>4</sup>.
- Prat, F. 31<sup>3</sup>.
- Proclus of Athens 91<sup>3</sup>.
- Pruemmm, K. 149<sup>3</sup>.
- Pseudo-Athanasius "cosmic" interpretation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>6</sup>.
- Pseudo-Chrysostom compared with St. Cyril 167-168; "cosmic" interpretation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>8</sup>.
- Pseudo-Epiphanius 316<sup>7</sup>.
- Pseudo-Justin "cosmic" interpretation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>3</sup>.
- Pusey, P. E. 251<sup>2</sup>; 252-253.
- Pythagoras 287<sup>5</sup>.
- Quintilian 63<sup>1</sup>; 74<sup>3</sup>; 74<sup>4</sup>; 74<sup>5</sup>; 79<sup>5</sup>; 80<sup>5</sup>.
- Rabbanus Maurus 60.
- Redepenning, E. R. 115<sup>8</sup>; 115<sup>10</sup>; 125<sup>1</sup>.
- Regazzoni, P. 2<sup>4</sup>; 290<sup>4</sup>.
- Renié, J. 37<sup>5</sup>; 215<sup>4</sup>.
- Reuss, J. 15<sup>7</sup>; 19<sup>4</sup>.
- Rhys Roberts, W. 204<sup>1</sup>; 204<sup>2</sup>; 266<sup>1</sup>; 374<sup>7</sup>.
- Richard, M. 10<sup>1</sup>; 10<sup>2</sup>; 39<sup>3</sup>.
- Rosenmüller, J. G. VI<sup>3</sup>; 40<sup>6</sup>; value of St. Cyril's literal exegesis 444<sup>4</sup>; criticism of St. Cyril's spiritual exegesis 455<sup>1</sup>.
- Ruecker, A. 19<sup>2</sup>; 19<sup>3</sup>; 211<sup>1</sup>.
- Saba 328<sup>5</sup>.
- Sayce, A. H. 300<sup>3</sup>.
- Scheeben, M. J. 458<sup>3</sup>.
- Schildenberger, J. criteria for determining authentic spiritual significations 449<sup>4</sup>; 449<sup>6</sup>; 449<sup>7</sup>; 450<sup>1</sup>; 450<sup>2</sup>; 450<sup>3</sup>; 450<sup>4</sup>; 450<sup>5</sup>; 450<sup>6</sup>; 450<sup>7</sup>.
- Scott, W. 283<sup>6</sup>.
- Segor 328<sup>3</sup>.
- Serapion of Thmuis 3<sup>3</sup>; 10.
- Severus of el-Eshmounein 10<sup>3</sup>; 10<sup>4</sup>; 10<sup>7</sup>; 11<sup>1</sup>.

- Shephelah 325<sup>7</sup>.  
 Sickenberger, J. 211<sup>3</sup>.  
 Simon, H.—Prado, J. 37<sup>5</sup>; 215<sup>2</sup>; 235<sup>2</sup>.  
 Simon, M. VII<sup>3</sup>; 3<sup>1</sup>; 387<sup>9</sup>; 387<sup>10</sup>.  
 Spengel, L. 55<sup>2</sup>; 62<sup>3</sup>; 63<sup>1</sup>; 63<sup>2</sup>; 63<sup>3</sup>; 63<sup>5</sup>; 64<sup>1</sup>; 75<sup>1</sup>; 77<sup>9</sup>; 78<sup>1</sup>; 79<sup>1</sup>; 79<sup>2</sup>; 202<sup>4</sup>.  
 Socrates 1<sup>3</sup>; 1<sup>4</sup>; 1<sup>5</sup>; 2<sup>1</sup>; 4<sup>8</sup>; 5<sup>1</sup>.  
 Sophron the παροῖμαι of 203-204.  
 Spicq, C. 25<sup>1</sup>; 26<sup>2</sup>; 60<sup>3</sup>; 60<sup>4</sup>; 60<sup>5</sup>; 60<sup>6</sup>; 60<sup>7</sup>; 60<sup>8</sup>; 60<sup>10</sup>; 61<sup>1</sup>; 234<sup>3</sup>; 447<sup>1</sup>; 453<sup>6</sup>.  
 Staehlin, O. 283<sup>8</sup>.  
 Strack, H. L.—Billerbeck, P. 378<sup>2</sup>.  
 Symmachus the variants of 253; 254; 257<sup>2</sup>; 259<sup>8</sup>; 260; 261; 263; 264.  
 Synave, P.—Benoît, P. 216<sup>3</sup>; 216<sup>4</sup>.  
 Syria the geography of 327-329.  
 Tarsus 328<sup>11</sup>.  
 Teman 328<sup>6</sup>.  
 Tertullian 27; 115<sup>7</sup>; norms for interpreting parables 365<sup>2</sup>; 367<sup>2</sup>.  
 Thabor 326<sup>6</sup>.  
 Theis, J. 171<sup>4</sup>; 263<sup>1</sup>; 297<sup>6</sup>; 301<sup>4</sup>; 302<sup>1</sup>; 335<sup>17</sup>; 342<sup>5</sup>.  
 Theodore of Mopsuestia 39<sup>9</sup>; the *sensus literalis improprius* 51f.; exegetical terminology 52<sup>1</sup>; 52<sup>2</sup>; 53<sup>3</sup>; 56<sup>3</sup>; the σκοπός of Scripture 93<sup>1</sup>; argument of *Osee* 96-97; ὑπόθεσις of Joel 98; ὑπόθεσις of *Amos* 99-100; argument of *Abdias* 101; argument of *Micheas* 102; argument of *Nahum* 102-103; ὑπόθεσις of *Habacuc* 103-104; argument of *Sophonias* 104-105; argument of *Aggeus* 105-106; argument of *Zachary* 106-108; views on prophetic presentiment 121; 229; 235-237; 238; 239; 250<sup>3</sup>; 297<sup>5</sup>; 297<sup>6</sup>; 298<sup>4</sup>; 298<sup>5</sup>; 299<sup>3</sup>; 299<sup>4</sup>; 300<sup>1</sup>; 300<sup>2</sup>; 300<sup>5</sup>; 301<sup>2</sup>; 310<sup>1</sup>; 323<sup>1</sup>; 338<sup>8</sup>; 338<sup>9</sup>; 342<sup>1</sup>; 342<sup>6</sup>; 342<sup>10</sup>; 343<sup>1</sup>; 343<sup>6</sup>; 344<sup>4</sup>; 359<sup>1</sup>; 360<sup>2</sup>; 360<sup>10</sup>; 362<sup>1</sup>; 362<sup>3</sup>; 363; rules for establishing types 370<sup>1</sup>; 370<sup>2</sup>; 370<sup>3</sup>; 370<sup>4</sup>; 370<sup>5</sup>; 370<sup>6</sup>; 371<sup>1</sup>; 443.  
 Theodoretus of Cyrillus 40<sup>1</sup>; and the *sensus literalis improprius* 55f.; exegetical terminology 56<sup>1</sup>; 56<sup>2</sup>; 56<sup>3</sup>; 56<sup>4</sup>; 56<sup>5</sup>; argument of *Osee* 97-98; 99<sup>6</sup>; 100<sup>1</sup>; 100<sup>3</sup>; 101<sup>5</sup>; argument of *Abdias* 102; argument of *Micheas* 102; 103<sup>6</sup>; προοίμιον of *Habacuc* 104; argument of *Sophonias* 105; ὑπόθεσις of *Aggeus* 106; argument of *Zachary* 107-108; 109<sup>1</sup>; 109<sup>2</sup>; 109<sup>3</sup>; 110<sup>1</sup>; 110<sup>4</sup>; 250<sup>3</sup>; 270<sup>2</sup>; 290<sup>1</sup>; 296<sup>2</sup>; 297<sup>5</sup>; 297<sup>6</sup>; 298<sup>5</sup>; 299<sup>3</sup>; 299<sup>4</sup>; 300<sup>1</sup>; 300<sup>2</sup>; 301<sup>2</sup>; 323; 329; 339<sup>5</sup>; 339<sup>6</sup>; 342<sup>1</sup>; 342<sup>6</sup>; 342<sup>12</sup>; 342<sup>13</sup>; 343<sup>1</sup>; 344<sup>4</sup>; 344<sup>5</sup>; formulae used to introduce alternative explanations 346<sup>2</sup>; 351<sup>6</sup>; 352<sup>5</sup>; 352<sup>10</sup>; 353<sup>3</sup>; 355<sup>7</sup>; 359<sup>4</sup>; 360<sup>1</sup>; 360<sup>2</sup>; 360<sup>5</sup>; 360<sup>10</sup>; 362<sup>1</sup>; 363; "cosmic" interpretation of the prescriptions concerning the "tent of meeting" 390<sup>10</sup>; 397<sup>5</sup>; 399<sup>6</sup>; 403<sup>7</sup>; 409<sup>9</sup>; 413<sup>7</sup>; 414<sup>1</sup>; other elements in his interpretation of the "tent of meeting" 391<sup>3</sup>; 398<sup>5</sup>; 401<sup>5</sup>; spiritual interpretations 428<sup>5</sup>; 429<sup>6</sup>; 431<sup>4</sup>; 433<sup>5</sup>; 443.  
 Theodotion the variants of 253; 254; 260; 261; 264.  
 Theophilus of Alexandria 4-5; 8; 9-10; 11; 39<sup>3</sup>; 249<sup>5</sup>; 249<sup>6</sup>.  
 Therapeutes (the) 28; 205<sup>6</sup>.  
 Thomas of Aquin (St.) the *sensus literalis improprius* 60-61.  
 Tiberius (the grammarian) 79<sup>1</sup>.  
 Tiberias (the lake of) 326<sup>4</sup>.  
 Titus of Bostra definition of παραβολή 211.  
 Tobac, E. 344<sup>5</sup>.  
 Tryphon 75<sup>1</sup>; 79<sup>2</sup>; 202<sup>4</sup>; 203.  
 Tyre 328<sup>7</sup>.  
 Ulrich of Strasburg 60.  
 Vaccari, A. 9<sup>1</sup>; 36<sup>6</sup>; 40<sup>8</sup>; 58<sup>3</sup>; reconstructs definition of θεωρία given by Julian of Eclanum 119; 120<sup>1</sup>; 122<sup>1</sup>; 240<sup>3</sup>; 346<sup>4</sup>; 441<sup>1</sup>; 443<sup>4</sup>.  
 Van den Eynde, D. 131<sup>3</sup>; 131<sup>4</sup>; 132<sup>7</sup>; 134<sup>2</sup>; 140<sup>7</sup>; 141<sup>1</sup>; 182<sup>4</sup>; 183<sup>1</sup>; 183<sup>4</sup>; 185<sup>6</sup>.  
 Van Hoonacker, A. 269<sup>2</sup>; 269<sup>3</sup>; 269<sup>4</sup>; 272<sup>2</sup>; 276<sup>8</sup>; 278<sup>9</sup>; 279<sup>4</sup>; 336<sup>3</sup>; 343<sup>9</sup>; 185<sup>5</sup>; 445<sup>2</sup>.

- |                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Vergote, J. 192 <sup>3</sup> .                                                                                                     | Zabulon 326 <sup>4</sup> .                                                                                        |
| Von Balthasar, N. 149 <sup>3</sup> .                                                                                               | Žalalis, C. 276 <sup>1</sup> .                                                                                    |
| Von Holzinger, C. 293 <sup>3</sup> .                                                                                               | Ziegler, J. 251 <sup>1</sup> ; 251 <sup>3</sup> ; 252 <sup>1</sup> ; 252 <sup>2</sup> ;                           |
| Weigl, E. 3 <sup>4</sup> ; 3 <sup>7</sup> ; 3 <sup>8</sup> ; 4 <sup>1</sup> ; 4 <sup>9</sup> ; 4 <sup>11</sup> ; 12 <sup>4</sup> ; | 252 <sup>3</sup> ; 252 <sup>4</sup> ; 252 <sup>5</sup> ; 252 <sup>6</sup> ; 253 <sup>1</sup> ; 253 <sup>3</sup> ; |
| 190 <sup>3</sup> .                                                                                                                 | 254 <sup>5</sup> ; 255; 256 <sup>6</sup> ; 257 <sup>2</sup> ; 259 <sup>8</sup> ; 260 <sup>1</sup> ;               |
| Woolcombe, K. J. 126 <sup>11</sup> ; 127 <sup>3</sup> .                                                                            | 261 <sup>7</sup> ; 264 <sup>4</sup> .                                                                             |
| Wuttke, G. 372 <sup>1</sup> .                                                                                                      | Zorell, F. 269 <sup>3</sup> ; 270 <sup>6</sup> ; 275 <sup>3</sup> ; 276 <sup>8</sup> ;                            |
| Wutz, F. 322 <sup>5</sup> ; 325 <sup>9</sup> ; 383 <sup>3</sup> .                                                                  | 277 <sup>7</sup> ; 278 <sup>2</sup> ; 279 <sup>2</sup> ; 307 <sup>1</sup> .                                       |
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## B) ANALYTICAL INDEX

*Abdias* σκοπός according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 101; argument according to Theodore of Mopsuestia 101; argument according to Theodoretus of Cyrillus 102; historical background of 298; the problem arising from the resemblances between St. Cyril's literal exegesis of A. and that of St. Jerome 436.

Adonis myth of 292-293.

*Aggeus* σκοπός according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 105-106; argument according to Theodore of Mopsuestia 105-106; ὑπόθεσις according to Theodoretus of Cyrillus 106; historical background of 300-301.

Alexandria the catechetical school 9; 28; 29; doctrinal trends at: paganism 1-2; the Jews 2-3; Arianism 3; Manichaeism 3-4; Apollinarianism 4; condemnation of Origen 4-5; polemics against Nestorianism 5-7.

*Alexandrinus* (codex) 251.

Alexandrian (exegesis) characteristics and tenets VII<sup>2</sup>; 27-28; esoteric leanings 49; terminology 56-58; attitude to anthropomorphisms 83<sup>1</sup>; 83<sup>2</sup>; pagan influences 94; 110; definition of θεωρία 117; respected the historicity of Scripture 117-118; harmony of both Testaments 131-135; justification of the spiritual sense 176-177; and γνώσις 183; differs from that of Antioch 235-237; opposition to myths 281-282; against the historicity of *Osee* I 356<sup>5</sup>;

356-358; all the details of Scripture are "typical" 371.

Allegorical (exegesis) Père Daniélou's definition 458<sup>5</sup>; 458<sup>6</sup>; 459<sup>1</sup>; 459<sup>2</sup>; 459<sup>4</sup>;

— (sense) 26; 56<sup>6</sup>.

Allegory of Philo 205-206.

Alternative explanations of the lit. sense 346-351; of the spir. sense 427-433.

*Amos* σκοπός according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 99-100; ὑπόθεσις according to Theodore of Mopsuestia 99-100; historical background of 298.

Anthropomorphisms included in the literal sense by St. Cyril 81-86.

Antioch the fatherland of anti-Jewish polemics 387<sup>9</sup>;

— (the school of): the rival of that of Alexandria VII<sup>2</sup>; 27; 40; and the metaphorical literal sense 51 ff.; affinities with St. Cyril 96 ff.; 110; criticism of school of Alexandria 117; connotations of θεωρία 118-121; criticism of its theory of the conscious collaboration of the hagiographer 217<sup>1</sup>; differs from that of Alexandria 235-237; and St. Cyril's theory of spiritual insight 237-240; disdain for Jewish traditions 310<sup>1</sup>; and the historicity of *Osee* I 356<sup>6</sup>; 358-359; restricts the number of biblical types 371; influence on St. Cyril 439<sup>2</sup>; 441<sup>2</sup>; 443-444.

Antiquity the *sensus literalis improprius* in 51-61; commentaries of A. on *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets* 247-250; exegetical usages of: alter-

- native explanations 346-347; anonymous references to sources 351; spiritual exegesis of exegetes of A. apropos of *Ex.* 25-30 and 35-40 compared with that of St. Cyril 389-419; opinions of exegetes of A. explicitly quoted apropos of the lit. sense of: *Is.* 5,1 (351); *Is.* 24,1 (352); *Is.* 24,21 f. (352); *Is.* 30, 26 (352-353); *Is.* 38, 18 f. (353); *Is.* 40, 1 f. (354); *Is.* 45, 13 (354); *Is.* 46, 1 (354-355); *Is.* 64, 6 f. (355); *Osee* 1 (356-361); *Zach.* 1, 18 f. (361-362); *Zach.* 5, 8 (362); *Zach.* 7, 1-3 (362); *Zach.* 10, 5-6 (362-363).
- Apostles (the) their knowledge compared with that of the prophets 132-133 (Clement of Alexandria), 133 (Origen), 133-134 (St. Cyril).
- Babel (the tower of) compared with the myth of the Aloidae 291-292.
- Christ could have been discovered by the Jews in the prophetic oracles 173-174; rejected by the Jews 175-176; interprets the spiritual sense for Christians 177-179; he acts as their shepherd 179; being the Light (179-183), he confers the gift of *γνώσις* on them which enables them to understand the Scriptures 183-185.
- Christ's mystery the object of the spiritual sense (according to St. Cyril) 129-131; and the Mosaic law 139-140; aspects discussed by St. Cyril in the *παίδευσις δογματική* 149-151; revealed by the Holy Spirit 188-189; Moses beheld it 227-229; David had knowledge of it 229-231; norms for discovering it in the literal sense 367-371.
- "Christological" (sense) 26-27.
- Commentaries of Antiquity on *Isaias* and the *Minor Prophets* 247-250.
- Cosmogony of Moses compared with that of Plato 95-96; 282-284.
- David had knowledge of Christ's mystery 229-231.
- Doctrinal *παίδευσις* (the) deals with Christ's mystery 148 ff.; aspects of the latter discussed by St. Cyril 150-151.
- Egypt (the religion of) St. Cyril's references to 444<sup>3</sup>.
- Ἑσπεροι ἐμφανεύονται (the) St. Cyril's use of their variants: *Is.* 60, 18 (260); *Os* 2, 14 (260); *Os.* 5, 13 (260-261); *Os.* 10, 5 (261); *Amos* 1, 1 (261); *Amos* 1, 4 (261); *Amos* 1, 6 (262); *Abdias* 20 (262-263); *Mich.* 1, 11 (263); *Hab.* 2, 11 (263-264); *Hab.* 2, 15 (264); *Zach.* 6, 13 (264-265).
- Ethical *παίδευσις* (the) St. Cyril's attitude to the moral precepts of the Mosaic law 152-155; his moralizing interpretations of *De adoratione* (*liber* I) compared with those of Philo 155-164.
- Etymologies: Noe 376-377; Sem 377-379; Ararat 379; Sara 379; Benjamin 379-380; Judah 380; Joseph 380; Dinah 380-381; Dan 381; Gad 381-382; Aser 382.
- Esoteric leanings (of St. Cyril) 49; 186-187; 460-461.
- Eve creation of 285-286.
- Exegesis (the history of) St. Cyril's place in 439-444.
- Expressions peculiar to Scripture 274-281.
- Faithful (the role of the simple) in the system of Clement 145-147; in that of St. Cyril 141-142; 147-148.
- Flood (the) 290-291.
- Genesis* συνοπία according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 95-96.
- Geography in the service of the literal sense 322-333.
- Gigantes* of *Gen.* 6, 1-4 (the) 289-290.
- Glaphyra* (the spiritual explanations of) compared with the homilies

- of Origen; points of contact and differences 419-427.
- "Gnosticism" 125; 131.
- "Gnostics" in the system of Clement of Alexandria 145-147; are not the exclusive interpreters of scripture 183.
- Grammatical (usage of Scripture) 273-274,
- Habacuc* ὑπόθεσις according to Theodore of Mopsuestia 103-104; ομοπρός according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 103-104; προοίμιον according to Theodoretus of Cyrhus 104; historical background of 300.
- Harmony of both Testaments (the) a key to the spiritual sense 131-135.
- Hebrew (language) merits of 254.
- "Hebrew edition" (the) St. Cyril's use of its variants: *Is.* 13, 21 (254); *Is.* 9, 8 (254); *Zach.* 13, 1 (254); *Zach.* 12, 10 (255); *Zach.* 14, 8 (255); *Osee* 6, 7 (255-256); *Os.* 8, 1 (256); *Os.* 11, 3 (256); *Amos* 1, 2 (256-257); *Amos* 1, 4 (257); *Amos* 6, 2 (257-258); *Amos* 9, 3 (258); *Mich.* 1, 1 (258-259); *Zach.* 6, 12 (259); *Zach.* 8, 10 (259).
- Hercules myth of 293.
- Heresy the Nestorian 5-6; 18-19; St. Cyril's opposition to h. reflected in his spiritual interpretations 387-389.
- Hexapla* (the) and St. Cyril 253; 255; 256; 258; 260; 261; 265; 270<sup>2</sup>.
- Hieroglyphics (the) views of Clement of Alexandria 193-194; quoted by St. Cyril to illustrate his theory of spiritual interpretation 192-193; 202-203.
- Historical setting (of the prophetic books) described by St. Cyril in his prologues 294-303; historical setting (of particular texts) *Is.* 7, 8 (303); *Is.* 7, 18 (303); *Is.* 9, 8-10 (304); *Is.* 16, 14 (304-305); *Is.* 17, 12 f. (305); *Is.* 23, 1 (305); *Is.* 29, 1 ff. (306).
- Hyperbole its role in indirect prophecy (according to the school of Antioch) 118-121.
- Isaias* excellence of his knowledge according to St. Cyril 134<sup>1</sup>; historical background of 297.
- Jews (the) in Alexandria 2-3; failed to understand the O. T. 168-171; gradual spiritualization of their religion 170-173; could have discovered Christ's portrait in the prophetic oracles 173-174; by rejecting Christ became utterly incapable of understanding the Scriptures 175-177; St. Cyril's opposition to them reflected in his spiritual interpretations 385-387.
- Jewish (exegetes) cultivate "changes of persons" 338.
- Joel* the ἀντίματᾶ of 65-71; argument according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 98; ὑπόθεσις according to Theodore of Mopsuestia 98; historical background of 297; Antiochian stamp of some of St. Cyril's spiritual explanations 441<sup>2</sup>.
- Jonas* historical background of 299; a type of Christ: the opinions of St. Cyril (368), St. Jerome (369), and Theodore of Mopsuestia (369-371).
- "Knowledge" (γνῶσις) an emanation produced by Christ the Light 183-185; the relations between it and πίστις 185-187.
- "Knowledge of good and evil" (the) 288.
- Lexicographical (changes) advocated by St. Cyril: *Is.* 30, 18 (270); *Os.* 4, 8 (270); *Os.* 13, 7 (271); *Amos* 4, 6 (271); *Amos* 5, 6 (271); *Amos* 5, 10 (271); *Amos* 7, 12 (272); *Zach.* 6, 1 (272).



*Soph.* 2, 4 (272); *Agg.* 1, 1 (272-273); *Mal.* 3, 10 (273).

Literal (exegesis) the problem arising from the resemblances between St. Cyril and St. Jerome 435-436; the value of St. Cyril's 444-445.

Literal sense (the) terminology: of modern writers 25-26; of St. Cyril 35-37; the extensive use of ἰστορία 39-40; of the school of Antioch 40; epithets used by St. Cyril to describe the objects of the l. s. 45-51; formulae used by St. Cyril to introduce alternative explanations of the l. s. 347 (see also 346<sup>1</sup>); descriptions of modern writers contrasted with the point of view of St. Cyril 37-39; 42 ff.; the nature and properties of its objects (according to St. Cyril) 45-51; its objects perceived obscurely on occasion by the prophets (according to St. Cyril) 61-62; includes μεταφορα (according to St. Cyril) 74-77; and anthropomorphisms 81-86; and the σκοπός: point of view of St. Cyril 87-88; 94; exponents of later Neoplatonism 89-92; St. John Chrysostom 92; Theodore of Mopsuestia 92-93; St. Gregory of Nyssa 93; St. Athanasius 93-94; St. Cyril's treatment of the σκοπός of different books of Scripture compared with the problems discussed by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus in their prologues: *Genesis* 95-96; *Osee* 96-98; *Joel* 98-99; *Amos* 99-101; *Abdias* 101-102; *Micheas* 102; *Nahum* 102-103; *Habacuc* 103-104; *Sophonias* 104-105; *Aggeus* 105-106; *Zachary* 106-108; *Malachy* 108; the σ. of particular texts 108-110; influence of Antiochian and Alexandrian factors on St. Cyril 110;

need of superseding it (according to St. Cyril) 111; 138-140; and St. Cyril's *ἡθροῦμα* 143<sup>1</sup>; 148<sup>1</sup>; its function (according to Clement of Alexandria) 146-147; St. Cyril's extensive use of Bible History in elucidating it 294-307; expounded in the light of geography 322-333; alternative explanations of: *Is.* 14, 29 (347); *Is.* 27, 5 (347-348); *Is.* 40, 22 (348); *Os.* 2, 11 (348); *Os.* 4, 13 f. (348-349); *Os.* 6, 8 (349-350); *Amos* 1, 9 f. (350<sup>1</sup>); *Amos* 2, 7 (350<sup>2</sup>); *Nahum* 1, 2-3 (350<sup>3</sup>); *Nahum* 3, 7 (350<sup>4</sup>); *Hab.* 1, 7 (350<sup>5</sup>); *Hab.* 2, 18 (350<sup>11</sup>); *Soph.* 2, 3 (350<sup>12</sup>); *Mal.* 2, 13 (350<sup>13</sup>); not every detail of it yields a spiritual signification 367-371; its treatment by St. Cyril compared with that of Origen 442-443.

*Malachy* σκοπός according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 108; historical background of 301.

*Marchalianus* (codex) 251.

Melchisedech a type of Christ 49; 372-374.

Metaphorical (literal sense) the points of view of: the school of Antioch 51; 60; Theodore of Mopsuestia 51-52; Diodorus of Tarsus 52-53; St. John Chrysostom 54-55; Theodoretus 55-56; Origen 56-57; Eusebius of Caesarea 58; St. Jerome 58; St. Augustine 58-60; Junilius Africanus 60; St. Thomas of Aquin 60-61; in St. Cyril's system: synonymity of αἰνίγμα/παράβολή/παράδειγμα 61-65; the objects of the literal sense were perceived *obscurely* at times by the prophets 61-62; *obscurity* of prophetic language 62; αἰνίγματα must be included in the literal sense 64-65; the αἰνίγματα of *Joel* 65-71; and of *Zachary* 71-74; μεταφοραί must be included in the literal

- sense 74-75; the figures of προσωποποιία 78; ἔμφασις 79-80; ὑπερβολή 80-81; anthropomorphisms must be included in the literal sense 81-86; influence of St. Jerome 86-87; envisages μυστήρια 204; connotation of αἰνigma when applied to it 204-205; its enigmas are obscure 204-205.
- Micheas* σκοπός according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 102; argument according to Theodore of Mopsuestia 102; argument according to Theodoretus of Cyrhus 102; historical background of 299.
- Moralizing (exegesis) of *De adoratione* (liber I) compared with that of Philo: *Gen.* 12, 10 (155); *Gen.* 12, 14 f. (156); *Gen.* 12, 17 (156); *Gen.* 12, 1-3 (157); *Gen.* 19, 15-23 (158); *Gen.* 13, 1-3 (159); *Ex.* 5, 1-3 (159); *Ex.* 8, 26 (160); *Ex.* 10, 8 ff. (161); *Ex.* 11, 2 (161); *Ex.* 12, 33 f. (161-163); resemblances and differences between Philo and St. Cyril 163-164; moralizing interpretations do not seem to belong to the objective structure of Scripture 232; St. Cyril's are dependent on his typology 459.
- Moses 232<sup>a</sup>; 233<sup>b</sup>; cosmogony compared with that of Plato 95-96; 282-284; a type of Christ 368; beheld τὰ πνευματικά 227-229.
- Mosaic (law) α παιδαγωγός to Christ's mystery 139-140; its binding force in St. Cyril's system 152-155; an instance of God's condescension to the Jews 169-170; the religious character of its αἰνίγματα 195; 203.
- Myths St. Cyril's dislike of m. reflected in his exegesis of: *Gen.* 1, 1 ff. (282-284); *Gen.* 2, 21 ff. (285-286); *Gen.* 3, 1 ff. (287-288); *Gen.* 2, 17 (288); *Gen.* 3, 23 f. (288-289); *Gen.* 6, 1-4 (289-290); *Gen.* 6, 5 ff. (290-291); *Gen.* 11, 1 ff. (291-292); *Is.* 13, 10 (292); *Job.* 9, 9 (292); *Is.* 18, 2 (292-293); *Jonas* 2, 1 ff. (293-294).
- Nahum* argument according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 102-103; argument according to Theodore of Mopsuestia 102-103; the historical background of 299-300.
- Neoplatonism in Alexandria 1-2; 12; cultivated the principle of εἰς σκοπός 89-92.
- Numbers spiritual meaning of 383-385.
- Orion myth of 292<sup>a</sup>; 292<sup>b</sup>.
- Osee* σκοπός according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 96-97; argument according to Theodore of Mopsuestia 96-97; argument according to Theodoretus of Cyrhus 97-98; historicity opposed by the Alexandrians 356-358 and St. Jerome 358; defended by the Antiochians 358-359 and St. Cyril 359-361; 232<sup>a</sup>; historical background of 297.
- Paganism in Alexandria 1-2.
- Parables see παραβολή; should be interpreted in the light of their σκοπός 364-365.
- Paradise expulsion of Adam and Eve from 288-289.
- Prophetic
- books (the) St. Cyril's general historical introduction to 295-297;
  - knowledge its extent: Clement of Alexandria 132; Origen 133;
  - language its obscurity 62;
  - vision its *modus* (according to St. Cyril) 222-223;
  - style peculiarities of 333-334; changes of persons speaking 334-336; changes of addressees 336-338.
- Prophecy hermeneutic rule enunciated by St. Jerome 120.
- (indirect) expressed in hyperbole (according to the school of An-

- tioch) 118-121; views of Theodore Mopsuestia 121.
- Pythagorean (influences) on St. Cyril? 441<sup>a</sup>; precepts 64; quoted by Clement of Alexandria 194<sup>a</sup>; quoted by St. Cyril to illustrate his theory of spiritual interpretation 194-195; 202-203.
- Roman empire (the) referred to in: *Is.* 2, 1-5 (339); *Is.* 6, 11 ff. (339-340); *Is.* 11, 15-16 (340); *Is.* 19, 1-15 (340-341); *Is.* 27, 4, 10 (341); *Is.* 66, 24 (341); *Os.* 2, 18 (341-342); *Joel* 1, 4 (342); *Mich.* 4, 4 (342); *Soph.* 1, 12 (342-343); *Zach.* 6, 1-8 (343-344); *Zach.* 9, 3-4 (344); *Zach.* 12, 10 (344); *Zach.* 14, 1-2 (344-345).
- Scripture does not distinguish between the Assyrians and the Babylonians 281.
- Scriptural (expressions) explained by St. Cyril 274-281.
- Senses (of Scripture) terminology: of modern writers 25-26; see *literal sense* and *spiritual sense*; division: of modern writers 25-26; Père Daniélou's version of the standpoint of early Christian tradition 26-28; Philo 28; Clement of Alexandria 28-29; Père de Lubac's presentation of Origen's view 29-31; Père Daniélou's criticism of Origen 31; Didymus 32; St. Cyril 32-33; St. Jerome 33-34; in St. Cyril's system they are specified by the *nature* of their objects 42-44.
- Sentences (arrangement of scriptural) remarks concerning: *Is.* 7, 17 (266); *Os.* 10, 5 (266-267); *Is.* 18, 5 f. (267); *Os.* 11, 7 (268); *Os.* 13, 14a (268); *Hab.* 2, 18 (268-269); *Zach.* 9, 1 f. (269); *Mal.* 1, 4 (269).
- Septuagint (the) and St. Cyril 250-253; 254; 256; 257; 258; 260; 261; 262; 263; 266; 271<sup>1</sup>; 274<sup>4</sup>; 275<sup>3</sup>; 277<sup>3</sup>; 289; 292<sup>a</sup>; 298<sup>a</sup>; 307<sup>1</sup>; 307<sup>4</sup>; 310; 350; 430<sup>a</sup>.
- Serpent of *Genesis* (the) its historicity 287-288.
- Sifre* 313<sup>7</sup>.
- Sinaiticus* (codex) 252.
- Sophonias* argument according to St. Cyril of Alexandria 104-105; argument according to Theodore of Mopsuestia 104-105; argument according to Theodoretus of Cyrhus 105; historical background of 300.
- Sources (St. Cyril's) St. Jerome 435-439; other sources 439.
- Spirit (the Holy) and the interpretation of Scripture: bestows γνῶσις 187<sup>3</sup>; reveals mysteries 188-189; relations between him and Christ 189; the πνευματικοί 189-190; an explanation of St. Cyril's affection for the expression θεωρία πνευματικῇ 190-191; 238-239.
- Spiritual (exegesis) the problem arising from the resemblances between St. Cyril and St. Jerome 436-437; St. Cyril's s. e. in the light of recent discussions: aversion of some to patristic exegesis 446-447; Père Daniélou's defence of s. e. 477-478; Père de Lubac's plea in favour of s. e. 448-449; criteria for establishing the sp. sense proposed by Dom. Schildenberger 449-450; norms of *Divino afflante Spiritu* and *Humani generis* 450-452; new methods of spiritual interpretation 452-455; — an appraisal of St. Cyril's: the weakness of the Platonic principle of the dual world 455-457; his explanations are not in historical continuity with the O. T. 457; his doctrine concerning the conscious collaboration of the hagiographer unsatisfactory 457-458; his doctrine concerning the aids conferred by the Holy Spirit

in likewise unsatisfactory 458; his explanations, however, are not "allegorical" in the sense suggested by Père Daniélou 458-459; St. Cyril's esoteric leanings 459-460; theological colouring of his exegesis 460-461; the role that St. Cyril himself ascribes to his sp. explanations 461<sup>1</sup>; their indirect value 461.

Spiritual (sense) terminology: of modern writers 111-112; expressions used by St. Cyril to indicate the sp. s. 112-115; expressions current in Antiquity 115-117; 125; the expression *θεωρία* in Alexandrian exegesis 117-118; in Antiochian exegesis 118-121; in the usage of St. Cyril 121-122; 190-191; 238-239; formulae used by St. Cyril to describe the objects of the sp. s.: generic 123-125; specific 129-131; origin of St. Cyril's terms 125-126; formulae introducing alternative explanations 427-428; role played in St. Cyril's system by the *objects of the literal sense* 126-129; its objects identical with realities belonging to "Christ's mystery" 129-131; and the harmony of both Testaments 131-135; its justification: Clement of Alexandria 135; Origen 135-136; St. Cyril 136-140; and the twofold *παίδευσις*: *κήρυγμα* and *παίδευσις* 140-142; St. Cyril's system 142-145; the function devolving on the spir. sense according to Clement 146-147; sources of St. Cyril's ideas 147-148; varieties cultivated by St. Cyril 165-168; not grasped by the Jews 168-176 (see Jews); can be grasped by Christians 177-187 (see Christ); and the Holy Spirit 187-191; definition of *παρεβολή/αἰνigma* given in *Contra Iulianum* 192; the hieroglyphics

192-194; the Pythagorean enigmas 194-195; the prescriptions of the law 195-196; definitions of *παροιμία* of the *Thesaurus* and the commentary on *St. John* 196-198; definition of *παρεβολή* given in the commentary on *St. Luke* 198-201; constitutive elements of St. Cyril's definitive notion of *παρεβολή* 201; St. Cyril's *αἰνigma* κ τ. λ. compared with the corresponding tropes of Greek rhetoric 202-205; and with the definitions of other interpreters of Scripture: Philo 205-206; Clement 206-207; Origen 207-210; Didymus 210-211; Titus of Bostra 211; Diodorus 212; St. Basil 213; St. John Chrysostom 213; St. Jerome 214-215; definitions of modern writers 215-218; the human authors of Scripture were conscious of its spiritual signification on occasion 218 ff.; its objects made known to the prophets by revelations and visions 221-222; and the *σκοπός* 223<sup>4</sup>; 227<sup>2</sup>; 227<sup>3</sup>; 364-366; belongs to the objective structure of Scripture 224-226; has God as its author 226-227; Moses *beheld* its objects 227-229; David *knew* its objects 229-231; only those parts of Scripture which can be linked up with Christ's mystery give rise to *objective* spiritual meanings 232; its objects perceived by a kind of spiritual insight 232-233; St. Cyril's conception differs from that of modern writers 234-235; *θεωρία πνευματική* St. Cyril's favourite designation of the *objective* spiritual sense 238-239; norms for establishing it: the *σκοπός* 364-366; brevity of exposition 366; not every detail of the literal sense yields a spiritual meaning 366-371; one should prescind from the *natures* of *par-*

# C) INDEX OF THE PRINCIPAL GREEK TERMS EXPLAINED OR REFERRED TO

ἀγέννητος 125.

αἰνίγμα (τό) definitions of Greek rhetorical 63<sup>5</sup>; 64<sup>1</sup>; 64<sup>2</sup>; conception of St. Cyril 62<sup>2</sup>; 64-65; 67<sup>2</sup>; 69; 71; 72<sup>3</sup>; 75; 126<sup>3</sup>; 127<sup>1</sup>; 127<sup>4</sup>; 192<sup>4</sup>; Origen's definition 208<sup>3</sup>; definition of Didymus 210<sup>7</sup>; description of Diodorus of Tarsus 212<sup>3</sup>; description of St. John Chrysostom 213<sup>2</sup>; 213<sup>3</sup>.

αἰνιγματωδῶς 69<sup>4</sup>; 71; 72; 73<sup>1</sup>; 73<sup>3</sup>; 195<sup>3</sup>; 229<sup>9</sup>.

αἰνίττομαι 71.

αἰσθάνομαι 46.

αἰσθησις (ἡ) 44<sup>5</sup>; 46-47; 84<sup>1</sup>; 85<sup>3</sup>.

αἰσθητά (τά) 33<sup>1</sup>; 43<sup>3</sup>; 44<sup>5</sup>; 46-47; 54<sup>1</sup>; 67; 69<sup>5</sup>; 82<sup>3</sup>; 455<sup>2</sup>.

αἰσθητά (γέννη) 28.

αἰσθητῶς 43<sup>4</sup>; 44<sup>5</sup>.

ἀκαλλές (τὸ...τῆς ἱστορίας) 46<sup>1</sup>.

ἀκοή (ἡ) 280<sup>2</sup>; 280<sup>4</sup>.

ἀκόλουθος 47-48.

ἀλήθεια (ἡ) 43<sup>4</sup>; 125; 126<sup>7</sup>.

ἀληθές (τό) 124<sup>6</sup>; 128<sup>3</sup>.

ἀληθής 125.

ἀληθινός 125.

ἀλληγορέω 56<sup>1</sup>.

ἀλληγορία (ἡ) 53<sup>3</sup>; 57<sup>2</sup>; 115<sup>4</sup>; 115<sup>5</sup>; 115<sup>6</sup>; 115<sup>9</sup>; 116<sup>3</sup>; 117<sup>6</sup>; 118<sup>1</sup>; Origen's definition 209<sup>1</sup>.

ἀναγκαῖα (τά) 82<sup>1</sup>; 126<sup>8</sup>; 136.

ἀναγωγή (ἡ) 55<sup>3</sup>.

ἀνθρῶπινως 81.

ἀόρατος 125.

ἀπεικόνισμα (τό) 28.

ἀποκάλυψις (ἡ ἀναμφίλογος) 197.

ἀρμόζω 128<sup>1</sup>.

ἀρχέτυπος 28.

ἀσυμφανῶς 85<sup>3</sup>.

ἀσώματος 28; 125.

ἄφθαρτος 125.

βλέπω 226<sup>1</sup>; 228; 233<sup>3</sup>.

γνώσις" (ἡ) 143<sup>5</sup>; an emanation produced by Christ's illumination 183-185; and πίστις 185-187; 194<sup>1</sup>; 197<sup>5</sup>; 198<sup>1</sup>; 198<sup>2</sup>.

γνωστικός 190.

διαθήκη (ἡ) 274<sup>5</sup>.

διάνοια (ἡ) 116<sup>3</sup>; 183<sup>7</sup>.

διαπλάττω 128<sup>5</sup>.

δογματική (παίδευσις) 143<sup>1</sup>; 148-151.

εἶδος (τό) 127<sup>4</sup>.

εἶδωλα (τά) 126<sup>4</sup>; 127<sup>4</sup>.

εἰκόνες (αἱ) 126<sup>5</sup>; 127<sup>1</sup>; 127<sup>2</sup>; 127<sup>3</sup>; 198.

ἐκδρομή (ἡ) 223.

ἐκστασις (ἡ) 275<sup>2</sup>; 275<sup>3</sup>; 275<sup>4</sup>; 275<sup>5</sup>.

ἐμφανεστέρα (τά) 49.

ἐμφασις (ἡ) definition of Greek rhetoric 79<sup>1</sup>; 79<sup>2</sup>; 79<sup>3</sup>; 79<sup>4</sup>; 79<sup>5</sup>; conception of St. Cyril 79<sup>6</sup>; 81<sup>1</sup>; 81<sup>2</sup>; 81<sup>3</sup>; 81<sup>4</sup>; 192<sup>5</sup>.

ἐξωφανῇ (τά) 48<sup>7</sup>.

ἐπιχρωματίζω 128<sup>6</sup>.

ἐσωτάτω (τά) 126<sup>9</sup>.

ἐφαρμόζω 129<sup>1</sup>.

ἡθικαὶ (ὁφηγήσεις) 33<sup>3</sup>.

ἡθική (παραίνεσις/παίδευσις) 143<sup>3</sup>; 143<sup>4</sup>; 152-164.

θάλασσα (ἡ) 276<sup>4</sup>; 276<sup>5</sup>; 276<sup>6</sup>; 276<sup>7</sup>; 276<sup>8</sup>.

θεοειδής 28.

θεοπτία (ἡ) 144<sup>1</sup>; 184<sup>5</sup>.

θεωρέω 238<sup>7</sup>.

θεωρία (ἡ) in Christian exegetical tradition 116-117; in Alexandrian usage 117-118; in Antiochian

ge 118-121; P. Vaccari's reconstruction of the definition of Julian of Eclanum 119; connotations in St. Cyril of Alexandria 121-122; 129<sup>7</sup>; 129<sup>8</sup>; 139<sup>2</sup>; 142.  
 θεωρία (ἡ πνευματική) 43<sup>1</sup>; 131<sup>2</sup>; a method of spiritual interpretation 190-191; St. Cyril's favourite designation of the *objective* spiritual sense 238-239.  
 θεωροί (οἱ) 222<sup>4</sup>.  
 ἱεροφάντης (ὁ) 181<sup>8</sup>.  
 ἵστημι (ἔστη) 275<sup>8</sup>; 276<sup>1</sup>; 276<sup>2</sup>; 276<sup>3</sup>.  
 ἱστορία (ἡ) 33<sup>1</sup>; 36-38; 41<sup>5</sup>; 43<sup>1</sup>; 47; 53<sup>4</sup>; 55<sup>3</sup>; 56<sup>4</sup>; 118<sup>2</sup>; 118<sup>3</sup>.  
 ἱστορικός 36<sup>9</sup>.  
 ἱστορικός (λόγος) 73<sup>6</sup>.  
 ἱστορικῶς 36<sup>9</sup>; 41<sup>4</sup>; 43<sup>2</sup>; 43<sup>4</sup>; 44<sup>5</sup>.  
 ἰσχναί (ἔννοιαι) 84<sup>1</sup>.  
 καρδιά (ἡ) 183<sup>7</sup>.  
 κεκρυμμένα (τά) 126<sup>10</sup>.  
 κέρως (τό) 276<sup>9</sup>; 277<sup>1</sup>.  
 κήρυγμα (τό) Origen 140-141; St. Cyril 141-142; 143<sup>4</sup>.  
 κρίμα (τό) 277<sup>2</sup>; 277<sup>3</sup>.  
 κρύπτω 125.  
 κυριολογία (ἡ) 55<sup>2</sup>.  
 κυρίως 56<sup>3</sup>.  
 λέξις (ἡ) 55<sup>2</sup>.  
 μεθίστημι 129<sup>2</sup>.  
 μερικὴ (ἐξήγησις) 92.  
 μερικώτερον 89<sup>2</sup>.  
 μεταπλάσμος (ὁ) 128<sup>2</sup>; 456<sup>7</sup>.  
 μεταπλάττω 129<sup>3</sup>.  
 μεταφορά definition of Greek rhetoric 75<sup>1</sup>; St. Cyril 75-77.  
 μεταφορικῶς 52<sup>1</sup>; 52<sup>2</sup>.  
 μεταχάραξις (ἡ) 128<sup>3</sup>; 456<sup>7</sup>.  
 μεταχαράττω 129<sup>4</sup>.  
 μεταχρωματίζω 129<sup>5</sup>.  
 μορφή (ἡ) 127<sup>4</sup>.  
 μυστήριον (τὸ) Clement of Alexandria 149<sup>1</sup>; Origen 149<sup>2</sup>; St. Athanasius 149<sup>3</sup>; St. Cyril 149-151.  
 μυστήριον (τὸ Χριστοῦ) 43<sup>2</sup>; 43<sup>4</sup>.  
 νοερός 125.  
 νόημα (τό) 116<sup>1</sup>.  
 νόσις (ἡ) 116<sup>1</sup>.

νοητά (τά) 55<sup>1</sup>; 126<sup>11</sup>; 455<sup>2</sup>.  
 νοητά (γένη) 28.  
 νοητός 28; 125.  
 νοητῶς 191<sup>2</sup>.  
 νουνεχέστεροι (οἱ) 48<sup>5</sup>; 48<sup>6</sup>; 48<sup>7</sup>; 48<sup>8</sup>; 48<sup>9</sup>; 143; 147-148; 186<sup>9</sup>; 190; 194<sup>1</sup>; 229<sup>2</sup>; 459-460.  
 νοῦς (ὁ) 46; 125; 183<sup>7</sup>.  
 ὁδός (ἡ) 278<sup>1</sup>.  
 ὁμοίωσις (ἡ) definition of Greek rhetoric 62<sup>2</sup>; St. Cyril's conception 76<sup>1</sup>; 126<sup>6</sup>.  
 ὁρατός 28.  
 οὐσιώδης 125.  
 παιδευσίς (ἡ) Clement of Alexandria 145-147; St. Cyril 142-145; 147-148.  
 παραβολή (ἡ) definition of Greek rhetoric 62<sup>2</sup>; 62<sup>3</sup>; 63<sup>2</sup>; St. Cyril's definitions 64-65; 192<sup>4</sup>; 198<sup>3</sup>; Origen's definition 207<sup>1</sup>; definition of Clement of Alexandria 206-207; definition of Didymus 210; definition of Titus of Bostra 211; description of St. John Chrysostom 213<sup>2</sup>; 213<sup>3</sup>.  
 παράδειγμα (τό) definitions of Greek rhetoric 62<sup>2</sup>; 63<sup>1</sup>; 374<sup>7</sup>; St. Cyril's conception 62<sup>2</sup>; 64-65; 67; 81; 82<sup>1</sup>; 126<sup>7</sup>; 374<sup>7</sup>.  
 παραφέρω 129<sup>6</sup>.  
 παροιμία (ἡ) 196<sup>3</sup>; 197<sup>4</sup>; 203<sup>5</sup>; definition of St. Basil 212.  
 πάχος (τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας) 45<sup>2</sup>; 45<sup>3</sup>; 45<sup>4</sup>; 45<sup>5</sup>.  
 παχύ (τό) 45<sup>1</sup>.  
 περισσεύω (ἡ) 277<sup>7</sup>.  
 περιττότης (ἡ) 47.  
 πίστις (ἡ) and γνώσις 185-187.  
 πνεῦμα (τό) 125.  
 πνευματικά (τά) 33<sup>1</sup>, 43<sup>3</sup>; 43<sup>4</sup>; 49-50; 126<sup>12</sup>.  
 πνευματική (θεωρία) 131<sup>1</sup>; a method of spiritual interpretation 190-191; St. Cyril's favourite designation of the *objective* spiritual sense 238-239.  
 πνευματικοί (οἱ) 189-190.  
 πνευματικός 125.  
 πνευματικῶς 191<sup>2</sup>.

- πορεία (ἡ) 278<sup>1</sup>; 278<sup>2</sup>.  
 ποτήριον (τό) 278<sup>3</sup>; 278<sup>4</sup>.  
 πούς (ὁ) 278<sup>5</sup>; 278<sup>6</sup>.  
 προσωποποιία (ἡ) definition of Greek rhetoric 77<sup>9</sup>; 78<sup>1</sup>; conception of St. Cyril 78<sup>1</sup>; 78<sup>2</sup>; 78<sup>3</sup>; 78<sup>4</sup>; 78<sup>5</sup>; 78<sup>6</sup>; 78<sup>7</sup>.  
 ῥάβδος (ἡ) 278<sup>8</sup>; 278<sup>9</sup>.  
 σαρκικοί (οἱ) 189.  
 σκιά (ἡ) 126<sup>8</sup>; 127<sup>1</sup>; 127<sup>2</sup>.  
 σκοπός (ὁ) 38<sup>7</sup>; 88<sup>1</sup>; 88<sup>2</sup>; and the literal sense 96; 99; 101; 102; 103; 105; 108; 109<sup>1</sup>; 109<sup>2</sup>; 110<sup>1</sup>; 110<sup>4</sup>; 110<sup>5</sup>; and the spiritual sense 225<sup>1</sup>; 225<sup>2</sup>; 225<sup>3</sup>; 225<sup>4</sup>; 225<sup>5</sup>; 226<sup>1</sup>; 227<sup>1</sup>; 227<sup>2</sup>; 227<sup>3</sup>.  
 σκοτεινός (λόγος) 210<sup>2</sup>.  
 σπουδή (ἡ) 279<sup>1</sup>; 279<sup>2</sup>.  
 στάσις (ἡ) 279<sup>3</sup>; 279<sup>4</sup>.  
 σύνθεσις (ἡ) 266.  
 συνθήκη (ἡ) 266<sup>1</sup>.  
 συνουσίασις (ἡ) 4.  
 σωματικά (τά) 33<sup>1</sup>, 44<sup>5</sup>; 49.  
 σωματικός 28.  
 σωματικῶς 56<sup>1</sup>.  
 τέλειοι (οἱ) 186<sup>3</sup>.  
 τρίβος (ὁ) 278<sup>1</sup>.  
 τροπή (ἡ) definition of Greek rhetoric 74<sup>2</sup>.  
 τροπικός 56<sup>6</sup>; 57<sup>1</sup>.  
 τροπολογία (ἡ) 53<sup>2</sup>.  
 τρόπος (ὁ) conception of Theodoretus 56<sup>2</sup>; definition of Greek rhetoric 74<sup>2</sup>.  
 τύπος (ὁ) 56<sup>2</sup>; 56<sup>4</sup>; 126<sup>9</sup>; 127<sup>1</sup>; 127<sup>2</sup>; 127<sup>3</sup>; 127<sup>4</sup>; 232<sup>4</sup>.  
 ὕβρις (ἡ) 280<sup>1</sup>; 280<sup>2</sup>.  
 ὑπερβολή (ἡ) definition of Greek rhetoric 80<sup>5</sup>; conception of St. Cyril 80<sup>6</sup>; 81<sup>1</sup>; 81<sup>2</sup>; 81<sup>3</sup>; 81<sup>4</sup>.  
 ὑπερβολικῶς 52<sup>1</sup>; 52<sup>2</sup>.  
 ὑπόθεσις (ἡ) 98; 101<sup>4</sup>; 104<sup>3</sup>; 106<sup>4</sup>; 110.  
 ὑπόνοια (ἡ) 116<sup>3</sup>.  
 ὑποτύπωσις (ἡ) 126<sup>10</sup>.  
 φυλακή (ἡ) 280<sup>3</sup>; 280<sup>4</sup>.  
 φωστήρ (ὁ) 181<sup>4</sup>; 182-183.  
 φωταγωγέω 181<sup>6</sup>.  
 φωτεινός 182<sup>4</sup>.  
 φωτισμός (ὁ) 181<sup>2</sup>; 183<sup>2</sup>; 187<sup>3</sup>.  
 χεῖρ (ἡ) 280<sup>5</sup>; 280<sup>6</sup>; 281<sup>1</sup>.  
 χθαμαλόν (τῆς ἱστορίας το) 43<sup>4</sup>; 45<sup>1</sup>.  
 ψυχικοί (οἱ) 189-190.

πορεία (ἡ) 278<sup>1</sup>; 278<sup>2</sup>.

ποτήριον (τό) 278<sup>3</sup>; 278<sup>4</sup>.

πούς (ὁ) 278<sup>5</sup>; 278<sup>6</sup>.

προσωποποιία (ἡ) definition of Greek rhetoric 77<sup>9</sup>; 78<sup>1</sup>; conception of St. Cyril 78<sup>1</sup>; 78<sup>2</sup>; 78<sup>3</sup>; 78<sup>4</sup>; 78<sup>5</sup>; 78<sup>6</sup>; 78<sup>7</sup>.

ῥάβδος (ἡ) 278<sup>8</sup>; 278<sup>9</sup>.

σαρκικοί (οἱ) 189.

σκιά (ἡ) 126<sup>8</sup>; 127<sup>1</sup>; 127<sup>2</sup>.

σκοπός (ὁ) 38<sup>7</sup>; 88<sup>1</sup>; 88<sup>2</sup>; and the literal sense 96; 99; 101; 102; 103; 105; 108; 109<sup>1</sup>; 109<sup>2</sup>; 110<sup>1</sup>; 110<sup>4</sup>; 110<sup>5</sup>; and the spiritual sense 225<sup>1</sup>; 225<sup>2</sup>; 225<sup>3</sup>; 225<sup>4</sup>; 225<sup>5</sup>; 226<sup>1</sup>; 227<sup>1</sup>; 227<sup>2</sup>; 227<sup>3</sup>.

σκοτεινός (λόγος) 210<sup>2</sup>.

σπουδή (ἡ) 279<sup>1</sup>; 279<sup>2</sup>.

στάσις (ἡ) 279<sup>3</sup>; 279<sup>4</sup>.

σύνθεσις (ἡ) 266.

συνθήκη (ἡ) 266<sup>1</sup>.

συνουσίωσις (ἡ) 4.

σωματικά (τά) 33<sup>1</sup>, 44<sup>5</sup>; 49.

σωματικός 28.

σωματικῶς 56<sup>1</sup>.

τέλειοι (οἱ) 186<sup>3</sup>.

τρίβος (ὁ) 278<sup>1</sup>.

τροπή (ἡ) definition of Greek rhetoric 74<sup>2</sup>.

τροπικός 56<sup>5</sup>; 57<sup>1</sup>.

τροπολογία (ἡ) 53<sup>2</sup>.

τρόπος (ὁ) conception of Theodoretus 56<sup>2</sup>; definition of Greek rhetoric 74<sup>2</sup>.

τύπος (ὁ) 56<sup>2</sup>; 56<sup>4</sup>; 126<sup>9</sup>; 127<sup>1</sup>; 127<sup>2</sup>; 127<sup>3</sup>; 127<sup>4</sup>; 232<sup>4</sup>.

ὑβρις (ἡ) 280<sup>1</sup>; 280<sup>2</sup>.

ὑπερβολή (ἡ) definition of Greek rhetoric 80<sup>5</sup>; conception of St. Cyril 80<sup>6</sup>; 81<sup>1</sup>; 81<sup>2</sup>; 81<sup>3</sup>; 81<sup>4</sup>.

ὑπερβολικῶς 52<sup>1</sup>; 52<sup>2</sup>.

ὑπόθεσις (ἡ) 98; 101<sup>4</sup>; 104<sup>3</sup>; 106<sup>4</sup>; 110.

ὑπόνοια (ἡ) 116<sup>3</sup>.

ὑποτύπωσις (ἡ) 126<sup>10</sup>.

φυλακή (ἡ) 280<sup>3</sup>; 280<sup>4</sup>.

φωστήρ (ὁ) 181<sup>4</sup>; 182-183.

φωταγωγέω 181<sup>6</sup>.

φωτεινός 182<sup>4</sup>.

φωτισμός (ὁ) 181<sup>2</sup>; 183<sup>2</sup>; 187<sup>3</sup>.

χείρ (ἡ) 280<sup>5</sup>; 280<sup>6</sup>; 281<sup>1</sup>.

χθαμαλόν (τῆς ἱστορίας τὸ) 43<sup>4</sup>; 45<sup>1</sup>.

ψυχικοί (οἱ) 189-190.



## D) INDEX OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

- Gen.* 1, 1 ff. 282-284; 2, 17 288; 2, 21 ff. 285-286; 3, 1 ff. 287-288; 3, 23 f. 288-289; 4, 1 ff. 166<sup>2</sup>, 385<sup>7</sup>; 6, 1-4 246<sup>4</sup>, 289-290; 6, 5 ff. 290-291; 9, 18-27 150<sup>10</sup>; 11, 1 ff. 291-292; 11, 4 81<sup>3</sup>; 11, 5 82<sup>2</sup>; 11, 7 292<sup>2</sup>; 12, 1-3 157; 12, 10 155; 12, 14 f. 156; 12, 17 156; 13, 1-3 159; 19, 15-23 158; 21, 10 166<sup>2</sup>, 385<sup>8</sup>; 25, 25 ff. 386<sup>1</sup>; 33, 6 ff. 386<sup>2</sup>; 49, 3 f. 386<sup>4</sup>; 49, 4 ff. 227<sup>2</sup>; 49, 5-7 366<sup>3</sup>; 49, 8 ff. 380<sup>5</sup>; 49, 16-19 381-382; 49, 20 382.
- Ex.* 3, 5 444<sup>3</sup>; 4, 8 150<sup>4</sup>; 4, 9 386<sup>5</sup>; 4, 25 276<sup>1</sup>, 276<sup>2</sup>; 5, 1 ff. 151<sup>1</sup>, 159; 5, 3 41<sup>1</sup>, 444<sup>3</sup>; 8, 26 160, 444<sup>3</sup>; 10, 8 ff. 161; 11, 2 161; 12, 1 ff. 167-168; 12, 14 f. 153-154; 12, 33 f. 162; 16, 1-15 44<sup>6</sup>; 18, 1-22 150<sup>5</sup>; 19, 9 178; 19, 10, 15 229<sup>8</sup>; 21, 6 41<sup>2</sup>; 21, 16 387<sup>11</sup>; 22, 16 f. 48<sup>2</sup>; 30, 7-10 150<sup>6</sup>; 34, 33 48<sup>7</sup>; 38, 8 444<sup>3</sup>.
- Lev.* 2, 14 48<sup>3</sup>; 11, 1-8, 13-10 154-155; 13, 8 375<sup>4</sup>, 14, 1 ff. 48<sup>4</sup>, 14, 22 375<sup>5</sup>, 14, 4 229<sup>7</sup>, 15 192<sup>1</sup>, 16, 15 f. 192<sup>1</sup>, 16, 23 f. 139<sup>4</sup>, 170-171; 19, 35 153; 23, 9-14 151<sup>8</sup>.
- Num.* 5, 2 166<sup>2</sup>, 385<sup>6</sup>; 10, 1-8 141<sup>2</sup>, 142<sup>2</sup>; 11, 29 233<sup>3</sup>; 12, 1 ff. 366<sup>4</sup>; 12, 2 386<sup>3</sup>; 15, 16-22 151<sup>8</sup>; 16, 1 ff. 166<sup>2</sup>, 385<sup>6</sup>.
- Dt.* 16, 18 f. 166<sup>2</sup>, 385<sup>4</sup>; 17, 5 385<sup>4</sup>; 21, 1-18 386<sup>3</sup>; 22, 22 ff. 48<sup>2</sup>; 22, 28 f. 387<sup>12</sup>; 22, 29 41<sup>3</sup>; 23, 1 ff. 44<sup>7</sup>; 24, 7 41<sup>2</sup>, 387<sup>11</sup>; 25, 13-16 153; 27, 1-8 229<sup>9</sup>; 31, 6 229<sup>9</sup>; 31, 7 229<sup>9</sup>; 31, 8 229<sup>9</sup>; 31, 27-35 169-170
- 1 *K.* 12, 2 f. 174<sup>1</sup>; 21, 8 377<sup>8</sup>; 22, 9 ff. 377<sup>2</sup>.
- 2 *K.* 17, 5 302<sup>10</sup>; 18, 7 302<sup>10</sup>.
- 3 *K.* 11, 1-10 295<sup>2</sup>; 11, 11-13 295<sup>2</sup>; 15, 22 307<sup>1</sup>.
- 4 *K.* 14, 31 f. 156-157; 16, 9 257.
- 2 *Paral.* 26, 1-8 298<sup>4</sup>.
- 1 *Esr.* 1, 3 309<sup>6</sup>; 4, 7-10 298<sup>4</sup>.
- Job* 5, 13 382<sup>1</sup>; 9, 9 292<sup>6</sup>.
- Psa.* 2, 1 f. 174<sup>2</sup>; 8 231<sup>3</sup>; 8, 5 233<sup>3</sup>; 9 104<sup>3</sup>; 9, 8 54<sup>1</sup>; 10, 7 278<sup>3</sup>; 15, 14 378<sup>4</sup>; 39, 3 279<sup>4</sup>; 44, 7 278<sup>8</sup>; 44, 8 231<sup>4</sup>; 46, 1 54<sup>1</sup>; 49, 1 231<sup>1</sup>; 51, 5 f. 377<sup>8</sup>, 377<sup>9</sup>; 64, 10 382<sup>7</sup>; 74, 5 f. 276; 84, 9 280<sup>4</sup>; 91, 14 377<sup>10</sup>; 103, 16 f. 277<sup>5</sup>; 103, 25 f. 276<sup>7</sup>; 106, 23 ff. 81<sup>4</sup>; 109, 2 278<sup>8</sup>; 111, 9 277; 115, 1 278<sup>8</sup>; 118, 24 231<sup>2</sup>; 118, 32 278<sup>1</sup>, 379<sup>1</sup>; 118, 59 278<sup>6</sup>; 118, 73 280<sup>6</sup>.
- Prov.* 4, 26 278<sup>6</sup>; 5, 17-18 54<sup>1</sup>; 5, 19 54<sup>1</sup>; 8, 1 382<sup>6</sup>; 8, 22 196-197; 9, 1 196.
- Cant.* 2, 10 277.
- Is.* 1, 10 f. 169<sup>3</sup>; 1, 13 f. 154; 1, 21 386<sup>10</sup>; 1, 22 311-312, 322; 1, 22 f. 386<sup>11</sup>; 1, 24 386<sup>12</sup>; 2, 1-5 339; 3, 12 386<sup>13</sup>; 5, 1 351; 5, 2 312-313, 438<sup>1</sup>; 5, 6 313; 5, 14 75<sup>3</sup>; 6, 2 313-314; 6, 11 ff. 339-340; 7, 1 ff. 42<sup>1</sup>; 7, 2 275<sup>2</sup>, 275<sup>3</sup>; 7, 8 303<sup>4</sup>; 7, 10 f. 214<sup>3</sup>; 7, 17 266; 7, 18 303<sup>5</sup>, 303<sup>6</sup>; 7, 21 ff. 58<sup>2</sup>; 8, 3 f. 58<sup>1</sup>; 8, 21 f. 386<sup>14</sup>; 9, 8 254; 9, 8-10 304; 9, 11 f. 308<sup>2</sup>; 10, 1-4 386<sup>15</sup>; 10, 19 314<sup>4</sup>; 9, 19 f. 308<sup>4</sup>; 10, 20 174<sup>7</sup>; 10, 28 314; 11, 6 54<sup>1</sup>; 11, 9 276<sup>5</sup>; 11, 10 428; 11, 12 227<sup>2</sup>; 11, 15 f. 340, 444<sup>3</sup>; 13, 10 292<sup>6</sup>; 13, 13 81<sup>1</sup>; 13, 21 254; 14, 9 ff. 78<sup>4</sup>; 14, 29 108-109; 15, 5-7 438<sup>2</sup>; 16, 5 f. 336<sup>11</sup>; 16, 14 304-305, 17, 3 79<sup>6</sup>, 17, 12 f. 305<sup>2</sup>; 18, 2

- 292-293; 18, 5 f. 267;  
19, 1 428; 19, 1-15 340-  
341; 19, 10 251; 19,  
18 308<sup>3</sup>; 19, 19 80<sup>1</sup>; 21,  
3 f. 78<sup>3</sup>; 21, 16 f. 387<sup>13</sup>;  
22, 15 314-315; 22, 20 ff.  
315<sup>5</sup>; 22, 20-24 386<sup>16</sup>;  
23, 1 305<sup>2</sup>; 23, 4 78<sup>4</sup>;  
23, 14 f. 365<sup>4</sup>; 24, 1  
352; 24, 21 f. 352; 25,  
3-5 386<sup>17</sup>; 26, 14 f.  
386<sup>18</sup>; 26, 20 f. 334<sup>8</sup>;  
27, 4, 10 341; 27, 9  
34<sup>3</sup>; 28, 1 386<sup>19</sup>; 28,  
4 375<sup>5</sup>; 28, 22 334<sup>4</sup>;  
8, 23 334<sup>6</sup>; 29, 1 ff.  
06<sup>1</sup>; 29, 10 251; 29,  
3 386<sup>20</sup>; 29, 14 382<sup>1</sup>;  
1, 6 ff. 306<sup>2</sup>; 30, 18  
0; 30, 26 352-353;  
1, 22 381<sup>6</sup>; 33, 13  
6<sup>21</sup>; 33, 18 f. 386<sup>22</sup>;  
1, 20 f. 335<sup>1</sup>; 35, 3-4  
7<sup>4</sup>; 38, 1 316; 38,  
259<sup>11</sup>; 38, 18 f. 353;  
7 316-317; 40, 1  
318; 40, 1 f. 354;  
10-11 377<sup>4</sup>; 40, 29 ff.  
; 41, 11 173<sup>2</sup>; 42, 24  
43, 10 379<sup>4</sup>; 44,  
35<sup>2</sup>; 44, 24 f. 335<sup>2</sup>;  
1 309<sup>4</sup>; 45, 8 223<sup>1</sup>;  
1, 223<sup>2</sup>, 366<sup>5</sup>; 45,  
354; 46, 1 354-  
47, 11-13 109; 48,  
309<sup>7</sup>; 49, 8 ff.  
49, 8 ff. 434<sup>1</sup>; 49,  
1<sup>2</sup>; 49, 16 f. 281<sup>1</sup>;  
81<sup>5</sup>; 50, 2 f. 335<sup>4</sup>;  
f. 335<sup>5</sup>; 50, 6  
50, 6 f. 335<sup>6</sup>; 51,  
278<sup>4</sup>; 52, 6 178;  
1. 335<sup>7</sup>; 53, 4 ff.  
53, 5 f. 376<sup>7</sup>;  
222<sup>3</sup>, 273; 53,  
29; 56, 1 173<sup>5</sup>;  
2 429; 58, 1 109;  
75; 60, 17 386<sup>23</sup>;
- 60, 18 260; 60, 19  
438<sup>3</sup>; 63, 1 ff. 335<sup>9</sup>; 63,  
7 335<sup>10</sup>; 63, 8 335<sup>11</sup>;  
63, 15 ff. 335<sup>12</sup>; 64, 6  
438<sup>4</sup>; 64, 6 f. 355; 65, 9  
251; 65, 16 380<sup>7</sup>; 65,  
25 429; 66, 5 378<sup>4</sup>; 66,  
24 341.
- Jer.* 2, 12 275<sup>1</sup>, 275<sup>3</sup>; 3,  
16 172<sup>1</sup>; 5, 30 275<sup>1</sup>,  
275<sup>3</sup>; 6, 16 278<sup>1</sup>; 22, 6  
277<sup>6</sup>; 23, 5 173<sup>4</sup>; 38,  
21 279<sup>4</sup>.
- Lam.* 4, 20 174<sup>4</sup>.
- Ez.* 1, 7 279<sup>4</sup>; 8, 14 292<sup>10</sup>;  
17, 3 f. 62<sup>2</sup>; 23, 2-4  
386<sup>3</sup>; 43, 27 173<sup>1</sup>; 44,  
15b-16 172<sup>4</sup>.
- Dan.* 7, 2-3 276<sup>4</sup>.
- Os.* 1 356-361; 1, 2 273-  
274; 1, 3 42<sup>2</sup>; 1, 4 265<sup>3</sup>;  
1, 8 f. 166<sup>3</sup>; 1, 10 252;  
1, 11 173<sup>2</sup>, 429, 438<sup>5</sup>;  
2, 2 335<sup>12</sup>; 2, 3 252;  
2, 8 387<sup>14</sup>; 2, 14 260;  
2, 17 (18) 252, 341-  
342; 2, 19 430; 3, 1;  
386<sup>24</sup>; 3, 2 f. 384-385;  
3, 4 f. 171<sup>3</sup>; 4, 1 f. 227<sup>4</sup>,  
386<sup>25</sup>; 4, 8 270; 4, 8 f.  
337<sup>1</sup>-337<sup>2</sup>; 5, 1 f. 337<sup>4</sup>,  
337<sup>5</sup>; 5, 8 259<sup>12</sup>; 5, 12  
259<sup>12</sup>; 5, 13 260-261;  
6, 1 77<sup>4</sup>, 252; 6, 4 252;  
6, 6 f. 171<sup>2</sup>; 6, 7 255-  
256, 265, 438<sup>6</sup>; 6, 9  
318<sup>3</sup>; 6, 9 f. 337<sup>6</sup>, 437<sup>2</sup>;  
7, 1 ff. 337<sup>7</sup>, 386<sup>26</sup>; 7, 4  
252; 7, 5 ff. 318<sup>4</sup>; 7, 9  
77<sup>6</sup>; 7, 11 f. 306<sup>3</sup>; 8, 1  
256; 8, 11 f. 387<sup>15</sup>; 9, 3  
444<sup>3</sup>; 9, 7 387<sup>16</sup>; 9, 8 f.  
388<sup>4</sup>; 9, 9 306<sup>4</sup>, 438<sup>7</sup>;  
10, 3 f. 164<sup>4</sup>, 274; 10, 5  
261, 267, 388<sup>2</sup>; 10, 11  
164<sup>4</sup>, 252; 10, 12 388<sup>3</sup>;  
10, 13 388<sup>4</sup>; 11, 1 265;  
11, 2 ff. 164<sup>4</sup>; 11, 3 253,
- 256, 265, 435; 11, 5 f  
164<sup>4</sup>; 11, 7 268; 11, 10  
335<sup>14</sup>; 11, 10b 275<sup>2</sup>; 12,  
6 277<sup>3</sup>; 12, 11 252; 13,  
1 268; 13, 2 252; 13, 7  
271; 13, 9 252; 13, 14a  
268; 13, 14-15 220<sup>4</sup>;  
13, 15 337<sup>8</sup>; 13, 16  
337<sup>9</sup>.
- Joel* 1, 4 65-67, 164<sup>4</sup>, 318<sup>3</sup>,  
342; 1, 5 68-69; 1, 6 f.  
388<sup>5</sup>; 1, 11 69; 1, 11 f.  
386<sup>27</sup>; 1, 13, 19 171<sup>4</sup>; 1,  
15 f. 166<sup>3</sup>; 1, 17 ff. 78<sup>7</sup>;  
1, 19 f. 166<sup>3</sup>; 2, 1 70<sup>1</sup>;  
2, 3 70<sup>2</sup>; 2, 4 f. 70<sup>3</sup>;  
2, 6 f. 70<sup>4</sup>; 2, 9 f. 70<sup>5</sup>;  
2, 17 67<sup>1</sup>, 437<sup>3</sup>; 2, 18 f.  
70<sup>6</sup>; 2, 20 f. 71<sup>1</sup>; 2, 25  
438<sup>8</sup>; 2, 25 f. 388<sup>6</sup>;  
2, 27-34 220<sup>6</sup>; 3, 1-3  
388<sup>7</sup>; 3, 4-6 388<sup>8</sup>; 3,  
19 ff. 388<sup>9</sup>.
- Amos* 1, 1 261, 265<sup>3</sup>; 1, 2  
75<sup>4</sup>, 99-100, 256-257;  
1, 3 438<sup>8</sup>; 1, 4 257;  
1, 6 262, 265<sup>3</sup>; 1, 10  
437<sup>4</sup>; 1, 11 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 12  
164<sup>4</sup>; 2, 1 318<sup>6</sup>, 437<sup>5</sup>;  
2, 1-3 388<sup>10</sup>; 2, 6 164<sup>4</sup>;  
2, 7 388<sup>11</sup>; 3, 3 f. 438<sup>10</sup>;  
3, 6 272; 3, 7 265<sup>3</sup>;  
3, 9 437<sup>6</sup>; 4, 6 271;  
4, 7 265<sup>3</sup>, 438<sup>11</sup>; 5, 1  
335<sup>15</sup>; 5, 6 271; 5, 10  
271; 5, 21 f. 388<sup>12</sup>, 169<sup>3</sup>,  
335<sup>16</sup>; 5, 25 f. 335<sup>17</sup>; 5,  
26 253, 258; 6, 1 a  
388<sup>13</sup>; 6, 1b f. 388<sup>14</sup>,  
6, 2 257-258; 6, 8 280<sup>2</sup>;  
7, 12 272; 8, 3 444<sup>3</sup>;  
8, 9 f. 219<sup>2</sup>, 386<sup>27</sup>; 8,  
11 f. 175<sup>2</sup>; 8, 13 f. 80<sup>3</sup>,  
166<sup>3</sup>, 9, 1 ff. 166<sup>3</sup>; 9, 3  
258; 9, 7 258.
- Abdias* 1 280<sup>4</sup>; 2-4 436<sup>2</sup>;  
5-6 436<sup>2</sup>; 7-11 436<sup>2</sup>;  
12-14 436<sup>2</sup>; 17-19 436<sup>2</sup>.

- 20 253, 262-263, 265, 435; 20-21 436<sup>2</sup>.  
*Jonas* 2, 1 ff. 293-294.  
*Mich.* 1, 1 258-259; 1, 3-4 83-86; 1, 5 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 8 f. 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 11 253, 263; 1, 16 166<sup>3</sup>; 2, 4 386<sup>20</sup>; 2, 9 f. 386<sup>30</sup>; 2, 11 386<sup>31</sup>; 3, 6 388<sup>15</sup>; 4, 1-2 220<sup>7</sup>; 4, 1-3 371<sup>3</sup>; 4, 3 220<sup>8</sup>; 4, 4 342; 5, 2 220<sup>9</sup>, 238<sup>8</sup>; 5, 3 220<sup>10</sup>; 6, 6 ff. 169<sup>3</sup>; 6, 13-16 388<sup>16</sup>; 7, 4a 307<sup>1</sup>, 388<sup>17</sup>; 7, 4b 388<sup>18</sup>; 7, 7 ff. 336<sup>1</sup>; 7, 8-11 78<sup>8</sup>; 7, 10 388<sup>19</sup>; 7, 11 ff. 336<sup>2</sup>, 388<sup>20</sup>; 7, 14 143<sup>3</sup>, 278<sup>8</sup>; 7, 14-15 220<sup>11</sup>; 7, 18-20 220<sup>12</sup>.  
*Nahum* 1, 2 f. 48<sup>4</sup>; 1, 2-3 a 109-110; 1, 6 386<sup>32</sup>; 1, 7 f. 386<sup>33</sup>; 1, 10 77<sup>7</sup>; 1, 10 f. 337<sup>10</sup>; 1, 12 337<sup>11</sup>; 2, 1 80<sup>4</sup>; 2, 3 f. 76<sup>2</sup>; 2, 6 f. 76<sup>3</sup>; 2, 11-12 76<sup>4</sup>; 3, 2 a 76<sup>5</sup>; 3, 8 318<sup>7</sup>; 3, 8 f. 48<sup>4</sup>; 3, 12 77<sup>1</sup>; 3, 15 77<sup>2</sup>; 3, 17 f. 386<sup>34</sup>; 3, 18 77<sup>3</sup>.  
*Hab.* 1, 1 ff. 336<sup>3</sup>; 1, 5 336<sup>4</sup>; 1, 12 336<sup>5</sup>; 1, 15 77<sup>8</sup>; 2, 1 280<sup>4</sup>; 2, 2 ff. 337<sup>12</sup>; 2, 9 f. 338<sup>1</sup>, 388<sup>21</sup>; 2, 11 263-264; 2, 14 274; 2, 15 264, 265, 318<sup>8</sup>, 386<sup>35</sup>; 2, 15 f. 388<sup>22</sup>; 2, 16 f. 387<sup>1</sup>; 2, 17 277<sup>6</sup>; 2, 18 268-269; 3 220<sup>13</sup>; 3, 1 f. 338<sup>2</sup>; 3, 2 438<sup>12</sup>; 3, 2 a 430-431; 3, 3 318<sup>9</sup>; 3, 3 a 431; 3, 5 252; 3, 6 276<sup>3</sup>, 431; 3, 7 278<sup>2</sup>; 3, 11a 431; 3, 11b 431; 3, 14a 276<sup>4</sup>, 3, 14-16 58<sup>4</sup>; 3, 16 280<sup>4</sup>, 3, 17 336<sup>6</sup>; 3, 18 f. 281, 336<sup>7</sup>.  
*Soph.* 1, 2 f. 81<sup>2</sup>; 1, 6 252; 1, 12 342-343; 1, 17 f. 388<sup>23</sup>; 1, 18 279<sup>2</sup>; 2, 3 253, 387<sup>2</sup>, 388<sup>24</sup>; 2, 4 272, 307<sup>2</sup>; 2, 5 259<sup>13</sup>; 3, 1 277<sup>7</sup>; 3, 7 338<sup>3</sup>; 3, 8 ff. 338<sup>4</sup>; 3, 11 338<sup>5</sup>; 3, 12 338<sup>6</sup>; 3, 13 220<sup>14</sup>; 3, 14 f. 174<sup>6</sup>; 3, 16-18 b 220<sup>15</sup>; 3, 16 f. 377<sup>3</sup>; 3, 19 338<sup>7</sup>; 3, 19-20 a 220<sup>16</sup>; 3, 29 b 220<sup>17</sup>.  
*Aggeus* 1, 1 272-273; 1, 1 f. 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 3 f. 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 7 ff. 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 12 f. 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 13 438<sup>13</sup>; 1, 14 164<sup>4</sup>; 2, 4 f. 164<sup>4</sup>; 2, 7-10 220<sup>18</sup>; 2, 14 164<sup>4</sup>, 265<sup>3</sup>; 2, 15 ff. 164<sup>4</sup>; 2, 18 164<sup>4</sup>; 2, 20-22 220<sup>19</sup>.  
*Zach.* 1, 3 f. 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 7-11 71-72; 1, 13 ff. 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 16 ff. 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 17 164<sup>4</sup>; 1, 18 f. 361-362; 2, 7 ff. 336<sup>8</sup>; 2, 8 ff. 220<sup>20</sup>; 2, 9 164<sup>4</sup>, 431-432; 2, 10 432; 2, 13 336<sup>9</sup>; 3, 1 f. 65<sup>1</sup>, 72-73; 3, 7 279<sup>4</sup>; 3, 8-9a 220<sup>21</sup>; 3, 9 b 220<sup>22</sup>; 4, 1 ff. 400<sup>1</sup>; 4, 4-6 110<sup>4</sup>, 220<sup>23</sup>; 4, 7 220<sup>24</sup>, 432; 4, 10 220<sup>25</sup>, 280<sup>5</sup>, 434<sup>1</sup>; 4, 11-14, 221<sup>1</sup>, 400<sup>1</sup>; 5, 8 362; 6, 1 ff. 272, 343; 6, 3 265<sup>3</sup>; 6, 12 259, 318<sup>18</sup>; 6, 13 264-265; 7, 1-3 362; 7, 11 ff. 164<sup>4</sup>; 8, 7-8 221<sup>2</sup>; 8 10 259, 265; 8, 20-23 221<sup>3</sup>; 9, 1 f. 269, 307<sup>2</sup>; 9, 3 f. 164<sup>4</sup>; 9, 3-4 344; 9, 5 f. 388<sup>25</sup>; 9, 8 221<sup>4</sup>; 9, 9 221<sup>5</sup>; 9, 10 221<sup>6</sup>; 9, 11-12 221<sup>7</sup>; 9, 13-10, 7 318<sup>11</sup>; 9, 14 221<sup>8</sup>; 9, 15-16 221<sup>9</sup>; 9, 17 221<sup>10</sup>; 10, 5-6 362-363; 10, 10 432; 11, 1 f. 308<sup>5</sup>; 11, 1-2 221<sup>11</sup>; 11, 3 221<sup>12</sup>, 432; 11, 4-5 221<sup>13</sup>; 11, 4 f. 387<sup>2</sup>; 11, 6-7 221<sup>14</sup>, 309<sup>1</sup>; 11, 7 278<sup>8</sup>; 11, 8-9 221<sup>15</sup>; 11, 10-11 221<sup>16</sup>; 11, 12-13 221<sup>17</sup>; 11, 15-16 221<sup>18</sup>; 11, 17 221<sup>19</sup>, 252, 387<sup>4</sup>; 12 221<sup>20</sup>; 12, 10 255, 344; 12, 11 f. 309<sup>2</sup>; 13 221<sup>21</sup>; 13, 1 254-255; 13, 6 222<sup>3</sup>; 14 221<sup>22</sup>; 14, 1-2 344-345; 14, 8 255, 432-433; 14, 8 f. 276<sup>3</sup>; 14, 20 433<sup>7</sup>.  
*Mal.* 1 239<sup>2</sup>; 1, 4 269; 1, 8 252; 1, 10 b-11 221<sup>23</sup>; 1, 10 ff. 239<sup>2</sup>; 1, 11 f. 169<sup>3</sup>; 2, 7 143<sup>1</sup>; 2, 7 387<sup>5</sup>; 2, 15 f. 388<sup>26</sup>; 3, 1 221<sup>24</sup>; 3, 1 b 433; 3, 1 b-3 a 172<sup>2</sup>; 3, 2 221<sup>25</sup>; 3, 3 221<sup>26</sup>; 3, 3 b-4 172<sup>2</sup>; 3, 4 221<sup>27</sup>; 3, 7 ff. 307<sup>4</sup>; 3, 10 273; 4, 4-5 221<sup>28</sup>.  
*Mt.* 3, 11 f. 378<sup>2</sup>; 4, 17 170; 5, 17 153, 178; 5, 17 f. 136; 10, 16 161<sup>1</sup>; 10, 37 f. 157<sup>2</sup>; 11, 28 f. 377<sup>1</sup>; 13, 23 f. 141, 147<sup>3</sup>; 13, 23 158<sup>1</sup>; 13, 44 382<sup>5</sup>; 19, 29 157<sup>2</sup>; 20, 1-7 167-168; 21, 13-27 282<sup>2</sup>; 22, 16 f. 382<sup>2</sup>; 24, 21 f. 380<sup>2</sup>; 25, 14 ff. 384<sup>4</sup>; 25, 15 158<sup>1</sup>.  
*Lk.* 1, 30 f. 377<sup>2</sup>; 1, 69 227; 8, 4-8 365<sup>1</sup>; 13, 6-9 365<sup>2</sup>; 14, 15-24 365<sup>2</sup>; 16, 1-9 367<sup>2</sup>.  
*Jn.* 3, 13 54<sup>1</sup>; 4, 21-24 136; 5, 39 f. 175; 5, 45 ff. 137<sup>3</sup>, 138<sup>2</sup>; 5, 46 ff. 137-138; 14, 25 f. 188; 16, 23 197.

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| <p><i>Acts</i> 5, 28 381<sup>2</sup>; 7, 43 253<sup>3</sup>, 257.</p> <p><i>Rom.</i> 2, 29 381<sup>3</sup>; 6, 19 161<sup>2</sup>; 7, 23 157<sup>2</sup>; 8, 35 378<sup>3</sup>; 10, 4 137<sup>3</sup>, 138<sup>2</sup>; 12, 1 160<sup>1</sup>; 12, 11 378<sup>1</sup>.</p> <p>1 <i>Cor.</i> 1, 4 f. 382<sup>3</sup>; 2, 12 161<sup>4</sup>; 6, 3 381<sup>5</sup>; 7, 2 158<sup>1</sup>; 7, 27 143<sup>4</sup>; 10, 13 380<sup>3</sup>; 11, 22 ff. 148<sup>5</sup>; 11, 30 f. 406<sup>4</sup>; 12, 8 183<sup>2</sup>.</p> | <p>2 <i>Cor.</i> 3, 2 f. 187<sup>3</sup>; 3, 6 139<sup>2</sup>; 3, 15 f. 176<sup>1</sup>; 3, 16 181<sup>1</sup>; 3, 18 189<sup>4</sup>, 189<sup>5</sup>; 5, 6 275<sup>4</sup>; 6, 11-14 378<sup>7</sup>.</p> <p><i>Gal.</i> 3, 24 137<sup>2</sup>; 4, 21 ff. 115<sup>2</sup>, 379<sup>5</sup>, 379<sup>6</sup>; 5, 4f. 136.</p> <p><i>Eph.</i> 1, 15-21 188<sup>4</sup>; 3, 13-19 188<sup>5</sup>.</p> <p><i>Col.</i> 2, 3 382<sup>4</sup>; 3, 5 143<sup>4</sup>, 160<sup>1</sup>.</p> | <p><i>Phil.</i> 3, 7-9 136.</p> <p>2 <i>Thess.</i> 2, 4 f. 380<sup>1</sup>.</p> <p>1 <i>Tim.</i> 4, 3 142<sup>2</sup>, 143<sup>4</sup>.</p> <p><i>Tit.</i> 3, 5 376<sup>2</sup>.</p> <p><i>Heb.</i> 5, 1 152; 5, 12 137<sup>1</sup>; 7, 4-7 373<sup>2</sup>; 7, 18 f. 136; 8, 5 137; 8, 7-10, 13 136; 9, 1-14 390; 10, 20 390.</p> <p><i>James</i> 1, 17 161<sup>4</sup>.</p> <p>1 <i>Jn.</i> 2, 14 f. 161<sup>1</sup>; 2, 16 157<sup>1</sup>.</p> |
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## ERRATA

- P. 2, note 1, line 2 for « publiées » read « publiés »
- P. 4, line 4, for Nazianzen read Nazianzus
- P. 4, line 12 for Theophilus' read Theophilus's
- P. 33, note 3, line 1 for ἐθικαὶ read ἠθικαὶ
- P. 39, line 5 for Nazianzen read Nazianzus
- P. 49, line 29 delete comma after "time"
- Pp. 52, note 3, 56, note 3, 93, note 1 for DEVRESSE read DEVRESSE
- P. 95, line 13 for Moses's read Moses'
- P. 112, note 2, line 1 for F. FERNANDEZ read A. FERNANDEZ
- P. 128, line 9 for ἀφαρμόζω read ἐφαρμόζω
- P. 128, note, line 7 for σχῆμα read σχῆμα
- P. 142, note 3 for PUSEY I, 26 ff. read PUSEY I, 732, 26 ff.
- P. 151, note 1 for PG 417 B read PG 69, 417 B
- P. 162, note 2, line 4 for BREHIER read BRÉHIER
- P. 169, line 22 for Moses's read Moses'
- P. 178, line 28 for Moses's read Moses'
- P. 186, note 9, line 1 for LIDDEL read LIDDELL
- P. 207, insert inverted commas at the beginning of note 7
- Pp. 294, note 1, 338, notes 8 and 9 for DEVRESSE read DEVRESSE
- P. 341, note 7 for HG 70 read PG 70
- P. 358, line 17 for Didymus' read Didymus's
- P. 358, note 1, line 2 for HL 21 read PL 21
- P. 371, note 3, line 1 for DEVRESSE read DEVRESSE
- P. 390, line 5 for Nazianzen read Nazianzus
- P. 392, line 7 for a) vv. 1-9 read a) vv. 1-7
- P. 442, note 9, line 2 for DEVRESSE read DEVRESSE.